

ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΥΣΩ  
ΚΑΙΝ ΕΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΣ  
ΚΑΙΡΑΣ ΟΜΟΓΕΝΕΤΑΣ  
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ









I.S.B.N. 960-86009-0-1

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# TREASURES OF MOUNT ATHOS

B' EDITION

THESSALONIKI 1997



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# TREASURES OF MOUNT ATHOS



B' EDITION



HOLY COMMUNITY  
OF MOUNT ATHOS

MINISTRY OF CULTURE  
MUSEUM OF BYZANTINE CULTURE



ORGANIZATION FOR THE  
CULTURAL CAPITAL OF EUROPE  
THESSALONIKI 1997



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Schema & Chroma

*Lithographic Establishment of KETHEA*

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THE MONASTERIES AND THE SKETAES PARTICIPATING IN THE EXHIBITION

PROTATON - HOLY COMMUNITY

MONASTERY OF VATOPEDI

MONASTERY OF IVIRON

MONASTERY OF CHELANDARI

MONASTERY OF DIONYSIOU

MONASTERY OF KOUTLOUMOUSIOU

MONASTERY OF PANTOKRATOR

MONASTERY OF XEROPOTAMOU

MONASTERY OF ZOGRAPHOU

MONASTERY OF DOCHEIARIOU

MONASTERY OF KARAKALOU

MONASTERY OF SIMONOPETRA

MONASTERY OF ST PAUL

MONASTERY OF STAVRONIKITA

MONASTERY OF XENOPHONTOS

MONASTERY OF GREGORIOU

MONASTERY OF ST PANTELEIMON

SKETE OF ST ANNE

SKETE OF THE PRODROME (dependency of the Great Lavra)

SKETE OF ST ANDREW

SKETE OF THE PRODROME (dependency of Iviron)

SKETE OF THE PROPHET ELIJAH

NEA SKETE

SKETE OF THE BOGORODITSA



*The treasures of Mount Athos, closely guarded for centuries in the historic monasteries, have always been somewhat difficult of access for lay visitors. Indeed, as Academician Manolis Chatzidakis has commented, owing to the strict exclusion of women from the Holy Mountain, they have for centuries been totally inaccessible to half the human race.*

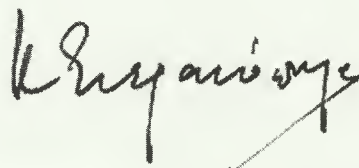
*The time has now come for these peerless artworks of inestimable religious, spiritual, and historical importance to be put on public display for the first time. This is the significance and the enormous interest behind the exhibition that will open in the second half of this year, the crowning touch to the celebrations attendant upon Thessaloniki's role as European City of Culture for 1997. The presentation of the treasures of Mount Athos in this magnificent exhibition is thus a major cultural event of global importance.*

*Monuments of Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting, Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons, illuminated manuscripts, music manuscripts, Byzantine sculptures, Byzantine and post-Byzantine works of minor art, incunabula, Byzantine, post-Byzantine, Ottoman, Slavonic, and Romanian documents, seals, coins, ceramics — all these masterpieces of a thousand years of art will add their lustre to this splendid exhibition.*

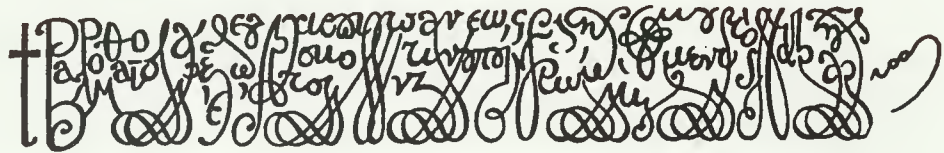
*During the ten centuries of its existence, as times have changed and history has taken its course, the distinctive monastic society that evolved on Mount Athos has applied itself to almost all forms of art and scholarly inquiry, bequeathing great achievements and unparalleled artistic monuments, which are now presented to the admiring gaze of visitors.*

*The texts in this volume are written by distinguished scholars and will assist a deeper understanding of the hallowed artistic output of the Athonite monks down the centuries.*

*No words can adequately express our gratitude to the venerable fathers of the Holy Community of Mount Athos for their decision to permit this exhibition to be held. And we are also infinitely grateful to the experts who have made such a valuable contribution to its realisation.*



Konstantinos Stefanopoulos  
President of the Hellenic Republic



*To the honourable Mr. Demetrios Salpistis, Vice-President of the Organisation of the Cultural Capital of Europe 1997, child of our Mediocrity in the beloved Lord, the grace and peace of God.*

*The departure of sacred treasures from the Holy Mountain, in an exception to the prohibition of their removal that has obtained for centuries, and which was enshrined in the [Nears] of Alexios Komnenos dating from AD 1082, which provided that 'the sacred treasures shall not be profaned by being paraded for public outings', is an event of major importance, and of special significance not only because of its uniqueness, but also on account of the reasons weighed in allowing this entirely exceptional exhibition of them in Thessaloniki.*

*These reasons reside in a desire to use these treasures as a practical, silent voice, proclaiming to all the message of salvation in Christ. True, a superficial inspection of the treasures in question, that confines itself to their artistic and historical value, incalculable though this undoubtedly is, does not reveal this message. A more profound penetration into the soul and spirit of the creators of these treasures, however, and of those who have guarded them devotedly through exceptionally difficult centuries, full of men plotting to seize them, reveals the unswerving faith, trust and love of these men in our Lord Jesus Christ, and their deep piety in all that is connected with religion, history and His Church, as two human factors that helped to create these treasures and preserve them to the present day. It must be recognised, however, that without the strong protection of the overseer and protector of the Holy Mountain, our Holy Lady, the Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, it would have been humanly impossible to preserve them unharmed, particularly as the place in which they were assembled has been the object of repeated raids and pillaging over the centuries.*

*The treasures displayed attest, then, that Christ became man for the salvation of men, and that some men, who have answered His call, and have loved and devoted themselves to Him, have found at His side ineffable beauty, the peace that passes all understanding, the feeling of eternal life, the true light, the liberating truth, the love that casts out fear, the acceptance of the Creation as exceeding good, and also that, through power of the mind and through the monk's calling, they have conquered irrational and passionate desires and have filled their hearts with holy and godly desires, the satisfaction of which they have found in Christ. In their piety, they have guarded and preserved every sacred treasure connected with the story of the incarnation of Christ and the history of His Church, as well as all the treasures dedicated to His worship.*



*This message of faith and love in Christ is silently transmitted by the treasures in the exhibition, along with witness to the redemption and indefeasible joy granted by Him to those who love Him.*

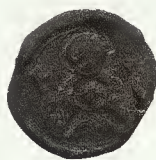
*The catalogue of these treasures, which your Organisation is publishing, will remain in the hands of visitors as a memory of their silent communication with the treasures, and their silent dialogue and discourse with them, and will form a constant reminder of the existence of a world which thinks, lives and acts in a way different from the usual. The ascetic world of the Fathers of Mount Athos, a world that has for an entire millennium chosen and preserved the monastic way of life, is a challenge to all to reflect upon the singular attraction that impelled them to remove themselves from the common world and dedicate themselves in monasteries to incessant prayer and study for the salvation of the world. There is truly a hidden treasure and a precious pearl of a spiritual quality, which is known and familiar to the monks of Mount Athos who have preserved these treasures to our day and, exceptionally, have allowed them to be placed on exhibition in Thessaloniki, not merely to afford artistic and historical enjoyment, but primarily to call us to Christ, in whom is all, and through whom is all, and who is all to all.*

*The fervent prayer of our Mediocrity to the Lord is a request that these sacred treasures and the present catalogue will be assist the beloved visitors and the students of them to draw closer to the world of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone completely fills the soul with good will and gives to those who partake of it inexpressible peace and joy beyond all understanding. Would that we could all understand this message and desire to enter into the grace of our Lord.*

*May His grace and boundless mercy, with our paternal and Patriarchal blessing and prayer, be with your Honourable self and with all who have worked to produce this catalogue.*

Λαχίζ' Ιουνίου λ'

ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΑ



*There have been repeated requests and the constant hope in these final decades of the expiring century that an exhibition might be held of the treasures of our Sacred Mountain. The monastic republic of Mount Athos is unapproachable and cut off from the world, and thus — quite rightly — does not afford easy access; indeed, access is impossible for half the human race.*

*However, the fullness of time is now upon us, the situation is ripe, and this recurrent request is to be granted this year in the God-defended city of Thessaloniki, in celebration of its role as European City of Culture.*

*The prestigious Athos, polyphonic in its silence, has for centuries enjoyed close spiritual bonds with the city of St Demetrios. It is now going forth to minister to the world by exhibiting the treasures of the faith that are deposited within it, not so much as an artistic, cultural, or historical event, as, above all, an act of love, a brotherly gesture of practical generosity towards modern, thinking humanity.*

*Mount Athos, it has been said before, is not merely a transient episode in the life of the Orthodox Church. Created by the Byzantine Hellenic spirit at a time of spiritual maturity, artistic vigour, and worldwide influence, it is an age-old institution, the most important centre of monastic life, pan-Orthodox in character and global in its influence. Down the ages, many currents of religious art have intersected here and the cultures of the neighbouring Orthodox peoples meet here peacefully and fruitfully.*

*As it moves through the second millennium of its uninterrupted life, vital and flourishing, despite the earth-shattering upheavals taking place in the world around it, Athos remains true, sheltered by its guardian Our Lady the Mother of God, to its *raison d'être*, as a place of silence proper to monastic renunciation and asceticism, but also as a centre of culture, learning, and artistic achievement. Mount Athos is second only to the Holy Land as the most revered and desirable place of Christian pilgrimage.*

*The august Athonite tabernacles are not lifeless monuments of art. The living organism of venerable old Athos has over a thousand years of uninterrupted existence behind it, a wonderfully complex culture, and an unbroken, flourishing tradition of monastic and theological witnessing of the faith. Not only this, but, as the guardian of a breathtaking collection of movable and immovable treasures, works of faith and of skilful artistic and spiritual creativity, harmoniously integrated into its peerless natural environment -all of which confirms its worldwide significance-, Mount Athos is also a unique repository of Greek and European culture.*

*All this artistic and historical wealth, created in situ by the piety and skill of the artists, both monks and laymen, or donated by the devout reverence of eternally remembered emperors, kings, and princes, eminent patriarchs, god-loving hegumens, humble monks, and philomonastic pilgrims, the Holy Mountain, like a second ark, has zealously and carefully cherished, sometimes to the point of exemplary self-abnegation on the part of the monks.*

*Apart from their acknowledged artistic and historical value, these sacred treasures, as creations of faith and as pious votive offerings, have always been first and foremost vehicles of*



worship, a gift to God in the service of the sole purpose of the angelical monastic vocation. As life-bringing symbols, they have a value and a dimension far in excess of any mere artistic creation, making them a common spiritual property and sacred heritage. To us humble dwellers on the Holy Mountain, abiding our little while here and ministering to its sacred tabernacles, the lot has fallen to protect this precious cultural and spiritual patrimony, to maintain the unhampered operation of its sacred establishments, and to preserve its privileged self-governing status.

The purpose of this venture of opening Mount Athos up by means of the exhibition is to illustrate, through space, time, and particularly art, the successive periods of this unique monastic community of the Orthodox world with a large number of representative treasures. We shall thus guide visitors around the hoary dwellings and venerable tabernacles in which our fathers' pious experience reposes, together with historical testimonies and memorials to eventful Athonite life, and in which, above all, absolute love of and dedication to God have been lived to the utmost. Our purpose is also to send a message of entreaty and solace to a world in which ever more crushing modern lifestyles are slowly eroding the seams of traditional life and alienating people from their roots.

The whole arduous endeavour and the co-ordination were undertaken by the Joint Co-ordinating Committee composed of members of the Administrative Board of the Organisation for the Cultural Capital of Europe Thessaloniki 1997 and of representatives appointed from among our own number, supported by distinguished university professors, eminent scholars, artists, special associates, and advisors. They have all laboured mightily, with manifest love, fervour, and respect, to make this initiation into the world of the Athonite Monastic Republic as authentic and complete as possible.

As we open the doors of the Exhibition of the Treasures of Mount Athos and surrender this elegant catalogue to the public, the Holy Community would like to express its satisfaction, gratitude, and sincere thanks to all those who have contributed and laboured in their various ways.

If the visitor to the exhibition and reader of this monumental catalogue achieves initiation through them, enters the mystic space of Athos, and, through the contemplation and study of these eloquent testimonies of time, achieves some mental conception of the eventful struggle for life and the arduous progress of the human spirit and mind which lie behind them, and thus tastes something of the 'other' way, of life then not only will this toilsome enterprise have achieved its purpose, but the labour of all those who have taken such pains to bring it to fruition will be forgotten, leaving only the glory, the honour, and the veneration of God, as the beginning and the consummation of all good works.

Mount Athos  
Pentecost Sunday 1997

The Representatives and Principals of the Twenty Monasteries of Mount Athos



*The City of Thessaloniki, mother of saints, God-defended, co-capital of Byzantium, with its twenty-five centuries of unbroken history as an urban entity, the dynamic metropolis of southeastern Europe and current Cultural Capital of Europe, the city of St Demetrios and St Gregory Palamas, welcomes the treasures of Mount Athos, and in them the benediction of the Holy Mount and the monastic community that dwells upon it.*

*The biggest exhibition ever organised in this country, and one of the largest such projects anywhere in the world, is being mounted in Thessaloniki's Museum of Byzantine Civilisation. And it is the generosity and loving-kindness of the Holy Community, together with the initiative and persistence of the directors and associates of the Thessaloniki '97 Cultural Capital Organisation, as well as the staff and services of the Ministry of Culture, that have made it possible.*

*From the bottom of my heart I thank them and congratulate them all.*

*This exhibition is one further manifestation of the spirit and climate of mutual understanding and co-operation that has governed relations between the Greek State and the Holy Community of Mount Athos for the past several years. This is the first time in decades that the concern and the presence of the State have been displayed in such an organised and systematic manner. It has finally been impressed upon the general consciousness that Mount Athos, as a spiritual heritage, as an exercise of faith, as a sacred site, as an architectural complex, as an ark of cultural treasures, as the major integral living monument to Byzantine and post-Byzantine culture, as tangible proof of the perpetuity of Hellenic civilisation, as a visible section across the unfurling ribbon of time, that has shed its light upon ten centuries and more of intellectual and spiritual creation, has need of an intensive and concerted effort in order to protect and enhance its unique physiognomy.*

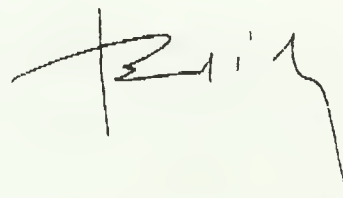
*The exhibition of treasures from Mount Athos, the sacred relics, the manuscripts, the incunabula, the liturgical vessels, the mundane objects of daily life, the pictures of the peninsula's flora and fauna, is more than a major artistic event: it is a token of the special spirituality of the Holy Mount.*

*These treasures, inspissate with the Word and inscribed in the boundlessness of Time surpass history, for they are beyond the measure of human reason. They have to be experienced.*

*This is the first and only occasion on which these treasures have journeyed forth into outside world; destination what more fitting than Thessaloniki, the city of the Hesychasts, the good after the best, the city that is privileged to maintain a special relationship with Mount Athos, through bonds spiritual, historical and institutional.*

*Thessaloniki has thus become the heart of an ecumenical event which has generated a host of publications, congresses and other occasions expressing messages of peace and love, the message of the Orthodoxy to a troubled, post-industrial society, a computer society seeking self-awareness.*

*At the dawn of the 21st century and the third millennium of the Christian era, civilisation as a spiritual attitude, as concern for the world, as a state of technology, as a common aesthetic, turns towards the crucial question of social cohesion. In this sense the exhibition is more than just a major cultural event: it is a noble challenge to the world to review its relationship with Time and the Word.*



Professor Evangelos Venizelos  
Minister of Culture



*The historic decision by the Holy Community to permit priceless treasures to leave Mount Athos for the first time ever, thus doing a great honour to Thessaloniki, European City of Culture, has made it possible to mount a monumental, epoch-making exhibition. This is perhaps the most important spiritual, scientific, and artistic event of 1997.*

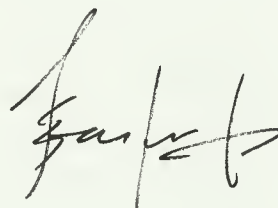
*Thessaloniki, the second largest city in the Byzantine Empire, Europe's gateway to the East and to the Balkans, and metropolis of the arts in southeastern Europe, is especially proud to welcome these Athonite treasures and thus to offer tens of thousands of visitors the chance, first and foremost, to admire peerless artworks of enormous religious, artistic, and historical significance. Not only this, but they will also learn something about the natural environment, the architectural tradition, and the atmosphere of daily life in the thousand-year-old monastic republic of Mount Athos from striking photographs, scale models, and multimedia displays.*

*The size, importance, and all-encompassing range of the exhibition demanded a catalogue that would be equal to its high standards and its uncompromising scientific and museological aims. The catalogue contains data assembled and processed with love, diligence, and dedication by experts, with the assistance of representatives of Mount Athos.*

*Particular efforts have been made to ensure that design and printing of the catalogue are of the highest standard, and for this I would like officially to extend my congratulations to the organisers of the Exhibition.*

*It is my belief that the present elegant volume, with its wealth of information, will prove to be an unparalleled source of knowledge and study, and will greatly assist all those, both from Greece and from abroad, who visit the exhibition, to come to an understanding of the exhibits and achieve a deeper awareness of the subjects presented.*

*I hope that all those who visit the exhibition will achieve the best and closest possible communion with and initiation into this historic domain of spiritual, cultural, and artistic creativity.*



**Konstantinos Kosmopoulos**

Mayor of Thessaloniki  
President of the Organization for the  
Cultural Capital of Europe Thessaloniki 1997



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Cover illustration: *The Emperor Alexios III Comnenos and St John the Baptist, ca. 1375. Dionysiou Monastery, double-sided icon (front side).*

Inner cover illustration: *Aer-Epithafios, 14th c., Pantokrator Monastery, detail.*

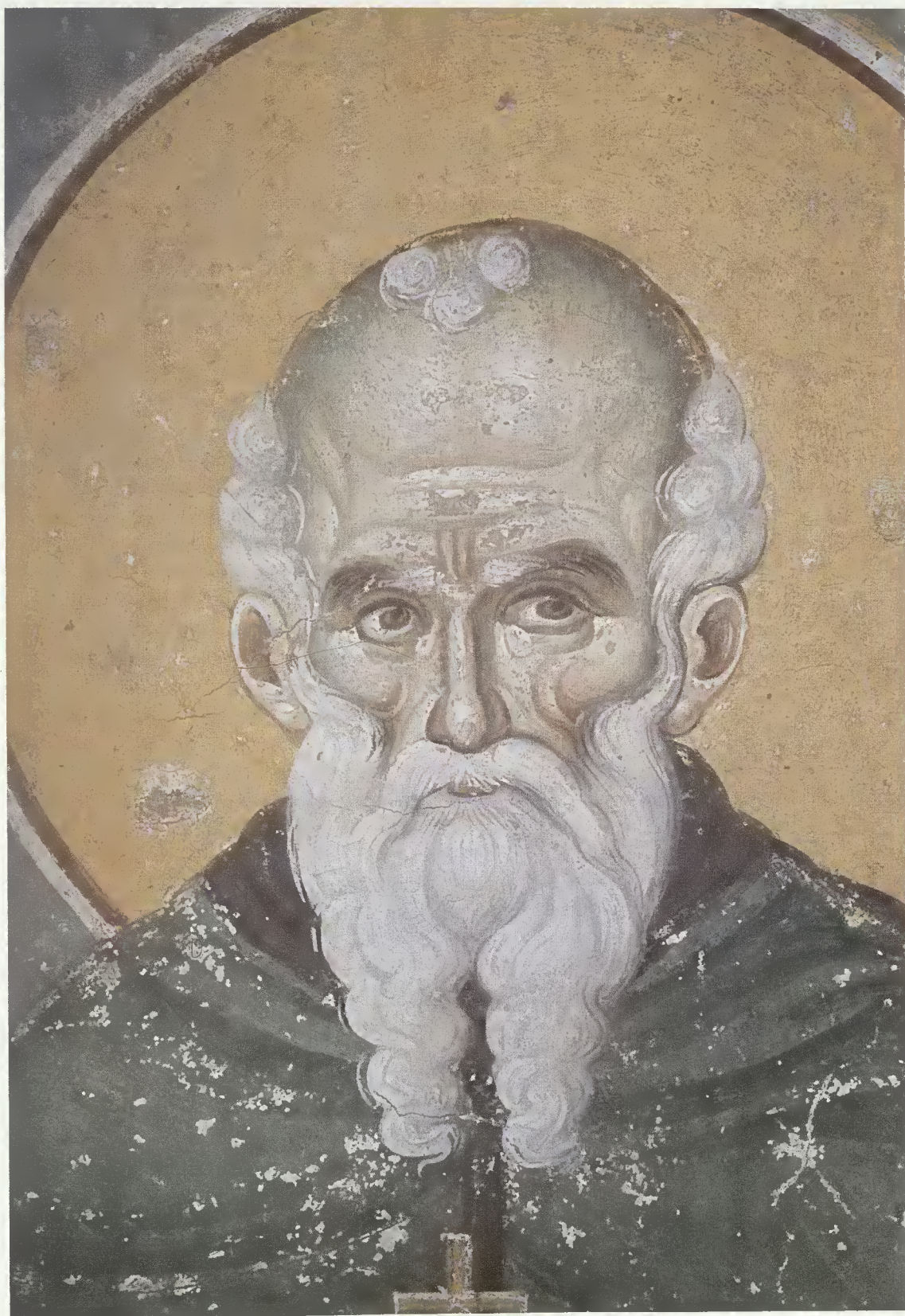
Map of Mount Athos: *National Statistic Service of Greece, p. 658 - 659.*



## CHRONOLOGY OF MOUNT ATHOS

- 843 The monks living on Mount Athos send representatives to Constantinople to celebrate the restoration of the veneration of icons.
- 883 Athos receives its first imperial privilege from Basil I Macedon.
- 908 Athos becomes independent of the cenobia outside the peninsula. The existence of a *Protos*, leader and representative of all the monks, is attested for the first time.
- 941–2 The first known royal grant to the monks of Mount Athos is made by Romanos I Lakapenos: one gold coin per year for each monk.
- 943 The authorities determine the boundary between Ierissos and the monastic community of Athos.
- 957 St Athanasios goes to Mount Athos and there builds the monastery that will later become the Great Lavra, the first cenobium. The work is financed by booty from the Cretan campaign (961) and donations from Emperor Nikephoros Phokas.
- 972 Emperor John Tsimiskis and the monks of Mount Athos sign the first *Typikon* of the monastic community. Known as the *Tragos*, it officially established the cenobitic system on the peninsula, alongside the hermitages.
- 1045 Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos signs the second *Typikon*, in which Athos is officially termed the Holy Mountain for the first time. There are three large cenobia: the Great Lavra, Iviron, and Vatopedi.
- before 1142 A monastery inhabited by Russian monks is founded.
- 1198 Chelandari Monastery is made over to the Serbs. In the 13th century Zographou Monastery is occupied exclusively by Bulgars.
- 1205 Mount Athos is briefly occupied by the Latins of the Fourth Crusade.
- 1307–9 Mount Athos is sacked and ravaged by the Catalans.
- 1312 Andronikos II Palaeologos and Patriarch Niphon legislate that the election of the *Protos* shall be ratified by the Patriarch. Meanwhile, select Athonite monks are becoming adepts of Hesychasm, a mystic practice which aspires to achieve direct contact with God through prayer and the vision of the Divine Light.
- 1345 The Serb ruler Dusan seizes Serres and Mount Athos, and visits the latter with his family.
- 1371 The Byzantines return to East Macedonia (and Mount Athos) after defeating the Serbs at Maritsa.
- 1374 Alexios III Comnenos, Emperor of Trebizond, founds Dionysiou Monastery.
- 1383 The Ottoman Turks seize Mount Athos, with which they have had earlier contacts. The first brief period of Ottoman rule begins.
- 1403 After the defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara, Mount Athos is restored by treaty to Byzantine sovereignty.
- 1406 Manuel II Palaeologos issues the third *Typikon* of Mount Athos.
- 1424 An Athonite delegation pays homage to Sultan Murad in Adrianople. The second, long, period of Ottoman rule begins.
- ca. 1498 The so-called '*Typikon* of Manuel II Palaeologos of 1394' is drawn up.
- 1541 Patriarch Jeremiah I founds the Stavronikita Monastery.
- 1569 Sultan Selim II confiscates the estates of all the monasteries in the Ottoman Empire.
- 1593 The last reference to the institution of the *Protos* as the Athonites' supreme administrative and spiritual authority. The Great Council (*Megali Synaxis*) at Karyes is established as the supreme authority in charge of Athonite affairs.
- 1749 The Athonite Academy is founded.
- 1754 The beginning of the spiritual movement of the Kolyvades.
- 1783 The *Typikon* of Patriarch Gabriel IV is issued.
- May 1821 The Greek War of Independence is declared at Karyes.
- 1860 The Ottoman government tries to intervene in the internal administration of Mount Athos with a constitution drawn up by Husni Pasha, Governor of Thessaloniki.
- 1863 The government of Alexander Kuza confiscates dependencies in Romania.
- 1873 The Russian government slashes the income of the dependencies in Bessarabia and the Caucasus.
- 1912 The new *General Regulations* for Mount Athos, drawn up by Patriarch Ioachim III and the Athonite monks, are ratified.
- 1912 Mount Athos is liberated by the Greek fleet.
- November
- 1913 The Athonite monks pass a resolution declaring the administrative autonomy of the monastic republic within the boundaries of the Greek state.
- 1926 The existing constitution of Mount Athos is passed.





*Fresco: Hosios Athanasios the Athonite, detail, ca. 1290. Karyes, Protaton.*



in Athanasios' *lavra* in about 963. In 978-9 one of their number, Ioannis Tornikios, afforded Basil II such vigorous and such successful support in putting down the revolt led by Bardas Skleros that he returned to Athos laden with the spoils of war: his grateful Emperor also showered him with lands and privileges, granted him subsidies and exemption from taxes, and permitted him to found the Monastery of Iviron, a large establishment, also with its own ship. The protests of the traditional Athonites again went unheard.

The third large monastery, that of Vatopedi, was formed by internal evolution rather than imperial fiat. A small community of that name is first mentioned in 985, which would seem to have been founded not long before by its hegumen, Nicholas, an aristocrat from Adrianople. It was another nobleman from the same city, Hegumen Athanasios (1020-48), who effected the great change: during his administration the population of the Monastery of Vatopedi grew to several hundreds, becoming the third largest foundation on the peninsula – and that before attracting its first imperial endowment.

After this, the cenobite system became widespread throughout the Holy Mount. Many of the older hermitages, as they attracted more monks, adopted the model of organised monasticism. The solitary hermits and anchorites remained, of course, but their influence waned. The new regime was confirmed in 1045, when the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos published the second *Typikon* for Mount Athos – for the first time officially using the appellation of 'The Holy Mount' that had been used unofficially since 985 and which was to remain in use across the centuries to come. By this time the influence and the authority of the Athonites, extending from one end of the Empire to the other and resting on the economic might of the monastic foundations, was tremendous.

The new Rule, however, sought to circumscribe, or rather to regulate, the economic activities of the monasteries: it prohibited their ships from trading in Constantinople, permitting no more than the sale of agricultural surpluses within a radius extending from Thessaloniki to Ainos. The issue of the number of domestic animals on the peninsula was re-examined, but while the Great Lavra was permitted four yoke of oxen for the kneading of the bread required to feed its seven hundred monks, the Monastery of Vatopedi, apparently of similar size, was permitted only one. New regulations were established for the administration of the estates belonging to the Protaton and for the participation of the hegumens and their clerks at the assemblies in Karyes. The Synaxis, presided over by the *Protos*, was recognised as the supreme judicial authority within the Athonite territory.

The rapid and spectacular growth of the communities of Athonite monks, which was to become even more spectacular over the next few centuries, was not merely the result of imperial favour, for such favour was displayed towards other monastic communities as well, but was also the product of a number of objective factors.

The Athonite peninsula had one great advantage in comparison with the other 'Holy Mountains' of this middle Byzantine period: its inhabitants had direct access to the sea, and thus to the whole world, but in a manner easily and effectively controlled by the conventual authorities. The Athonite monasteries, during the very period when they were beginning to expand, were able to profit from the general explosion of maritime communications which heralded the beginning of the end of the Middle Ages. This also explains imperial efforts to limit the commercial activities of the monasterial ships.

From this point of view, the fact that the development of Mount Athos coincided with the retaking of Crete from the Arabs, once again making the seas relatively safe, was particularly significant, for it meant that monasteries could be built right on the water. The safety of the seas was troubled again in the fourteenth century, but for a shorter period and with less real impact.

In addition, the fact that Mount Athos was surrounded by territory inhabited by devout Orthodox Christians who entertained the profoundest respect for the monastic community, meant that it never really faced peril from its landward side, unlike the other 'Holy Mountains' in Asia Minor which in the years after 1071 lay exposed to Turkish aggression and were repeatedly sacked.

Moreover, by its very nature a monastic peninsula of such size offered considerable scope for growth and development. Naturally cut off from the inhabited world, its inviolability was easy to enforce. Only semi-nomadic shepherds could stray onto its territory, and even that was a rare occurrence. Its interior 'desert' had room for many monasteries and innumerable hermitages, which could expand without ever approaching secular communities like those that surrounded and circumscribed the other 'Holy Mountains'. Protected to landward and open to the sea, Mount Athos rapidly attracted more and more monks of many different nationalities and origins. By the tenth century records spoke of monastic communities of Iberians (Georgians) and Amalfians (from Amalfi, in Italy), and of foundations known by the origin of their founders: the Chaldean (from Eastern Pontus), the Paphlagonian, the Sicilian. In 1016 there is mention of a small community founded by a Russian, and in 1033 of another founded by one Zelianos, who must certainly have been a Slav. But the large foundations which officially housed non-Byzantine monks did not appear until later. The Russian monastery seems to have been established before 1142; the Monastery of Chelandari was made over to the Serbs in 1198, and that of Zographou to the Bulgars in the thirteenth century, after the founding of the second Bulgar state.

While the monastic communities in Asia Minor were disappearing one after the other, Mount Athos continued to acquire an ever greater trans-Orthodox character and unbounded dominance over Eastern Christendom. The monasteries flourished, their landed estates grew steadily in both extent and influence, while the tradition of eremitic asceticism remained as vigorous as ever and continued to inspire the admiration of the Orthodox world.

With the Fourth Crusade, Mount Athos was briefly occupied by the Latins; they quickly withdrew, however, leaving behind them – as they did throughout the Byzantine world – a legacy of bitterness and indignation. Thenceforth relations between Athos and the Roman Church were hostile, especially when the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos attempted, for reasons of foreign policy, to impose upon the East the reunification of the Churches effected by the ecumenical council of Lyon (1274). The image of the Latins was further blackened when the Catalan Company (1307-9) settled in Eastern Macedonia and pillaged the monasteries and their estates. But the crisis passed and, thanks to the gifts which the weak central administration and pious private citizens were unable to refuse them, the monasteries quickly recovered their wealth and continued to grow and prosper. This development coincided with the period of substantial demographic and economic growth in Macedonia which marked the first half of the fourteenth century.

After that, however, things began to deteriorate. First came the raids launched by the pirates of Aydin and Menteshe in Western Asia Minor, which caused much destruction and drove many of the monks towards the west in search of safety. Next came the civil wars of 1341-7, during which Macedonia and Thrace were laid waste by the (mainly) Turkish allies of John Cantakuzenos. After that came the Serbs, led by Stefan Dusan, who seized Serres in 1345 and had himself crowned Emperor. The central administration passed into the hands of the Serbs, who distributed the lands of the Protaton with lavish generosity. This stirred the Byzantine authorities – and particularly the Patriarchate in Constantinople – to action, but the Serbian occupation of Mount Athos lasted, with only a single brief interruption, until 1371.

The restoration of Byzantine sovereignty over Eastern Macedonia, however, proved short-lived, and was accompanied by an attempt to requisition some of the monasterial revenues to raise an army to fight against the Turks. But these measures could not halt the unremitting



advance of the Ottoman forces: they took Serres in 1383, and immediately afterwards Mount Athos itself. The Athonites acted with prudence and foresight in the face of the Ottoman advance into Europe. Made wiser by the experience of the monastic communities in Asia Minor, which had virtually disappeared during the course of the fourteenth century, and by their own sufferings at the hands of the marauding pirates from the Turkish emirates, they approached the Ottoman Sultan before he crossed into Europe and won his protection for their monasteries and their property, thus ensuring that they would not be injured by the Ottoman occupation.

Quite the contrary: they managed to increase their wealth. Since the monasteries were institutions under the protection of the Turks, they were used as treasuries by the wealthy, who deposited their riches there for safe-keeping. They also received numerous endowments. Finally, it was during this period that the institution of 'brotherhood' was established: a monastery would accept a gift of one hundred gold coins or a piece of land, in exchange guaranteeing the donor a life annuity in kind (the quantities of wheat, oil, wine, cheese and legumes corresponding to a monk's ration), even if he remained a layman and never set foot in the monastery. In this manner the monasteries turned their probity to good account and found a profitable way of disposing of their surplus produce.

The brotherhood system demonstrates just how much ground idiorrhythmic monasticism had gained in Mount Athos. Even within the communal life of the monasteries certain monks were able to own and hold private property, and to eat in the privacy of their own quarters. This system, of course, was based on the model of the lives of the hermits who lived in dependencies of the large foundations and took their meals apart, and was a survival of pre-cenobite forms of monasticism originating in the earliest history and traditions of Mount Athos. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the cenobite model having become the rule, idiorrhythmic monasticism within the conventual foundations was a great innovation.

By the fourteenth century substantial changes were taking place on Mount Athos. In 1312 it was legislated – for the first time – that the *Protos* must receive the 'seal' of the Patriarch, that is, that his election must be confirmed. In other words, the spiritual authority of the Patriarch, which even in earlier times had been sought by the Athonites when faced with difficult problems, was now officially recognised. This of course did not mean that the other privileges enjoyed by Mount Athos, and particularly its direct dependence on the Emperor, were abolished. Far from it: it merely meant that the Patriarch acquired a new authority which in the days to come, when Mount Athos fell under foreign domination – and particularly during the Serbian rule –, enabled him to exercise his influence with the monastic authorities.

At the same time, many new monasteries were being founded, and the peninsula acquired a marked pan-Orthodox and cosmopolitan character. The Monasteries of Pantokrator, Konstamonitou, Gregoriou, Simonopetra, Dionysiou, St Paul and Koutloumousiou were all founded or re-established during the second half of the fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, this time not with endowments from the Byzantine Emperor but with gifts from local notables or foreign rulers. The position of Mount Athos within the international orthodox community was a highly enviable. It was made crystal clear that each national leader had a moral obligation to subsidise an Athonite monastery, both for the sake of his own soul and to accommodate nationals of his country. Mount Athos had become a pan-Orthodox centre, while at the same time enjoying political recognition. Furthermore, at least some of the new dwellers on the Mountain found it difficult to adapt to the traditional way of life, and proceeded to a revision of the severe rules dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Naturally, the number of non-Greek-speaking monks increased dramatically, especially after the Ottoman occupation.

This occurred in two stages. The first Turkish conquest, which began in 1383, ended in 1402

when Sultan Bayezid I was defeated at Ankara by Timur the Lame. The following year, his son and successor Suleyman signed treaties with the Byzantine authorities, restoring to the Empire the district of Thessaloniki – including Mount Athos. The imperial authorities in turn sought to strengthen the monasteries and, while maintaining the Ottoman system of taxation, accorded them certain new, but minor, grants of land and revenues.

In the meanwhile, however, problems had arisen in the relations of the Athonites among themselves. The older Rules were no longer applicable in current conditions, and this created contestation. An internal attempt to sort things out having failed, the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos eventually intervened with a *Chrysobull Typikon*, promulgated in June 1406, based on the traditional practice of the Great Lavra. This document dealt chiefly with the internal organisation of the monasteries, and attempted to curb excessive violations of the rules of monastic life, particularly the retention of private property by individual monks.

The restored Byzantine regime, however, soon collapsed under increasing Ottoman pressure. Mount Athos was cut off from Thessaloniki, and finally, in 1424, a delegation of monks, with the approval of the Despot Andronicos Palaeologos, paid homage to Sultan Murad in Adrianople, thus ushering in the second period of Ottoman rule over the Holy Mount. The Mount continued, in spite of the change of regime, to maintain an active relationship with Constantinople, for as long as that city remained Christian. During the preparations for the Synod of Florence, the Emperor sent to Mount Athos for books which could no longer be found in Constantinople, and a group of Athonite monks were in fact included in the Byzantine delegation that attended the Synod.

Throughout this difficult period Mount Athos, as a pan-Orthodox centre, was a testing-ground for new ideas and new ideologies. Defenders of the tradition of the East and at the same time exposed to a profusion of different currents, the Athonites eventually adopted Hesychasm, a theory which had split fourteenth century Byzantine society. This mystic system, which had resurfaced with Gregory of Sinai, aspired to direct contact with the divine through constant prayer and the exercise of certain practices, contact which was revealed by the apparition of a divine light similar to that witnessed by the disciples on Mount Tabor during the Transfiguration of Christ. Hesychasm won fervent support, but aroused equally violent opposition, mainly because of the simplistic exaggerations practised by certain of its ardent enthusiasts. It marshalled its followers in the East, and set them against anything Western. It was supported by the Byzantine aristocracy and prevailed in three Synods (1341, 1347, 1351). Gregory Palamas, a former Athonite monk and Bishop of Thessaloniki, and a staunch defender of Hesychasm, was canonised, as were numerous other Hesychast leaders, including Germanos the Athonite, Sabbas, and Makarios Makris. In these circumstances, Mount Athos developed into an aggressive defender of the Orthodox faith, acquiring an authority and a sphere of influence that were inestimable.

Despite being under Ottoman rule, Mount Athos remained the greatest spiritual centre of the Orthodox world, much of which of course was itself under the Ottoman yoke.

*Nicholaos Economidis*

**Bibliography:** The only academic work on the early history of Mount Athos is the book by Dionysia Papachryssanthou, *Athonite Monasticism. Origins and Organisation*, Athens 1992 (a revised and expanded version of the introduction to *Actes du Prôtaton*, D. Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975). For serious studies of subsequent periods one must turn to the introductions to editions of Athonite documents in the series *Archives de l' Athos*, and particularly to the introduction by P. Lemerle in *Actes de Lavra IV*, Paris 1982. These books are listed at the end of the introductory chapter on the Archives of Mount Athos.



## MOUNT ATHOS DURING THE YEARS OF OTTOMAN RULE

**T**he renewed Ottoman onslaught unleashed during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-51), and the evident impotence of the Byzantine authorities in the face of it, left no margin for optimism. Foreseeing the fate that awaited them, the Athonite monks decided to come to terms with the reality of their position: in 1424 they declared their submission to the Sultan, thus both acknowledging a *de facto* situation – since most of their estates in Macedonia were already in Ottoman hands – and at the same time averting a violent occupation of Mount Athos, which would surely have resulted in pillage, destruction, loss of property, and death or enslavement for the monks themselves.

Although historical information about Mount Athos and its general situation during the latter half of the fifteenth century is somewhat scanty and unreliable, it appears to have been part of the *kaza* of Siderokausia. It was subsequently granted as a *timar* (fief) to the *bostangi-basi* (or ‘head gardener’ as the commander of the Palace Guard was called) who, in order to keep a close eye on his fief, appointed an agent to represent him. By 1575 this officer, known as the Aga (or *zambitis*) of Mount Athos, had taken up residence in Karyes, together with a small garrison, the *seimenides*.

Apart from this fairly relaxed administrative dependence on the secular authorities, Mount Athos continued to be subject to the spiritual guidance of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In fact, after the Fall of Constantinople (1453) its relations with this institution were strengthened, not only because the jurisdiction of the Patriarch was broadened but also because, as we shall see, the weakening of the territory’s own administrative authorities left a gap which the Patriarch stepped in to fill. It is significant that its Vth (1574) and VIth (1783) *Typika* were signed by Patriarchs Ieremias II and Gabriel IV respectively. What, if any, pastoral authority the Bishop of Ierissos held over Mount Athos is unclear.

Over and above the preservation of its administrative autonomy, the Athonite monks were equally concerned to safeguard their lands and estates, both on the peninsula itself and elsewhere. Despite official imperial guarantees, the Turks twice violated their explicit rights. The first occasion came very early, in 1432/33, when (according to contemporary historian Ioannis Anagnostis) Sultan Murad ordered ‘all monasteries and ships to be confiscated and all their revenues and property seized’. The Athonites apparently managed to recover their property on that occasion, or if not full ownership, at least the enjoyment of it.

Much more serious were the consequences of the 1568 attempt by Selim II to sequester all ecclesiastical and monasterial property throughout the imperial domains. With the help of generous subsidies from the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, however, supplemented by loans, on extremely heavy terms, from money-lenders in Thessaloniki, the Athonite monks once again succeeded in repurchasing their lands, at a cost of nearly one million aspers. The only gain from this affair was that thenceforth the monasterial lands were considered *vakif*, and thus fiscally privileged, being, in theory at least, inalienable.

This disposition did not of course mark the end of all financial disputes and crises between the Holy Mount and the Ottoman state, crises fostered by the rapacity of the Turkish authorities and favoured by the geographic dispersion of the monasterial estates and the variety of their produce and related transactions. The Athonite monasteries drew revenues from their herds and crops not only on the peninsula itself but also – and far more importantly – from their

numerous estates in Chalkidiki, in the islands of the North Aegean and particularly in Wallachia and Moldavia. Other substantial sources of revenue lay in the generosity of the rulers of the Danubian principalities who endowed the monasteries with gifts of cash and lands, in the bequests of devout citizens, and in the offerings of the ordinary people, which were collected in *zeteia* (Alms-begging) held at fairly frequent intervals throughout Anatolia, Russia and the Venetian Republic.

These revenues were used for the subsistence of the monks, the maintenance and repair of the monastery buildings, especially after earthquake or fire, for gifts to those in power as insurance against perils and dangers, to pay off debts and recover pledges, to purchase new property during the rare periods of prosperity and – first and foremost – to pay a whole range of taxes: poll tax (*haratsi*) for each monk, taxes on produce and animals, the share due to the *timariot* (that is, the *bostanci-basi*) and the shares payable for the upkeep of the Aga and his guard. And these were only the regular taxes: far more onerous were the extra taxes and fines (*tzeremedes*) imposed, often for the most trifling of reasons. The result was that the Holy Community as an entity, as well as the foundations individually, were more or less permanently indebted both to the Ottoman state and to the private money-lenders, who would ‘frequently descend like ravening wolves, seeking their money’ and, if not satisfied, ‘throw the monks into prison and beat them’, or seize precious vessels and vestments.

This permanent financial crisis, together with the fiscal reforms of 1568/69 and the establishment of a Turkish Aga in Karyes in 1575, had a serious impact on the administrative institutions of the community and on the internal organisation of the various foundations. For example, the position of the *Protos* was weakened, and his role assumed by the Holy Synaxis (or *Megali Mesi*), which however, in 1661, found itself so overwhelmed by the ‘tremendous burden of debt’ that it was obliged to sell its lands and thus in fact put an end to its own existence. The central authority was thereafter exercised by the Holy Community, that is, by a delegation representing the twenty independent monasteries, which elected a four-member executive committee, the *Epistasia*. The details of this administrative system, whose chief duties were to arbitrate disputes between monks and settle the community’s debts to the Ottoman State, were regulated by the *Typika* of 1744 and 1783.

Even more significant developments took place in the internal organisation of the individual monasteries. The reduction of the hegumen’s term of office to a single year (formerly hegumens had been elected for life) tended to weaken the traditional cenobite system. The idiorrhythmic system which had resurfaced early in the fifteenth century was by the beginning of the seventeenth century virtually universal. Monasteries were administered by a pair of trustees, usually elder monks, elected by the assembled brotherhood for a term of a single year. The idiorrhythmic system brought significant changes to the lives of the individual monks, as well, for they could now own personal property, organise their own meals, and receive remuneration for the work they performed for the monastery. This relaxation of the austerity of an earlier age was considered a degeneration of traditional monasticism. By the latter part of the sixteenth century Patriarch Jeremias II was trying to re-establish the cenobite system, but he achieved only fleeting success. It was to take another two centuries for the movement for the restoration of the cenobite system to take hold, but by 1813 seven monasteries had indeed re-adopted the traditional rule.

The centrifugence of Athōnite monasticism during the years of Ottoman occupation was reflected in the numerous variants of monastic organisation which appeared, such as *sketae*, *kellia*, *hesychasteria*, etc. However, all these secondary communities belonged, and continue to belong, to some mother foundation. The *skete* was composed of *kalyvae*, and had its own elected prior, known as the *dikaio*s. The oldest of these dependencies was that of St Anne,



which belonged to the Great Lavra. The Skete of Kausokalyvae, also belonging to the Great Lavra, came to prominence in the eighteenth century. The cells in the *kellia* (which usually included a small chapel and a little garden) were allotted for life, in return for a specified rent, to elderly monks and their *synodeia*, usually one or two novices. The severest form of monasticism was practised by the hermits, or anchorites, who lived in solitude in *hesychasteria*, generally on the almost inaccessible south-western slope of the Mountain.

According to Ottoman tax records and Athonite archives, the total population of Mount Athos was 1,442 in 1525/30, 2,966 (2,908 monks + 58 laymen) in 1764, and 2,705 (2,390 monks + 315 laymen) in 1808. With regard to the monks, however, the figures should be augmented by at least thirty per cent, for there is considerable evidence that approximately a third of their number would be away from the Mount at any given time, either for Alms-begging or serving on one of the monastic estates.

The ethnic composition of this monastic population had always been mixed, although in the early years the number of foreign monks was fairly limited. Their numbers began to grow and their presence to have a much greater impact during the period 1480-1530, for reasons that are not fully explained. By the end of the fifteenth century a number of the foundations were largely occupied by foreign monks: these included the Monasteries of Iviron (Georgians), St Panteleimon (Russians), Chelandari, Gregoriou, St Paul (Serbs), and Zographou, Philotheou and Simonopetra (Bulgars). But their numbers gradually began to wane, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the only Slav monasteries remaining were those of Chelandari, Zographou, St Paul and Xenophontos.

It should be noted that, despite the presence of so many monks from so many different nations, Mount Athos never gave the impression of a multi-national community, but rather remained part of the ecclesiastical, cultural and geographical territory of the 'Roman nation'. Foreigners were welcome, but were always considered as being 'from foreign parts', in the words of Patriarch Ioachim I (1501).

The general rise in the standard of living and level of education of the Greek people fostered increasing literacy on the Mountain as well, including an intellectual movement of sorts. It should be noted, however, that the comments frequently made in books written by, for the most part, foreign visitors to the peninsula and critical of the general ignorance of the Athonite monks are at least partially exaggerated and in many instances quite unfounded, for they take as their standard the truly impressive scholarship, in both letters and sciences, of the Western monastic orders. But while eastern monasticism held education to be a good thing in general terms, it was never considered indispensable: one could be a perfectly good monk without it. Further, such criticisms disregard the hundreds of regular monks and transient residents who loved books and who compiled codices.

Mount Athos also produced many creative and original writers. While necessarily limiting our review to some of the most important, we must certainly mention such names as the Cretan Agapios Landos (d. 1657), writer (or compiler) of a dozen books, edifying discourses and lives of saints, which went through numerous editions. The most popular of these was undoubtedly the *Salvation of the Wicked* (Venice 1641, 1st edition).

The Xeropotamite monk Kaisarios Dapontes (d. 1784) wrote verse with extraordinary facility and was also a talented writer of popular narrative. His works include *A Mirror of Womankind* (1766), *Garden of the Graces*, *Historical Catalogue*, and many more. His conventional Phanariote language and his easy rhymes are counter-balanced in his prose works by a bubbling humour and an awareness of secular life unexpected in a monk. Cyril the Lavriote (d. 1809), teacher, traveller and author of a *Book of Prayers* for the Great Lavra, a *Description of Russia*

and an *Ecclesiastical and Political History*, wrote in a similar vein, although without Dapontes' zest. He was also the first to catalogue the Great Lavra's archives and to put them in order.

A broad circle of Athonite monks and other scholars were implicated in what was known as the 'Quarrel of the Kolyvadhes', which developed into the most important spiritual movement in the Ottoman history of Mount Athos, not only for the intensity which it acquired but also for the extent of its repercussions. The ostensible cause of the dispute was dissension over the regularity of conducting requiem services on certain days – not only Saturdays, as the Kolyvadhes argued, but even on Sundays. The Patriarchate initially endeavoured to reconcile the opponents, but without success. In the end (1776) the Patriarch pronounced against the Kolyvadhes, and their leaders dispersed to the islands of the Aegean, where they continued to spread their ideas and their liturgical practices for, regardless of the original cause of the dispute, the most eminent exponents of the movement (Athanasios Parios, Makarios Notaras, Nikodemos the Hagiorite) gave it a more general religious dimension and endowed it with a special mysticism. The works they published, jointly, such as the *Philokalia* (1782), the *Euergetinos* (1783) and the *Collected Works of Symeon the New Theologian*, aligned the Kolyvadist movement with the Byzantine mystics and the Hesychasts of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, and paradoxically, Nicodemos the Hagiorite, on the recommendation of Makarios Notaras, supervised the Greek translations of books of Western mysticism, such as the *Spiritual Combat* by Lorenzo Scupoli (1796) and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola (1800).

Independently of the Kolyvadhes, the Russian monk Païsius Velitskovski (d. 1794), who spent much of his life on the Mountain, translated into Old Slavonic many literary works of the Byzantine ascetic tradition, which subsequently became the spiritual delight of the Slavophile Russians. The *Slavo-Bulgarian History* by the Bulgar monk Païsius the Chelendarite (1762) was similarly influential, and is considered the earliest philological document associated with Bulgarian nationalism.

At the time of the Kolyvadist dispute, the Monastery of Vatopedi was engaged in an entirely different sort of activity. On the initiative of its hegumen, Meletios, it decided to establish a School of Greek Studies, which was to become known as the Athonite School. With the moral and financial support of Patriarch Cyril V, the Vatopedian monks erected an imposing school building and appointed as the School's Director Neophytos the Kausokalyvitis. He was succeeded in 1753 by the 'illustrious' Eugenios Voulgaris, who in his five and a half years as Director taught 'modern' (i.e. ideologically oriented towards the Europe of the Enlightenment) subjects to a student body of nearly two hundred. Among the young men he taught were Iosepos Moisiodax, Athanasios Parios and Kosmas Aetolos. But a certain mistrust of Voulgaris, coupled with in-fighting and interference in his work, eventually obliged him to resign. Without him the school virtually collapsed, managing – despite the intrepid intervention of the Patriarch in the early years of the nineteenth century – to stagger on for only a few more decades.

But perhaps the most critical moment in the history of Mount Athos came with the 1821 Greek War of Independence. The initial enthusiasm aroused by the declaration of independence pronounced by Emmanuel Papas (the representative of the *Filiki Etairia*) in Karyes in May 1821 was soon succeeded by confusion and panic, when the impromptu revolutionaries, a band of monks and laymen, were routed by the Turks in Chalkidiki and had to flee for safety to Mount Athos, taking with them some 5,000 women and children from the surrounding villages. The Athonite superiors hastened to forestall the imminent invasion of the peninsula by going to the Pasha and denouncing the fomenters of the insurrection. They petitioned for amnesty, and agreed to pay double taxes and heavy fines. But the Pasha failed to keep his word. He seized dozens of hostages and sent sizable detachments to occupy the monasteries; these garrisons



were not lifted until 1830, by which time they had caused both massive expenditures of cash and irremediable damage to the buildings, art treasures and libraries. The terrified monks abandoned the monasteries in such numbers that in the five-year period between 1821 and 1826 their numbers dropped from 2,980 to a mere 590. Fortunately some of the fugitives had carried away with them as many of the treasures as they could save. Once things had calmed down somewhat, the Athonite monasteries began, with the support of Capodistrias, the first Governor of the new Greek State, to build themselves up again. They also managed to recover some of the estates that had hastily been sold in order to defray the expenses of the Turkish garrison.

A new blow fell upon the monastic community in 1863, when the newly established Kingdom of Romania expropriated all the monasterial estates in the Danubian principalities. The compensation offered was negligible, and the case was brought before the courts; but it was never settled. In similar fashion, the Russians seized the monasteries of the Caucasus and Bessarabia in 1873.

Relations between Mount Athos and the Patriarchate were frequently troubled during the course of the nineteenth century. The cause was the growing tendency of the Patriarch to interfere in Athonite affairs, and particularly to demand contributions to philanthropic causes that had nothing to do with the monastic community. During the primacy of Ioachim II (1860-78) the tension almost reached the point of causing relations to be broken off entirely, and normalcy was not restored until the final years of Patriarch Ioachim III (d. 1912).

The issue which brought Mount Athos to the forefront of the international stage, however, was the attempt by the Russians to use it as a launching-pad for the pursuit of their pan-Slavist aspirations. By the purchase of debt-ridden monasteries and *sketae*, by erecting splendid churches and magnificent buildings and filling them with thousands of Russian monks, they transformed Mount Athos into what was virtually a Russian colony. Their success received diplomatic ratification with the signature of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, which however, was radically modified (including this point) by the Congress of Berlin a few months later. The ethnic rivalries being played out in the Balkans were being repeated on a miniature scale on Mount Athos.

In the end, this and all other issues took a whole new turn on November 2, 1912, when troops from the Greek battleship 'Averoff' overthrew the Turkish authorities and liberated the Holy Mountain.

### The International Status and the Legal Framework of Mount Athos

The new reality that emerged from the Balkan Wars made it necessary to redraw the political map of Macedonia. The international position of Mount Athos, however, was seen as a problem *sui generis*, and the territory constituted an apple of discord, particularly between Greece and Russia – which, it must be remembered, had never abandoned its aspirations to the role of protector of the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans. During the negotiations preliminary to the signing of the Treaty of London in 1913, as well as at the Ambassadors' Conference held there that same year, Russia produced a whole string of alternate proposals for the future status of Mount Athos: internationalisation, neutrality, joint sovereignty or joint protectorate under Russia and the other Orthodox Balkan states. While the reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greek government, which needed Russian support in other areas, was half-hearted, the Athonite Community (with the exception of the Russians) declared by official resolution that it would employ every means to resist the adulteration of the traditional autonomy of the Holy Mountain and 'Greek sovereignty over it'. While the issue was left unresolved at that time, there was a tacit acceptance of the existing *de facto*

Greek sovereignty over the Athonite peninsula.

When the issue was raised again after the end of the First World War, conditions had become more favourable for the Greek side: on the one hand there were far fewer Russian monks on the Mountain, and on the other the new Bolshevik regime in Russia displayed little interest in the matter. With the Treaties of Neuilly (1919), Sevres (1920) and Lausanne (1923), Greek sovereignty over Mount Athos was officially recognised.

All that remained was to settle the legal dispositions of Greece's relations with the Holy Mountain and to draw up an internal rule for the governance of the monastic community. In 1924 a five-member committee of eminent Athonites prepared a 'Charter for the Holy Mountain of Athos', which codified regulations and administrative dispositions stemming not only from written sources (*Typika*, chrysobulls, *sigillia*, regulations, etc.) but also from tradition and customary usage. This Charter was approved that same year by the Athonite Assembly known as the 'double Synaxis'. On the basis of this official text the Greek state drafted a Legislative Decree, which the Greek Parliament passed into law in 1926. At the same time, the 1927 Greek Constitution contained special articles (included in each subsequent constitution) on the general principles governing the status of Mount Athos.

These were the official documents defining the Athonite Peninsula's relations with Greece and with the Church, as well as the competence of its administrative institutions, the Holy Synaxis and the Holy Epistasia. They also regulated relations between monks, between monk and monastery, between monastery and dependency, etc., in order to prevent friction and disputes.

The Greek State is represented by the Governor of Mount Athos, who answers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who, together with the deputy governor, resides in Karyes. He ensures that the Charter is respected, attends the sessions of the Holy Community in an advisory capacity, and presides over local public services (police, customs, etc.).

Finally, with regard to the administration of justice, it should be noted that disciplinary matters and minor disputes between monks or monasteries are adjudicated initially by the individual monastic authorities, in the second instance by the Holy Community and in the third by the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Misdemeanours and minor infractions are settled by the local police authorities, while criminal offences and land disputes between monasteries are in the jurisdiction of the competent courts in Thessaloniki.

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## ATHONITE MONASTICISM AT THE DAWN OF ITS SECOND MILLENNIUM

As it reached the end of its first millennium in 1963, the monastic republic of Mount Athos seemed to have completed its life cycle and to be breathing its last. It had been born, grown to maturity, produced a rich harvest of fruit, and grown old. Its strength was shockingly reduced. The numbers of the monks had fallen considerably and their average age was now over fifty-five. The elders were dying naturally, without seeing younger men come to take their place in the monasteries and hermitages. Huge monastic complexes that had once pulsated with life now stood derelict and deserted. Everything betokened decline and decay.

Certainly, this was not the first decline the monastic republic had experienced in its long history. Yet almost everyone believed it would be the last. Many of the monks, even, had come to believe that they would have no successors. And so, on the fringes of the millennial celebrations, it was being said that the festivities were in fact the 'funeral service' or even the 'requiem' for Athonite monasticism.

The first decade of the second millennium gave every indication of confirming the gloomy prognostications. The monks' numbers continued to dwindle, the signs of depopulation were unmistakable, and the future looked bleak indeed. What was more, the notion began to glimmer in the minds of some of those responsible, and of others less responsible, that efforts should be made to exploit the inestimable treasures of this thousand-year-old republic as tourist attractions. But the prospects in this direction were not promising. Special studies showed that the cost of bringing tourists to Mount Athos and possibly of replacing the monks with custodians to look after and protect the treasures would be considerably greater than the anticipated revenue.

While all this was going on, a curious change started to take place on Mount Athos, 'the Garden of the Virgin', as the monks like to call it. It was a change which not even the most sanguine objective view could have foreseen, a change which vindicated the naive and simple hopes of those Athonite monks who had always insisted that the Virgin would never allow her garden to be deserted.

A rough head count carried out at the end of that first decade after the 'funeral service' produced an important indication, which attracted our close attention. In recent decades, the statistics had shown that the number of monks on Mount Athos was steadily falling; but in 1972, for the first time, the data showed that the number had not fallen but had in fact risen over the previous year, by one. There had been 1,145 monks on Athos in 1971; in 1972 there were 1,146.

Apparently negligible then, but in fact highly significant, the increase has continued right up to the present day. The occasional down-turn in the generally upward trend has been due to the high mortality rate in the older monastic population. Thus, from 1972 to 1996, when the last census was taken, 1,036 new monks came to Mount Athos. More specifically, in the first five years (1972-6), 143 new monks arrived, averaging out at about 29 a year. Between 1977 and 1986, 284 new monks came, with the same average annual rate. And the decade 1987-96 saw the arrival of 609 new monks, an average of about 61 a year. So it is clear that the influx of new monks has not merely been sustained, it has in fact increased by more than 100% in the last ten years.

The increase in the number of monks was not evenly distributed among all the monasteries.

Until the mid-1970s, only eight of the twenty monasteries saw an increase in their population, while the numbers continued to fall in the other twelve. The eight were: Iviron, Chelandari, Karakalou, Philotheou, Simonopetra, St Paul's, Gregoriou, and Esphigmenou. Three of these (Philotheou, Simonopetra, and Gregoriou) showed a striking increase, which in the case of Simonopetra actually tripled the number of monks. This was because they did not arrive singly, but in groups known as *synodeiae*, chiefly made up of young men from monasteries outside Athos, who had been invited by the remaining incumbents, alarmed by the relentless depopulation of their monasteries. In most cases, it was necessary to by-pass a number of formalities for the newcomers to take up permanent residence. Thus, a monastery which, having consulted the Holy Community, invited a group of monks, was contravening article 112 of the Charter, with regard to the age of the group's spiritual father or the place where he had been tonsured, in permitting him to live on Athos and to become a hegumen.

In the initial period of the resurgence of monasticism on Mount Athos, there was a tendency for *synodeiae* to move *en bloc* from dependencies, which contained about three fifths of the Athonite population, to monasteries. However, owing to the ramshackle state of the monasteries, the lone individuals arriving to take up the monastic life did not stay in the monasteries, but preferred the *sketae* and hermitages, where they lived an ascetic life and exerted a considerable spiritual influence. It was in the 1950s that the *synodeia* of Father Ioseph Spelaiotis started to come together, followed in the 1960s by that of Father Paΐsios.

The growing membership of the new *synodeiae*, which brought with it an increased need for housing, made it difficult for them to continue in the dependencies. The need to seek more suitable accommodation became pressing; and this accommodation was now available in the monasteries, which were gradually falling empty and offered ample space to meet the growing needs of the *synodeiae*. So flourishing *synodeiae* were now invited to move into the depopulated monasteries. The new arrivals gradually took over the administration of the monasteries in which they settled, and made them suitable not only for their own occupation but also to receive new monks.

In the second stage, from the mid-1970s onwards, monks began to move, again in groups, from the more flourishing monasteries to the weaker ones. Again the new arrivals took over the administration and running of their new abode; and thus was avoided a disproportionate increase in the population of some monasteries and the total depopulation of others.

Early in the 1980s, there began a gradual movement from the monasteries back to the dependencies. Monks who had lived in the monasteries for some years and acquired the necessary monastic experience withdrew to dependencies, where there was more peace and quiet. And thus began the broader revival of the *hesychasteria*.

The number of monks on Mount Athos is rising in inverse proportion to their average age, because almost all the recent arrivals are young men. Already the vast majority of Athonite monks have arrived within the past twenty-five years. This has had a rejuvenating effect on Athonite monasticism and fully re-established the age pyramid, reducing the average age to about forty-eight. Most of the monks today are aged between thirty-one and forty, and there are more and younger monks in the monasteries than in the dependencies.

Furthermore, their level of education is appreciably higher than the average in the Greek population as a whole. Many of the novices have completed further or higher education and hold qualifications in a variety of disciplines. In the five-year period 1960-4, for instance, only three holders of university degrees took up residence on Mount Athos (2.8%), whereas today there are 343 monks (27%) with university degrees. Of these, 133 (10.5%) have degrees in Theology, and 210 (16.5%) degrees in other subjects. Only 1.7% of the monks today have not



completed primary education.

Regarding the organisation of monastic life on Mount Athos, there have been some rapid developments during this recent period. It is the coenobitic system, which rejects personal ownership of property, that is generally acknowledged as the truest form of collective monastic life. The idiorrhythmic system may be described as a development of the old lavran system: it has prevailed at various crucial turning-points in the history of monasticism, and permits personal ownership of property. All of the twenty sovereign monasteries on Athos today have passed through an idiorrhythmic stage at some point in their history. The Athonite Charter forbids a coenobitic house to become idiorrhythmic, though an idiorrhythmic house may become coenobitic (article 85). Twenty-five years ago, nine of the twenty monasteries were idiorrhythmic; today they are all coenobia. All the other monastic foundations on Mount Athos (*sketae*, *kellia*, *kalyvae*, *hesychasteria*, and *kathismata*) are under the jurisdiction of one or another of the twenty sovereign monasteries, as are the *metochia* (dependensies) outside Mount Athos, many of which are notable spiritual centres.

It is important to note that it is not only the traditionally Orthodox countries (Greece, Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Georgia) that are represented on Athos today: there are monks from many other parts of the world, including Britain, France, Germany, Canada, the Netherlands, Peru, Syria, and Africa. Athonite monasticism is thus truly ecumenical. It is vitally important that this ecumenical aspect be preserved and strengthened, for the sake not only of monasticism, but of the whole Church too.

The source of this resurgence of Athonite monasticism may be traced to a number of powerful charismatic figures who have exerted a strong spiritual and moral influence. Some of them are still alive, others have died within our own time, but they all created powerful currents that attracted many to the monastic life. Those who have passed away include Ioseph Spelaiotis (d. 1959), a hermit and elder who may be regarded as the spiritual father of six of the twenty sovereign monasteries; Father Païsios (d. 1994), who also played a part in the establishment or revival of some of the monasteries, and was a spiritual guide for many Athonite monks and countless other believers; and Father Sophronios (d. 1993), who, although he spent the last decades of his life at the Monastery of St John the Baptist in Essex, which he himself founded, lived on Mount Athos for more than twenty years (1925-47) and, through his book *St Silvan the Athonite*, brought many young men to the monastic life.

As far as the form of monastic life is concerned, one notable feature of this early second millennium has been a certain coming together of the coenobitic and the Hesychastic tradition. The Hesychastic tradition with its continuous, internalised Jesus Prayer, which was cultivated almost exclusively in the *hesychasteria*, has entered and spread through the coenobia, and is now a fundamental aspect of coenobitic life. By the same token, the regular church services of the coenobitic tradition, which were once unknown in the Hesychastic tradition, have entered and become an established part of it. Regular services now structure Hesychastic life in almost all the *hesychasteria* on Athos.

This interpenetration of the Hesychastic and coenobitic traditions has been accompanied by a certain broader re-approchement between monasticism and the secular world. It was always a feature of the Orthodox Church, but had flagged somewhat in modern times. The situation has now changed completely. Thousands of visitors flock to Mount Athos every year and experience for themselves the spirituality and the life of the monks. Similarly, through public talks, periodicals, and special publications, by taking a stand on serious ecclesiastical and social issues, and, even more, by offering individual spiritual guidance, the monks are strongly influencing the spiritual life of the Christian community and are making a substantial impact on the Church

and society. The re-animation of religious life and the great interest in Orthodox spiritual life now being manifested both in Greece and in the Orthodox Christian world as a whole are a direct result of this re-approchement between monasticism and society in the secular world.

The Centre for the Preservation of Athonite Heritage was founded in 1981. It involves representatives of the Holy Community of Mount Athos, the Greek government, and the Secretary General of the Ministry of Macedonia and Thrace, which is the civil body responsible for Mount Athos. Among other things, the Centre handles the moneys allocated for projects and works on Mount Athos.

Greece's accession to the EU naturally posed problems with regard to the very special way of life on the Holy Mountain. These were resolved when Greece and the other member-states signed a common declaration safeguarding the distinctive nature and the special legal status of Mount Athos.

One gratifying activity that is now taking place on Athos – though some people find it a matter of some concern – is feverish rebuilding. The ruined and dilapidated monastery buildings are rapidly being restored, which is proving to be a source of distraction and apprehension for the monks. Furthermore, the large numbers of pilgrims and visitors – who turn up almost all the year round –, machinery, and road vehicles, coupled with the present road-building activities, are taking a toll on the way and the pace of life on Mount Athos. But what tends to be forgotten is that no serious rebuilding has been done on the peninsula since the end of the nineteenth century. The natural wear and tear on the buildings requires major rectification. The growing number of pilgrims creates additional needs. And if one bears in mind that the rapid changes that have taken place in social life and technology in recent decades must inevitably affect the way and the pace of life on Mount Athos, all this may be regarded as part of the natural course of events.

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*Fresco: Hosios Peter the Athonite, detail, ca. 1290. Karyes, Protaton.*



## BYZANTINE ART ON MOUNT ATHOS

The monastic state of Mount Athos began to take shape on the Chalkidiki peninsula in the tenth century as a result of the pioneering work of St Athanasios the Athonite, a monk from Asia Minor who founded the first large monastery of the Great Lavra, thereby introducing this new, organised institution into what was then a world of hermits. Today there are twenty inhabited monasteries and many smaller monastic units – *metochia* (dependencies) and *sketae* – which together form a unique state which has been, and continues to be, home for thousands of monks, who are more truly citizens of heaven than of earth. This ‘sacred place’, Athos, has experienced a continuous course of development that has enabled strong traditions to form on many levels, both in the sphere of communal acts of worship and also in the lifestyle of the monks, who have expressed not only their faith in the doctrines of Orthodoxy but also their firmly-held conviction that the Mountain is a bastion against her enemies, be they from other races or of heretical persuasions.

These ideas are expressed in all the artistic manifestations of monastic life – architecture, sculpture, painting, frescoes, portable icons, illuminated ecclesiastical books, and even the sacred vessels and implements used in acts of worship or as church furnishings.

### a. Architecture

In the Byzantine era the founders of the oldest and largest monasteries were laymen and monks of high standing – members of the imperial court, if they were not the emperors themselves – and their foundations are built in the form of fortresses, which enclose and protect impressive churches of intricate design, large adjacent refectories and numerous chapels, together with the quarters of the hegumen, long multiple storeys of monks’ cells and other ancillary buildings. Down the centuries this ensemble changed character as each era replaced earlier buildings regarded as obsolete or added new ones. The result is that today each monastery constitutes a complex of buildings which is impressive in both size and morphological diversity, often consisting as it does of a large assemblage of buildings of different styles and periods, which together form an expression of a closed world, a fact which itself lends each of the monasteries a unique and inimitable character. Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that the Byzantine architecture on Athos displays any local peculiarities of technique. Even the so-called ‘Athonite type’ of church, the triconch, has ceased to be designated thus since it was proved that the Byzantine triconch churches on Athos had originally been built as regular cross-in-square churches to which the two lateral apses were added later, as examples in the ‘outside world’ prove. On another level, however, it is indeed a rare thing to find so many complexes of an ecclesiastical character gathered together within a particular area.

The important thing is that the founders belonged to the highest echelons of society – at the Great Lavra, for example, apart from the Emperors Nikephoros Phokas and John Tsimiskis, another great benefactor was the personal friend of Nikephoros and patron of Athanasios, the immensely wealthy Georgian dignitary (and later monk) Ioannis the Iberian, the ‘great Tornikios’, and his son Euthymios, who founded, amongst others, the great monastery of Iviron. The result was that in all of these large prototypes – the Great Lavra, Vatopedi and Iviron – all of which date from the tenth century, the churches bear all the characteristics of Constantinopolitan architecture.

The whole range of ecclesiastical buildings at each monastery is represented by a wide variety of architectural types. The numerous chapels are a typical case, each type possessing as it does



a distinct function, whether it forms part of the large central *katholikon*, where it is often dedicated to the veneration of a holy relic, or located in one of the four corners of each floor of the building housing the monks' cells (taking the form of a simple room), or situated within a tower, or set in a conspicuous position within a courtyard, or sited near the entrance gates (*portes*) and thus dedicated to the Virgin *Portaitissa*, or surmounted by a dome and situated in a *metochi*, *kathisma* or monastery harbour. Together they present a wide range of types from all historical periods, which employ the same means and techniques of construction and decoration as those used outside Athos – that is, in northern Greece – and display a parallel course of development to that of the architecture in this region as a whole.

During the post-Byzantine era many monasteries of considerable size and artistic wealth were built, perhaps the largest and most important of this period, since the donations received from benefactors – in particular the rulers of Wallachia, who sought to be recognized as heirs of the Byzantine emperors – were very generous. This phenomenon illustrates the irresistible hold that Mount Athos exerted on the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans. In no wise, however, did the benefactors influence the art or methods of the local craftsmen, who continued successfully to apply traditional Byzantine techniques up to the year 1900 (Monastery of Simonopetra, 1902).

Of quite a different character, however, was the strong, invasive presence of the Russian Church on Mount Athos in the nineteenth century, which introduced a massive, Russian scale to the monastic architecture, including the Russian type of church with large 'onion-shaped' domes, not only at the Russian Monastery of St Panteleimon but at a whole host of Russian *metochia* – usually built out of scale with their surroundings – which were scattered everywhere, thus altering the traditional form of the Athonite landscape.

Nevertheless, the numerous *katholika* built during the post-Byzantine era (at Stavronikita, Docheiariou, Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Philotheou etc.), following as they do older local models, continue the cross-in-square type of church with lateral apses and external bays, features which by now constituted a true characteristic of Athonite architecture. During this period, it should be noted, there are important differences in the lay-out of each complex, a feature which depends on the formation of the available land, which in many cases by this time is considerably limited. Owing to their prestigious origins, these features generally came to be included as essential components in the monastic architecture of the age, not only in Greece but throughout the Balkans.

It should be added that amongst the existing buildings in all of the monasteries there survive a considerable number of edifices of secular character dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, unique examples of northern Greek secular architecture which have not yet been studied.

#### b. Mosaics

There are few surviving examples of painting from the early centuries of organised monastic life on Mount Athos. There certainly used to be more, for it is not possible that the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra can have remained unadorned by wall paintings until what is probably the only attested instance of its decoration with frescoes in the late thirteenth century. These hypothetical original eleventh-century wall paintings must have been covered over by later layers, since the monastery enjoys a continuous history. The same may be assumed in the case of the Monastery of Iviron.

Certain mosaic representations executed in a luxurious style at the Monastery of Vatopedi appear fragmentary and isolated, and probably did not form part of an overall scheme of decoration. These representations are the mid-eleventh-century Annunciation to the Virgin, high up on the faces of the two sanctuary piers, and the large late eleventh-century Deesis above the entrance to the inner narthex. A second, fourteenth-century representation of the Annunciation survives on either side of the same entrance. It should be noted that the monastery is in fact

dedicated to the Annunciation to the Virgin. These works echo the appeal of the original patrons that their buildings should be endowed with a majesty befitting an emperor. In them, of course, may be discerned the characteristics of the art of the capital (e.g. Hosios Loukas and the Nea Moni on Chios). At the Monastery of Xenophontos survive two large mosaic icons from the eleventh to twelfth century depicting St George and St Demetrios standing, which, on account of their size, are unlikely to have formed part of the decoration of a wall.

### c. Frescoes

Few frescoes survive from the same early period, i.e. before the twelfth century. From the closing years of this century date a few fragments only of the mural decoration of the demolished refectory of Vatopedi Monastery (1199): two heads from the embracing figures of St Peter and St Paul, and the head of the Apostle Mark (?), works executed in one of the prevalent styles of the age, the most austere and expressive (Neredica). Fragments depicting the same apostles standing survive in the Kellion of Rabdouchou; they display a distinctive lighting technique, and may be dated to the early thirteenth century.

The art of fresco painting reached its peak on Athos in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, and it is no accident that this apogee coincides with the reign of Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282-1328), an emperor who adopted the opposite policy to his father, Michael VIII Palaeologos, who had earned a bad reputation in monastic circles. Andronikos was an ardent supporter of the monks in their opposition to the union of Orthodoxy with the Catholic West. During this period the frescoes on Athos are more extensive than those in other areas because they usually cover buildings of a greater age and size. The works of this period possess a markedly avant-garde character, with the so-called 'voluminous style' and the use of vivid realistic features in the rendering of the faces and the real-life elements of the compositions. They both continue and elevate the great tradition of the thirteenth century, as we know it chiefly from those monuments still surviving in the former domains of King Milutin – in which artists from Thessaloniki worked. In the theological subject-matter, too, there are quite a few innovations at this time.

Perhaps the oldest monument of fresco painting from this new flowering is the central church of Athos, that of the Protaton in the capital Karyes, which takes the form of a basilica, as was customary for metropolitan churches. On the large wall-surfaces, in two broad bands, are depicted a number of scenes from the Gospels and the Life of the Virgin, while in two long narrower zones there are full-length figures of Biblical patriarchs and prophets above, and warrior-saints below. In the spacious sanctuary there are principally representations of Athonite saints. In such an extensive mural decoration it is natural that there should be no absolute uniformity of technique; there is, however, a uniformity of style. Thus it is very likely that at least another two painters assisted the master craftsman, though in the same spirit – in the rendering of the bulky figures with their impressive gestures, and the particularly effective execution of the angry faces of the old men, and the frequently restless lean warrior-saints heavily clad in their splendid suits of armour. The skill at portraiture which is evident in these works – a skill which lends a certain distinctive, realistic ethos to the hundreds of figures portrayed – is of no ordinary kind. The scenes contain settings which were common in the Palaeologan era, with elaborate architecture and figures moving about in a crowded landscape. Finally, this whole impressive tableau of human figures – so striking for its size, vividness and abundance of forms, and its bright, glowing, phantasmagorical colours – conveys a feeling of serene grandeur, which, where necessary, does not lack a certain grace, a scent of Hellenistic art.

The name of the painter who created this work – Manuel Panselinos from Thessaloniki – had assumed a mythical status in the Athonite tradition. This is not without significance as an indication of the important role painting of high quality played in the Byzantine Orthodox



world, which regarded a consummate artist or painter as a great hero, surpassing even the great ascetics in fame. The correctness of the tradition regarding Panselinos' origins is confirmed by the fact that his art resembles other works of the period by other well-known painters from Thessaloniki, such as Eutychios and Michael, who painted the Peribleptos at Ochrid (1295) in a style closely akin to that of the Protaton. The Athonite frescoes, however, are generally superior in composition and in quality, so they are likely to be of earlier date (ca. 1290) and to have served as a model for the Ochrid frescoes.

It is very likely that Panselinos – or one of his colleagues – worked on the outer narthex of the Monastery of Vatopedi (1312). This other painter, however, who remains anonymous, took pleasure in employing elements of Panselinos' style (e.g. the portrait of St Neilos at Protaton) though with a tendency to excess, which is frequently so unnatural as to become mannered, though eminently expressive, with the result that the nobility evident in Panselinos' creations is lost, especially in the group portraits. The recently cleaned frescoes in the katholikon and narthex of Vatopedi Monastery have greatly enriched the repository of Palaeologan art on Athos. It is also likely that Panselinos spent some time at the Great Lavra, judging by the superb head of St Nicholas on a unique fragment of a fresco which has survived there.

At the Serbian Monastery of Chelandari worked another painter from Thessaloniki (see Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos) in about the year 1320. The second half of the fourteenth century saw a return to the style of Panselinos, as may be witnessed in the katholikon of the Monastery of Pantokrator. Amongst the few Byzantine frescoes which still survive (1370?) stands out that of the Deesis, with its three figures of colossal size (3 m), a representation which covers the whole of the west wall.

There are few frescoes on the Mountain of fifteenth-century date, as is to be expected, following the falls of Constantinople and Thessaloniki. Amongst the remains of original ensembles stand out those in the refectory of the Monastery of Xenophontos (1496), where the Byzantine tradition survives with considerable vigour, while in a structure of slightly later date (1526), the Chapel of St John the Prodrome at the Protaton, the tradition of the fifteenth century has been continued on a technical level but is devoid of inspiration.

#### Sixteenth - eighteenth century

The call to remedy this impoverished state of art in mainland Greece was answered by Cretan painters, who were well equipped for the task. On Venetian-occupied Crete, painters of not always local origin had cultivated the art of the portable icon to a high degree, creating an organised basis for its large-scale manufacture and systematic exportation which made Crete the most important artistic centre in the Orthodox world during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Cretan painters who went to Athos were ready to organise rich iconographic programmes for huge areas – on a scale, that is, which bore no relation to that of the churches on Crete, with whose mural decoration they had not been concerned.

One figure who stands out is the monk Theophanis Strelitzas or Bathas (d. 1559), together with his two sons, who were also painters. Theophanis came to the Great Lavra in 1535, after finishing a work at the Meteora (1527). At Lavra he adorned with superb frescoes the large katholikon, the large domeless refectory which had recently been restored after the earthquake in 1529, part of the *Docheion* (oil storeroom) and the kitchen, as well as the entire refectory facade. This Cretan painter, whose knowledge of grammar was somewhat wanting, shows marvellous skill in arranging and adapting his compositions to suit the available surfaces, and in harmonising the elegant, Hellenising figures and serene, balanced compositions he had inherited from fifteenth-century Cretan art – now of a monumental character – all in low relief against a black background with a ground-surface of green, in dominant earth colours and subtle

harmonies. He created ensembles of an impeccably Orthodox character, befitting the good taste of the monastic public he was catering for and fulfilling the expectations of his patrons, who included a Patriarch, an exiled Bishop of Veroia, an extremely wealthy Bishop of Serres, and other leading Orthodox clerics.

Endowed with these qualities – high art, a rich stock of iconographic material and, above all, representations of a doctrinally impeccable character – this Cretan emigrant painting radiated its influence beyond the bounds of Athos – becoming, it could be said, the official model art of the Church, whose fame endured until the late eighteenth century, when Theophanis was believed to have been a pupil of Panselinos. Theophanis and his sons also worked at the Monastery of Stavronikita (1546), on the katholikon and the refectory, and certainly also outside Athos, where he painted a large number of portable icons (see below). Apart from Theophanis and his family, another Cretan painter worked on Athos at this time – Zorzis, who painted the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou in 1547, in a style which was in all respects very similar to that of Theophanis. Perhaps he should be credited with the frescoes in the lofty church of Docheiariou Monastery, executed in 1568, since the rich iconographic repertory there combines elements from programmes employed in both the Stavronikita refectory and katholikon.

It was also in the sixteenth century that the frescoes in the katholikon of the Monastery of Xenophontos were executed – by two painters, one of whom remains anonymous. The other, whose name is known to us, is Antonios, who did not belong to the Cretan School either in respect of his style – judging by the overpainted frescoes – or his arrangement of the iconographic programme (1544). To him have also been ascribed the frescoes in the Chapel of St George at the Monastery of St Paul (1552), as well as those in the Kellion of Prokopios (1537). His art is rooted in local traditions, though it is influenced by the frescoes executed by his Cretan contemporaries in the large monasteries.

The Theban painter Frangos Katelanos appeared on the Holy Mountain for the first time in 1560, a year after the death of Theophanis. He painted the large Chapel of St Nicholas at the Great Lavra (1560), and this is the only known work bearing the painter's signature. His art, which is of a high quality, has a different style – less austere, with compositions that make freer use of movement and space than contemporary Cretan painting – although his technique is fairly similar. It is also possible that he worked in the katholikon of the Monastery of Iviron (the anonymous and undated frescoes).

The flowering of the sixteenth century, which was fostered in part by certain favourable measures of the Ottoman state, was succeeded by a period of stagnation and graceless repetitions in the seventeenth century, which was characterised by a curious tendency to break away from the influence of the Cretan models – a phenomenon not unrelated to the gradual arrival on Athos of painters from Western Greece, who brought with them various forms of local art of a different standard and probably rural provenance, and also the development of humble local workshops by monks.

In the eighteenth century painting on Athos acquired a distinctive character, for during this period a style was developed with particularly local characteristics. An example of this is the way in which the painter Dionysios from Fournas in the Agrapha (Eurytania), the author of the *Painter's Manual* (*Hermeneia*, ca. 1730) and painter of a chapel at Karyes (1711), taught himself the painter's art on Athos itself, and in his works the influence of the Protaton frescoes is clear. In his manual he shows himself to be a staunch supporter and pupil of Panselinos, exhorting his own pupils to model themselves on the latter's works.

This retrospective tendency appears to form part of a general trend on Athos to return to Palaeologan models – reflecting the rate of development of Byzantine painting, which advanced



by returning to earlier periods of artistic greatness, over the course of at least a thousand years. Dionysios is not the only one: other painters share the same tendency, such as David of Selenitsa, from Avlona in Albania. The latter decorated the large narthex of the Chapel of the Portaïtissa at the Great Lavra (1715), and also worked in Moschopolis and Kastoria. He is a more refined copyist and more creative in the production of non-traditional scenes, where a Western influence may be discerned. Another important contemporary painter of the same tendency is Kosmas of Lemnos – unknown elsewhere – who decorated the whole of the Chapel of St Demetrios at the Monastery of Vatopedi, an interesting work from a chromatic point of view. The painter of the outer narthex of the Monastery of Docheiariou remains anonymous, as does the one who decorated the narthex of Stavronikita. It has been observed that these frescoes from the first half of the eighteenth century influenced a series of painters – all from Western Greece – who worked on Athos in the second half of the century. At this time a more erudite form of painting developed on the Mountain (Monastery of Xeropotamou). This tendency also influenced many Balkan painters. At the same time, of course, the traditional style of painting of the seventeenth century continued to be practised.

Mural decoration, which is more strongly connected with worship on Athos than elsewhere, is a permanent object of concern for its monks, in terms of both its doctrinal Orthodoxy and artistic quality. This is why the best painters of the age have always been called in from the outside world. It was not easy for a local school to develop during the Byzantine era, when there were few new large or restored buildings. In post-Byzantine times, however, the number of new buildings of any size was much larger, which created suitable conditions for the formation of a local tradition through the works of crews who worked continuously on the peninsula.

#### d. Portable Icons

Although the number of portable icons to be found in the monasteries of Athos and their dependencies today is considerable, the number of surviving Byzantine icons – those dating from before the Fall of Constantinople – used to be considered quite limited. Research, however, together with the organised programme of restoration and conservation by the Archaeological Service, has brought to light a very large number of excellent icons, many of which still await full publication.

As a rule, the Athonite monks have considered icons to be the most sacred things in their possession. The foundation of many of the monasteries is associated with the discovery or presence of a miracle-working icon, and these relics inspire awe, accompanied as they are by wondrous stories of divine intervention in man's everyday affairs, of life and death, of the power to protect, punish or heal. Many are associated with imperial donations of early Byzantine times, which increases the historical prestige of the monastery concerned. These icons, which are often covered by a silver revetment, have been shown to date from different historical periods. The oldest known icon, dated to the end of the eleventh century, is that at the Great Lavra depicting the Five saints of Sebasteia, which it is certain adorned the chapel housing the 'relic' of St Eustratios that had been donated to the monastery by the Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII in 978. Its style resembles that of the miniature of Botaneiatris in the Coislin 79 manuscript in Paris (1078).

Certain icons, such as that of St Panteleimon at Lavra, belong to about the same period, while a large St Peter of monumental importance at the Protaton belongs to the twelfth century, judging by its close resemblance to the beautiful frescoes at Nerezi (1160). To the twelfth century must also belong the large mosaic icon of the Virgin at the Monastery of Chelandari. The number of icons on Athos which can be ascribed to the twelfth century is not very large, although this does not mean that they did not exist. Written evidence informs us that a small monastery like that of Xylourgou (1142) possessed at least 110 icons and it is certain that the imperial patrons

donated many and fine icons. The development at this time of the sanctuary screen (templon) into an iconostasis with a more or less fixed iconographic programme lent great impetus to the production of devotional icons, epistyle icons, icons of the Dodekaorton, and icons depicting the Great Deesis, with numerous apostolic figures surrounding the central *Trimorphon* (Christ, the Virgin and St John the Baptist), surmounted by a large cross together with the *Iypira*. The oldest icons in this series are to be found in the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, although, as we have noted, at the Monastery of Vatopedi there exists at least one large epistyle with icons from the early thirteenth century, in four continuous sections depicting fifteen feasts. There also exist icons from twelfth- and thirteenth-century epistyles at the Great Lavra, some of which have been removed and are now in Russia.

The largest number of icons found on Athos in recent decades belong to the Palaeologan era. Curiously, not many icons of the Dodekaorton were produced during this time, whereas the number of *Apostolika* produced – in the form of large, separate icons – was considerable. The icons of apostles at the Monastery of Chelandari, dating from the fourteenth century, are well known, as are those at Vatopedi, where some beautiful devotional icons also survive. Particularly worthy of note are the two beautiful large icons at Vatopedi of the Virgin and the Hospitality of Abraham, with their contemporary gilt revetments, and also the large Deposition from the Cross in the same monastery, where many other iconostasis icons from the same period exist. There are also double-sided icons, such as those of the Virgin and St Athanasios and the Virgin and St John the Baptist, both of which are in the Monastery of Pantokrator. Each monastery possesses numerous icons in addition to those on the iconostasis, which are intended to occupy a particular chapel or other location in the monastery or may be simply offerings from monks or emperors, such as the superb small mosaic icon of St John the Evangelist at Lavra, a late thirteenth-century work (by Panselinos?) with an enamelled mount, attributed to John Tsimiskis. Also worthy of mention is another notable painted icon at Lavra with the rare subject of the Three Discoveries of the Head of St John the Baptist, an outstanding fourteenth-century work of manifold importance.

All of these numerous, superb Palaeologan icons – many more await publication – are works of high quality, and can only be products of an important centre such as Constantinople or Thessaloniki. To the same era belongs another category of icons, the mosaic ones, most of which are preserved on Athos. They are small in size and magnificently crafted, with tiny tesserae and usually a gold background, and are all of pre-fifteenth-century date. Some have already been noted, although there are larger ones, such as that of St Nicholas at Stavronikita.

As was noted earlier, the sixteenth century saw the arrival on Athos of the Cretan painters, who had great experience of painting portable icons. It is clear that wherever they executed ensembles of frescoes they also provided icons for the new iconostases, which themselves were the work of Cretan wood-carvers. This is certainly true of the group of icons on the iconostasis – now out of use – for the katholikon of the Great Lavra, consisting of despotic icons, icons of the Dodekaorton, and the crucifix with the two *Iypira*, the work of Theophanis Strelitzas Bathas (1535), who also painted the same series together with the *Apostolika* at the Monastery of Stavronikita (1546). Icons by Theophanis are also to be found at the Monastery of Pantokrator, at Iviron (a beautiful series of the Dodekaorton in a side-chapel), and at the Protaton (seven *Apostolika*-icons of the Great Deesis, executed in 1542). At the Monastery of Dionysiou another important Cretan painter, the priest Euphrosynos, has left his signature on five *Apostolika* (1542). A large number of Cretan icons, including triptychs, adorn the churches of Athos, amongst which is a unique creation by Michael Damaskinos (Monastery of Stavronikita).

After the sixteenth century the presence of Cretan painters was rare. It was time for painters,



monks or otherwise, to appear from western Greece, Epirus and western Macedonia, together with the fresco-painters who introduced a new, more popular style of art (see the section above on frescoes). Local workshops may be traced in icons bearing the signatures of monks. The most widely known are a group from the late eighteenth century, the best-known of all being that of Makarios from Galatista in Chalkidiki. The number of icons from this period is certainly large and includes many that were donated to Athos by monks or other pilgrims. To this period also belong various celebrated icons, such as the *Axion estin*.

In this text we had the difficult task of providing a general outline of the main points in the development of the principal arts of this singular society of monks which is assembled on the long rugged peninsula that culminates in the impressive peak of Mount Athos itself. This society, however, has maintained indissoluble links with the 'world', which has offered and provided it not only with earthly goods but also spiritual riches. The works which embody this relationship – the phenomenon called the 'Treasures of Mount Athos' – have been kept for centuries in the fortress-like monasteries, essentially inaccessible to lay visitors from the outside world and totally inaccessible to half the population of the human race.

The organization of this magnificent exhibition in the great city of Thessaloniki constitutes a true break with this age-old tradition. Thessaloniki, which was essentially the cradle of this hallowed artistic activity, now bears witness to the diverse art forms and devotional practices of Athos, allowing visitors to the exhibition, in this, their first contact with the treasures, to appreciate each exhibit on the basis of their own knowledge of the subject.

The aim of this text, together with the other learned commentaries in the catalogue, is to enhance this knowledge, and this should not only be of great benefit to visitors but also assist in promoting a proper understanding between this heavenly state of Athos and the 'world'. I earnestly hope that we have achieved our aim.

*Manolis Chatzidakis*

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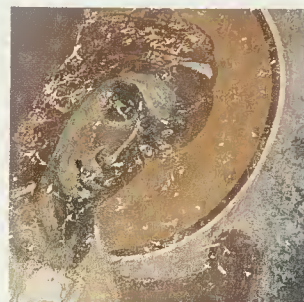


*Fresco: St Gregory Palamas, detail, 1371. Monastery of Vatopedi, Chapel of Hagioi Anargyroi.*



# PAINTING

# 1 MONUMENTAL PAINTING



# 2 PORTABLE ICONS



# 3 ANTHIVOLA



# 4 PAPER ICONS



# 5 ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS









# 1 MONUMENTAL PAINTING

## *Monumental Painting on Mount Athos, 11th-19th Century*

While the oldest churches on Mount Athos – the Protaton and the katholika of the Great Lavra and the Monasteries of Vatopedi, Iviron and Xenophontos – date from the tenth century, no mural decoration from that period remains. Indeed, the only extant examples from the eleventh century are two mosaics in the Monastery of Vatopedi: the Annunciation on the front of the pilasters separating the bema from the parabemata, which from its resemblance to the mosaics in the Nea Moni on the island of Chios can be dated to the middle of the eleventh century, and the *Trimorphon* (Christ, the Virgin, and St John the Baptist) on the lunette over the main door which, although executed towards the end of the eleventh century, belongs to the anti-classical movement of the middle Byzantine period, best represented by the mosaics in Hosios Loukas in Phocis. A portrait bust of St Nicholas above the gate of the chapel dedicated to him is also probably contemporary. I consider these to be isolated works, probably commemorative or votive images, rather than the beginning of a global decorative programme which, for reasons unknown, was twice interrupted in its early stages. The only other wall mosaic preserved on Mount Athos is an early fourteenth-century Annunciation in the outer narthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of Vatopedi.

It has been calculated that the frescoes decorating the churches and refectories in the monasteries on Mount Athos cover a total surface area of some one hundred thousand square metres. While most of this is post-Byzantine work, the frescoes pre-dating the Fall of Constantinople are not few in number, and include some of the finest masterpieces of Byzantine painting: the mural decoration of the Church of the Protaton is one such example.

The oldest wall paintings on Mount Athos are to be found in the Monastery of Vatopedi. Two detached fragments depicting – one – the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul and the other St Mark have recently been attributed to the 1170s (nos. 1.1, 1.2), while some figures of saints and prophets recently revealed in the katholikon probably date from the second half of the twelfth century. The foliate cross and the full-length figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul in the Kellion of Rabdouchou near Karyes date from around 1200. They are marked by a pronounced linear stylisation closely resembling the wall paintings in the hermitage of St Neophytos near Paphos on Cyprus, which date from 1196, and the late twelfth century work at Arkhazi and Nereditsa, in Russia.

The church in the Kellion of the Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) belonging to the Monastery of Chelandari was decorated in about 1260 by a most talented artist, who used rosy flesh tones and green shading to create extremely expressive faces; all that remains, however, is a fragment of the decoration of the apse (no. 1.3). In the conch we have the Virgin, flanked by two angels and holding Christ in a medallion, while the cylindrical section is occupied by frontal hierarchs. A chapel on the upper storey of the Tower of St George, inside the Monastery, is entirely covered with approximately contemporary frescoes; these are inferior in quality but extremely



interesting iconographically, for they narrate the life of St George and the Canon for the Dying. From the thirteenth century on Byzantine artists decorating churches, portable icons and manuscripts made more and more use of scenes taken from ecclesiastical hymns. Only three cycles depicting the Canon for the Dying are now extant, and even these are only fragmentary: one is a twelfth-century manuscript *Horologion* in the Monastery of Leimonos on the island of Lesbos, the second is this mid-thirteenth-century fresco in the Monastery of Chelandari, while the third, which dates from the second decade of the fourteenth century, decorates the outer narthex of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Ochrid.

The detached fresco fragment from the Monastery of Vatopedi, depicting the Archangels Gabriel and Michael on either side of the Virgin and Child, has been attributed to the second half of the thirteenth century.

During the reign of Andronikos II Palaeologos three of the most important churches on the Mount were decorated with magnificent frescoes, expressing different manifestations of the Palaeologan Renaissance in painting. The most significant ensemble of monumental painting on Mount Athos is found in the Protaton, the cathedral church as it were of the monastic state. Unlike the various remaining katholika, the Protaton is a basilica, and its mural decoration dates from the late thirteenth century. Later sources attribute it to the Thessalonikan painter Manuel Panselinos, of whom nothing other than his name is known. This attribution to a workshop in the Macedonian capital is confirmed by the close resemblance of the decoration in the Protaton to the wall paintings in the Chapel of St Euthymios in the basilica of St Demetrios, which are dated by inscription to the year 1303. Panselinos' wall decoration is arranged in four bands. Ranks of full-length saints occupy the top and bottom bands: the youthful martyrs and warrior saints, with their masculine beauty, wear an expression of tranquil serenity, while the faces of the prophets and the hermits, with their piercing and sometimes passionate gaze, betoken an intense spirituality. The middle bands contain scenes from the Gospels; these are not separate, but form continuous friezes permeated with epic inspiration. The four Evangelists, who in domed churches occupy the pendentives, are here placed among the scenes from the Gospels. It has been argued that this iconographic programme is a reflection of the views of the Hesychasts. With its monumental character, its plasticity of modelling, especially in the rendering of the human body, its ample draperies and its light colours, the mural decoration of the Protaton is one of the principal expressions of the cubic or 'voluminous' style characteristic of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

A fragment of a fresco from the Great Lavra, with the head of a white-bearded saint, possibly St Nicholas, which probably comes from the initial decoration of its katholikon, is certainly the product of the same workshop.

Two other extremely important ensembles of mural decoration from the same period are preserved in the katholika of the monasteries of Vatopedi and Chelandari. Those in the Vatopedi date from 1312, but in many places the original painting has been covered by more recent work, dating from the seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth century. The apse and the bema, for example, were redecorated in 1652, the dome and the pendentives in 1739 and the inner narthex in 1760; the nave of the church was partially redecorated in 1789, while in the outer narthex the original frescoes co-exist with scenes painted in 1819 by artists from Galatista.

One interesting feature is the portrayal in the cylindrical section of the prothesis of four archbishops of Thessaloniki: this may be taken as an indication of the origin of the artists. The nave is decorated with scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, as well as portraits of a number of saints, some as busts and some full-length. Dominating this area are the populous scenes of the Baptism and the Lamentation, which occupy the lateral half-domes. In many of

the figures the head is outlined in white, a detail which also occurs in the outer narthex. Some of the frescoes in the nave have a considerable affinity with the mural decoration of the Protaton, Žiča and the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren. Others are characterised by the distortion and the remarkable movement of the figures: this is particularly true of the scenes of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet. These two tendencies are also displayed in the outer narthex, whose mural decoration, depicting scenes from the Passion and the Anastasis plus a number of full- or half-figures of saints, is in excellent condition. The first painter preferred rhythmic, monumental compositions with serene and robust figures, reminiscent of those in the Protaton. The other painted tall, slender figures, with small heads, sturdy trunks and misshapen faces; characteristic of his work are the expressionistic distortion of the facial features and the non-organic bulk of the drapery.

The third great ensemble of mural decoration from the reign of Andronikos II Palaeologos is found in the katholikon of the Monastery of Chelandari. Its walls are covered with episodes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, prophetic visions, scenes from the lives of saints and a number of portraits of saints. As in the Vatopedi, the dominant scenes are the monumental compositions of the Baptism and the Lamentation occupying the lateral half-domes. These paintings date from around 1320, but unfortunately were over-painted in 1804. It is however possible to form an idea of their style from the few scenes that escaped the nineteenth century renovation and a number of others which were cleaned some twenty-five years ago. The faces are tranquil, the gestures measured and graceful, the modelling soft. The predominant colours are a bright red and a whole range of blues. This work has been variously attributed to Georgios Kalliergis, who in 1315 was working in the Church of Christ in Veroia, to the Thessalonikan painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, and to the workshop that was responsible for the decoration of the Church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki at about this time. Of the three, the last seems the most plausible. The remnants of the initial decoration of the refectory and the cemetery church in the same monastery date from approximately the same period, but are of inferior quality. The frescoes in the Chelandarian *metochi* of St Basil, which have been almost entirely painted over, probably date from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Of the frescoes from the second half of the fourteenth century still preserved on Mount Athos, the most important are those constituting the initial decoration (now largely painted over) of the katholikon of the Monastery of Pantokrator; this work dates from the founding of the monastery, shortly after 1360. This is a most imposing piece of work, both in the monumental size of the individual figures (some of which are 3.5 m tall) and in the extraordinary freedom of the modelling. The painted decoration of the Chapels of Hagioi Anargyroi (Sts Cosmas and Damian) in the Vatopedi and of the Archangels in the Chelandari, also dating from this period, have been largely over-painted. The former shares a number of common features with that in the Church of the Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki.

The katholika of three more monasteries were decorated during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when Macedonia had in its entirety fallen to the Ottoman conqueror: those of Konstamonitou (1433), St Paul (1447) and St Panteleimon, situated at an hour's distance from the present foundation (1451). Of these paintings there remains only a single fragment from the Monastery of St Paul (no. 1.4). This work, representing the head of a saint, most probably Athanasios the Athonite, is characterised by a pronounced linearity and stylisation. The murals on the facade of the Kellion of Prokopios, in the vicinity of the Monastery of Vatopedi, have also been attributed to the first half of the fifteenth century.

Only very few frescoes can be attributed to the second half of that century and the first quarter of the next. The recently cleaned frescoes in the refectory of the Monastery of Xenophontos



date from 1496/7. Here the figures are short and squat, entirely without elegance or spirituality. The Koimesis in the narthex of the Protaton dates from 1512, and the decoration of a chapel in the gallery above the narthex from 1526; these were both most likely the work of artists from Northern Greece.

Suddenly, starting in 1535 and lasting for the next thirty or so years, there was a veritable frenzy of activity, resulting in the mural decoration of numerous Athonite churches and refectories. The katholikon of the Great Lavra was decorated in 1535, the Kellion of Molyvokklesia (near Karyes) the following year, the Kellion of Prokopios (near Vatopedi) in 1537, the Chapel of the Koimesis in the Monastery of Pantokrator in 1538, the katholikon of the Monastery of Koutloumousiou and the refectory of the Monastery of Philotheou in 1540, the old katholikon of the Monastery of Xenophontos in 1544, the katholikon and the refectory of the Monastery of Stavronikita in 1546, the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou in 1547, the Chapel of St George in the Monastery of St Paul in 1552, the cross-in-square church of St Nicholas, attached to the katholikon of the Great Lavra, in 1560, the narthex of the Xenophontos in 1563, and the katholikon of the Monastery of Docheiariou in 1568. The decoration of the refectory of the Great Lavra, which is approximately contemporary to that in the katholikon, and of the katholikon of the Monastery of Iviron, are not exactly dated.

Most of this body of work belongs to the Cretan School, which flourished from the fifteenth century until the fall of Crete in 1669; and the most important of it all is the 1535 decoration of the katholikon of the Great Lavra, the work of Theophanis Strelitzas or Bathas, a monk of that foundation who eight years earlier had worked in Meteora. His work is typically firmly drawn, with sharply-defined 'Coptic' drapery and figures remarkable for the serenity of their expression and the restraint of their gestures and attitudes; the composition is always harmonious, and the background generally black. It is based on fifteenth century Cretan prototypes, which harked back to compositions from the late Palaeologan period, and is enriched with discreet borrowings from Italian art. Theophanis is extremely successful in adapting his compositions to the vast surfaces of the Athonite type of katholikon, as well as of the refectory of the Great Lavra, which he also decorated at about this time. A few years later, in 1545-6, he and his son Symeon decorated the much smaller katholikon and refectory of the Monastery of Stavronikita. The majesty and the beauty of Theophanis' work inspired many other artists, including those who decorated the Molyvokklesia and the Koutloumousiou, and the painter called Zorzis who in 1547 decorated the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou. The frescoes of the large katholikon in the Docheiariou are more calligraphic and stylised.

Only one ensemble of decoration on Mount Athos is attributable to the extremely important workshop known indifferently as the Theban, from the origin of its principal exponents, or of the Northwestern Greece, from the area where most of its extant work may be found. This is the mural decoration of the spacious Chapel of St Nicholas in the Great Lavra (1560), the only signed work by the most important of that group, the Theban Frangos Katelanos. The chief points of difference with the Cretan School are the livelier movement, the intensity of expression in the faces, the brighter colours, the use of relief in the haloes and parts of the dress, and the marked western influence.

An anti-classical trend, lacking the nobility of feature and the eurythmy of composition typical of Theophanis and the other Cretans, is represented by the work of a painter known only as Antonios, who in 1544 signed part of the mural decoration of the older katholikon of the Monastery of Xenophontos. According to Manolis Chatzidakis, it was Antonios who decorated the Kellion of Prokopios in 1537 and in 1552 the Chapel of St George in the Monastery of St Paul (he rejects the earlier dating of 1423).

The first decades of the seventeenth century saw the Cretan painter Merkourios working on the Holy Mount; Chatzidakis describes him as displaying great technical skill but revealing little artistic personality. In 1622 Georgios Mitrophanović, the most important Serbian painter of the seventeenth century and a monk in the Chelandari, decorated the refectory of the monastery. It was also during this period that extensive narrative cycles of the Apocalypse began to appear on Mount Athos, heavily influenced by German engravings of the Renaissance. During the second half of the century no major work was done; the only mural decoration was of a host of small chapels, and was no more than mediocre, a far cry from the excellence of the Cretan School.

During the first forty years of the next century Mount Athos was the centre of a movement which sought to return to the Palaeologan prototypes of four hundred years earlier and which stressed imitation of the work of Panselinos. The theoretical exponent of this trend was the painter and monk Dionysios, from Fournas in the district of Eurytania who, between 1728 and 1733, wrote the *Painter's Manual*, which advised hagiographers to apply themselves to their work from their childhood and to imitate 'as far as possible that splendid luminary from Thessaloniki, Master Manuel Panselinos'. He himself decorated the walls of the church of the *kellion* in Karyes to which he retired (1711). To this movement, of which the principal characteristics are the broadness of modelling, luminous colours and the suggestion of body volume, belong the decoration of the narthex of the Chapel of the Virgin Koukouzelissa in the Great Lavra (1715), which has been attributed to David of Selenitza, the Chapel of St Demetrios attached to the katholikon of the Monastery of Vatopedi, which is the work of Kosmas of Lemnos (1721), and the outer narthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of Docheiariou. This same period also saw the revival of a conservative movement characterised by flat figures and pronounced linearity of design: the principal exponent of this school was Damaskinos of Ioannina, who decorated the katholikon of the Monastery of Karakalou (1716) and the nave of the Chapel of the Virgin Koukouzelissa in the Great Lavra (1719).

During the second half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, the artists commissioned to decorate Athonite churches and refectories were mainly from the central Balkans. Thus it was that the middle of the eighteenth century saw a band of monk-painters from Ioannina working in the Monasteries of Pantokrator and Karakalou, while the brothers Constantine and Athanasios from Korytsa painted the katholika of the Monasteries of Philotheou (1752 and 1765) and Xeropotamou (1783) and the *kyriakon* of the Skete of Xenophontos (1766). In the first two decades of the nineteenth century artists from Galatista decorated at least eight chapels and narthexes of katholika; in 1852 the outer narthex of the katholikon of the Great Lavra was decorated by Zacharias Christou Zographos, the most important representative of the Samokov workshop near Sofia, and two years later the Chapel of the Hagioi Saranta (the Forty Martyrs) by Manuel Georgiou of Selitza, near Siatista. The work of these painters is remarkable for its luminous colouring, the sweetness of the faces, and the enrichment of the iconography with edifying scenes and episodes from the Old Testament and the Apocalypse.

To sum up, then, the following conclusions may be drawn from this brief survey of nine centuries of monumental painting on Mount Athos:

1. Very few wall mosaics have been preserved, and those only isolated examples, while a number of other monasteries remote from major urban centres, such as Hosios Loukas in Phocis and the Nea Moni on the island of Chios, were decorated with impressive mosaic ensembles.

2. The chronological distribution of the decoration of the Athonite monasteries is unequal. Certain periods, such as the Macedonian and the Comnenian, are hardly represented, and there is very little from the period of the Angeloi, the thirteenth century or the early Ottoman era. Similarly unequal is the representation of the various schools and workshops: the Kastoria



workshop, for example, which was extremely active in western Macedonia and the Northern Balkans in the late fifteenth century, is entirely absent, as are the painters of Linotopi, whose activity extended from Aetolia to northern Macedonia from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Wall painting on Mount Athos enjoyed two periods of superb achievement: these were indisputably the first quarter of the fourteenth century, when artists from Thessaloniki created the astounding corpus of work in the Protaton, the Vatopedi, the Chelandari and, apparently, a number of others, although these works have been lost, and the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century, when the Athonite authorities commissioned work to the best artists of the Cretan School and the Theban workshop.

3. Mount Athos was not an autonomous art centre, but an importer of painters and artistic movements. The sole exception was the reversion to Palaeologan tradition in the first half of the eighteenth century, a movement that developed on Mount Athos and was expounded by an Athonite monk (Dionysios of Fourni), but did not influence monumental painting in other places.

4. Few of the painters of the Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Ottoman occupation of whom anything is known were monks; the exceptions, however, included such outstanding figures as Theophanis the Cretan and Georgios Mitrophanović. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by contrast, most of the decorating was done by monk-painters.

5. Artistic creation was of course affected by the political and economic situation. It is not fortuitous that the most important works date from the reign of Andronicos II, who was favourably disposed towards the monks, nor that the intense activity of the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century ceased abruptly with the confiscation of ecclesiastical property by Selim II in 1568 and the economic crisis which followed the devaluation of the Ottoman currency in 1586.

6. Little is known of the patrons who made this work possible, at least during the Byzantine period. The decoration of the katholikon of the Monastery of Chelandari was paid for by King Milutin of Serbia, and that of the Monastery of Pantokrator by its founders, who were members of the Byzantine aristocracy; while the decoration of the Chapel of Hagioi Anargyroi in the Vatopedi and of the katholikon of the Monastery of St Paul was paid for by Serbian rulers. More is known about the mural decoration executed during the period of the Ottoman occupation: of the important sixteenth-century works some were the gift of Moldo-Wallachian or Georgian rulers (the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou and the refectory of Philotheou, respectively), while others, such as the katholika and the refectories of the Great Lavra and the Monastery of Stavronikita were the gift of high-ranking prelates. The frescoes in the katholikon of the Monastery of Koutloumousiou and in the chapel decorated by Frangos Katelanos in the Great Lavra were paid for by Athonite monks. Most of the decoration effected in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century was paid for by the monks themselves, some by lay patrons and in a very few instances by rulers of the Danubian principalities or by bishops.

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**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904. Millet 1927. Djurić 1964, pp. 59-98. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 309-52. Chatzidakis 1975 (1), pp. 83-93. Djurić 1978, pp. 31-61. Chatzidakis 1982 (2), pp. 296-305, 340-51, 414-25. Chatzidakis 1986 (1). Chatzidakis 1987. Kalomoirakis 1989-90, pp. 197-218. Kalomoirakis 1990, pp. 73-100. Djurić 1991, pp. 37-81. Stepan 1994, pp. 87-122. Tsigaridas 1994 (1), pp. 315-68. Tsigaridas 1994 (2), pp. 317-24. Tsigaridas 1996 (3), pp. 219-84. Tsigaridas 1996 (4), pp. 147-60. Tsigaridas 1996 (5), pp. 401-25.





1.5 The Prophet Ezekiel, detail.





### 1.1 The Embrace of Peter and Paul

### 1.2 The Apostle Mark

ca. 1170-80

Vatopedi Monastery

Fresco, 50 x 65 cm and 65 x 65 cm

These two fragments of frescoes probably belong to a layer of decoration dating from the late Comnenian period, part of which was discovered preserved in the katholikon in the Monastery of Vatopedi (Tsigaridas 1996 (3), p. 237, figs. 195-6).

One of these two fragments depicts the Apostles Peter and Paul embracing, and the other the Apostle Mark. The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul as an independent theme expressing ecumenical peace and the unity of the Churches was adopted at an early stage in Byzantine art, following iconistic prototypes known in early Christian art.

From the artistic point of view, the

fragmentation of the facial volume into separate sculptural units differentiates these frescoes from the painterly character of the wall paintings of Saint George in Djurdjevi Stupovi (ca. 1175) in the mediaeval Serbia, to which Radojčić likens them (Radojčić 1955 (2), p. 434, pl. 102.2). This sculptural effect, which is particularly marked in the Vatopedi frescoes, thus dissociates them artistically from the Serbian frescoes and associates them rather with those in the katholikon of the historic Monastery of Christ the Saviour Latomou (Hosios David) in Thessaloniki (1160-70) and those in the Chapel of the Virgin and in the refectory (the initial phase of decoration) of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (1176-80; Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pls. 16-7. Kollias 1986, figs. 20, 37). In our opinion, therefore, and on the basis of artistic criteria, the attribution of the fresco depicting the Embrace of Peter and Paul to the same Greek workshop commissioned by St Sabbas and the kral of Serbia Stefan Nemanja to decorate the Church of St George in Djurdjevi



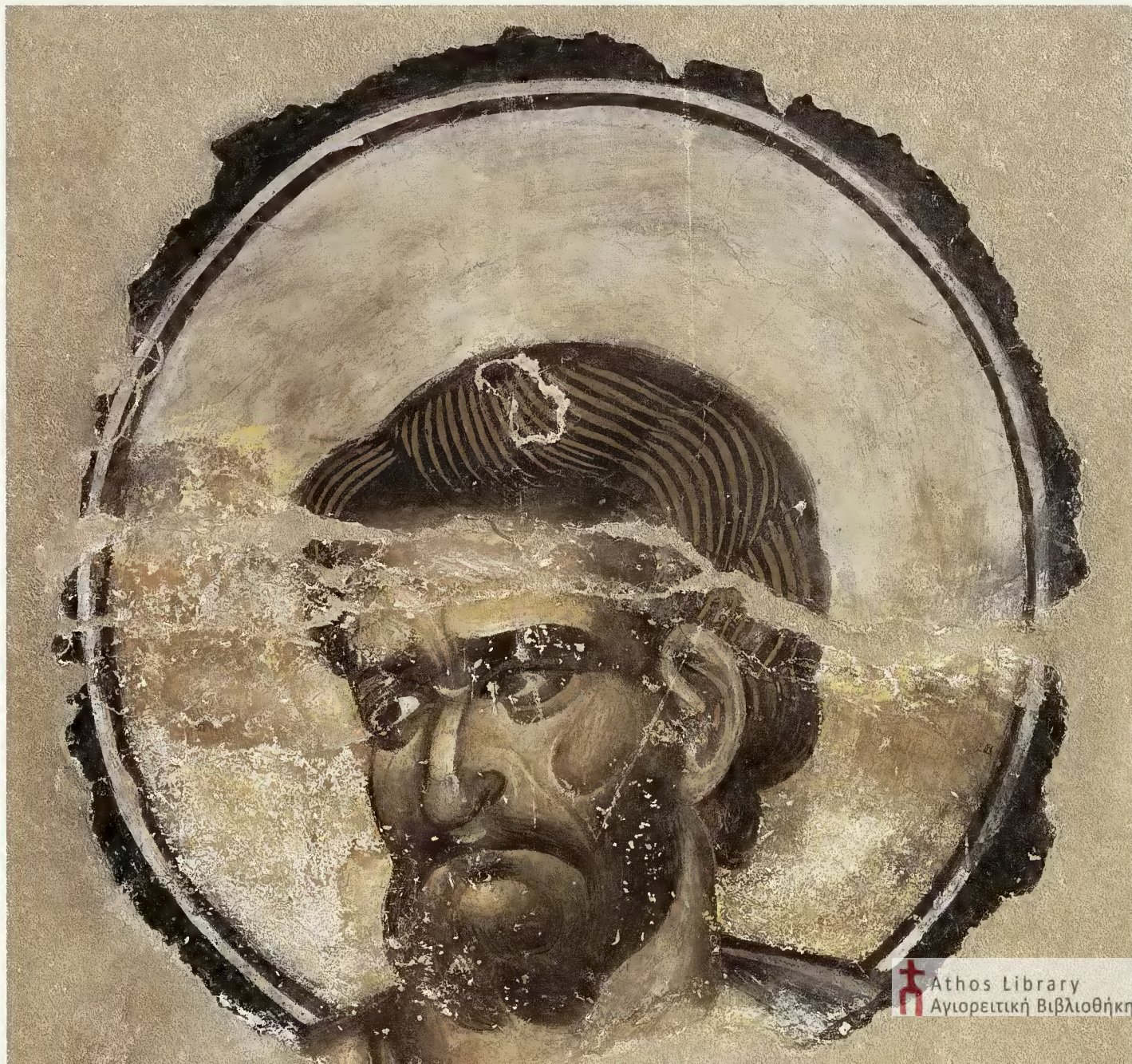
Stupovi (Radojčić 1955 (2), p. 434) is incorrect.

The dissociation of the Vatopedi frescoes from the work of the artist who decorated Djurdjevi Stupovi means that they cannot be ascribed to the patronage of St Sabbas and Stefan Nemanja. Thus the attribution of the provenance of these frescoes from the refectory of the Monastery of Vatopedi, which according to Serbian sources was commissioned by St Sabbas and Stefan Nemanja (Radojčić 1955 (2), p. 434), and their consequent dating at 1197-98, cannot be accurate. Indeed, the obvious artistic connexion between the Vatopedi frescoes and those from the katholikon in the historical Monastery of Latomou (Hosios David) in Thessaloniki and

the Monastery on Patmos leads us to date them at about 1170-80.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1927, pl. 98.1 Radojčić 1955 (2), p. 434, pl. 102.2. Xyngopoulos 1955, p. 21. Xyngopoulos 1964 (1), p. 251. Djurić 1964, p. 60. Lazarev 1967, p. 212. Orlandos 1970, p. 266. Velmans 1977, p. 118. Mendieta 1977, p. 214. Chatzidakis 1979 (3), pp. 408-9. Hadermann-Misguich 1979, p. 264. Mouriki 1980-1, p. 110. Xyngopoulos 1981, p. 93. Chatzidakis 1982, pp. 304-5. Skawran 1982, p. 179. Demus 1984, p. 184. Tsigaridas 1986 (1), p. 161 and particularly Tsigaridas 1996 (3), p. 233, fig. 191-2. The second fresco fragment is simply mentioned by Xyngopoulos 1955, p. 21 n. 1. Xyngopoulos 1964 (1), p. 251. Lazarev 1967, p. 212. Mendieta 1977, p. 214. Xyngopoulos 1981. See particularly Tsigaridas 1996 (3), p. 233, fig. 192.

E.N.T.







**1.3 Fresco from the Chapel  
of the Skete of Hagia Triada**  
ca. 1260-70  
Chelandari Monastery  
Fresco, 146 x 88 cm

These fresco fragments have been detached from the walls of the ruined Chapel of the Metamorphosis of the Skete of Hagia Triada, a small church near the Monastery of Chelandari. Of its original decoration, dating from about 1260-70, there remains only a section of the decoration of the apse of the sanctuary, and a few fragments of frescoes, which are preserved in the monastery.

About half the representation of the Virgin decorating the small, hemispherical conch is still extant: she is depicted in the type of Nikopoios (Bringer of victory), holding between her two hands a medallion with a bust of Christ. The Virgin is flanked by the busts of two angels, in adoration, of which that on the left, turned three quarters towards the Theotokos, is still extant. Also extant, on the lower decorative band, are



two full-length, frontal hierarchs: St John Chrysostom, in a poor state of preservation, and St Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome.

The principal artistic characteristics of these frescoes are the bold, painterly modelling of the faces, giving a sense of volume to the broad surfaces, the bright, vibrant colours, with the shades of green in vivid contrast to the rosy flesh tones with their warmer red highlights, and the expressive intensity of the faces. The sculptural effect of these frescoes links them with the paintings in the Church of the Apostles in Peć (ca. 1260) and especially with the frescoes at Sopócani (ca. 1265), masterworks of the painting of this era (Djurić - Žirković - Korać 1990, figs. 16, 23, 24. Djurić 1963, pls. XXXII, XXXV).

The fine quality of the painting in this chapel places these frescoes, in spite of their small size, among the masterpieces of monumental painting of the third quarter of the thirteenth century (1260-70). It is in fact extremely probable that the unknown artist commissioned to paint these frescoes was brought from Thessaloniki, one of the major art centres of the Byzantine Empire, to decorate this chapel (Djurić 1964, p. 63. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 60).

**Bibliography:** Djurić 1964, pp. 61-5, figs. 2-5; Djurić 1976, pp. 53-4, fig. 32; Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 60, fig. 38.

E.N.T.

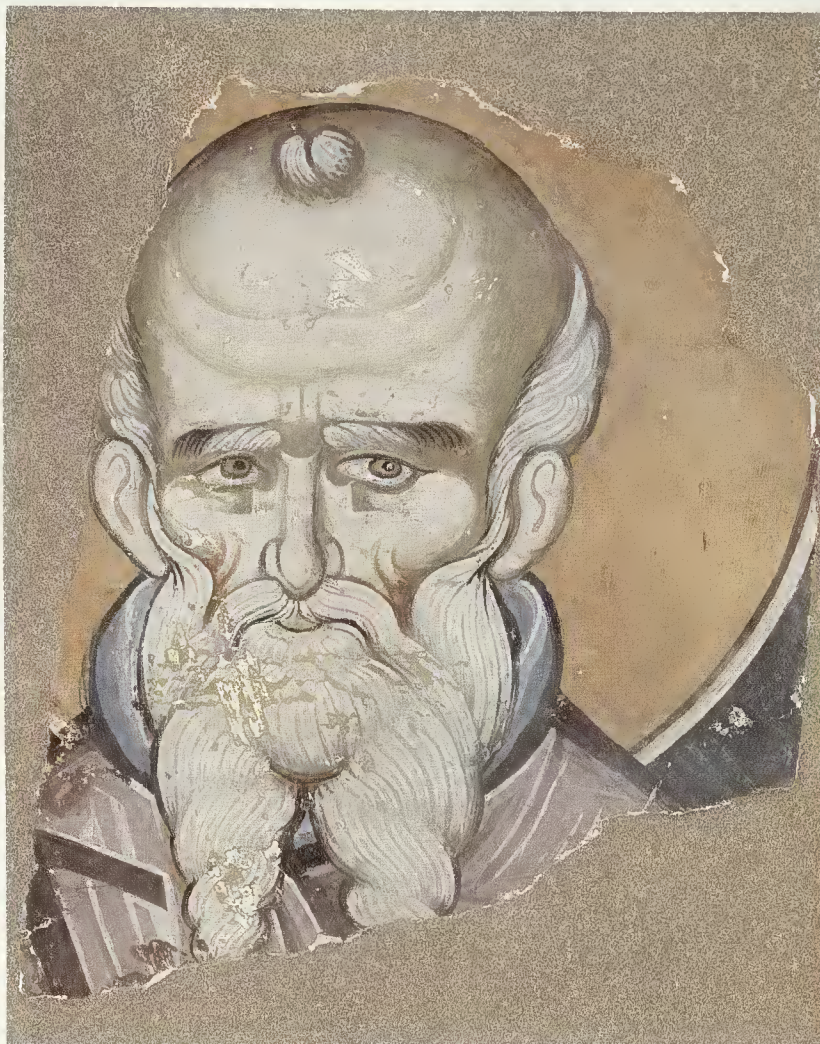
#### 1.4 St Athanasios

1447

St Paul's Monastery

Fresco, 54 x 45 cm

This fresco fragment depicting St Athanasios the Athonite probably comes from the decoration of the old katholikon in the Monastery of St Paul, built in 1447 by the Serbian ruler G. Brancović (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 426, p. 143) and demolished in 1839. The head of this saint, although painted in the fifteenth century, adheres faithfully to the iconographical type of St Athanasios the Athonite preserved in works of the so-called Macedonian School, such as the frescoes in the church of the Protaton on Mount Athos (Millet



1927, pl. 54.3). In the St Paul's fresco, however, the stylisation of volumes, the rigidity of line and the dryness of painting are quite evident. Despite the inferiority of this painting to its models, the head of St Athanasios in the Monastery of St Paul has its own significance, given that – belonging as it does to a precisely dated monument – it reflects the artistic trends current in the second quarter of the fifteenth century on Mount Athos and in Macedonia, which are characterised by the return to prototypes of the so-called Macedonian School.

**Bibliography:** Sophronios 1959, pl. 88. Xyngopoulos 1959, pp. 61-7, pl. XI.1. Xyngopoulos 1964 (1), pp. 255-6. Lazarev 1967, p. 385 n. 136. Djurić 1968, pl. XXVII. Djurić 1976, pp. 158-9. Tsigaridas 1993, p. 341, fig. 54.

E.N.T.





### 1.5 Prophet Ezekiel Pantokrator Monastery

ca. 1535-46

Fresco, 114 x 51 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The prophet is painted on a concave surface, apparently from the ridged dome of one of the monastery's chapels, a position customarily decorated with figures of prophets.

In this fresco the figure of Ezekiel, which is almost extant, is portrayed standing, head and body turned slightly towards the left; an open scroll, most of which is missing, is held in his left hand, and his right hand is visible through his garment. This figure, with its rhythmic motion, fullness of the body volume, fleshiness of the rough-hewn face, and the head supported firmly on a short, sturdy neck, has parallels in paintings of the Cretan School, and especially in the work of Theophanis. From the point of view of facial type and technique in particular, the same face can be seen in the frescoes in the katholikon of the Monastery of Anapafsas, in the katholikon of the Great Lavra, and in the katholikon of the Stavronikita Monastery (Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 6-7, 52, 56. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), figs. 28-9), all of which were painted by Theophanis and date from 1527, 1535 and 1545/6, respectively.

From the stylistic aspect, the figure of Ezekiel is notable for the taut modelling of the face, the clean, graceful line of the beard, the profundity of the gaze and the mature ethos, all characteristics typical of the work of Theophanis. From this point of view, and in the absence of published comparable material from the katholikon of the Anapafsas and the Great Lavra, it is instructive to compare Ezekiel with the fresco of Jeremiah in the katholikon of the Stavronikita Monastery (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), figs. 28-9). On the basis of the above, we feel that the fresco of Ezekiel can be ascribed to the artistic activity of Theophanis on Mount Athos during the period 1535-46; no more precise dating is at present possible, given that the frescoes of the katholika of the Anapafsas and the Great Lavra are still unpublished.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1978, pp. 191-2, pls. 11α-β. Tsigaridas 1997 (3) (forthcoming).

E.N.T.



### 1.6 A martyr Dionysiou Monastery

1547

Fresco, 33 x 28 cm

This fresco fragment comes from the outer narthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou (1547). The rest of the body of the saint whose bust is portrayed here is still *in situ*, in a group of other martyrs. The artist who overpainted the fresco in the nineteenth century restored the missing parts of the figure and named it St Antypas, although there is nothing in what is legible of the inscription (ΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ Ο...) to justify this identification. The stylistic features of this fresco are consistent with the rest of the painted decoration in the katholikon, which has been attributed to Zorzis (Gabriel D. 1959, p. 14). The volumes are rendered with plasticity, the expression is austere and the palette is confined to shades of brown, except for the the bare flesh and the edges of the drapery.



Bibliography: Unpublished.

I.T.

### 1.7 Virgin and Child Dionysiou Monastery

16th c.

Fresco, 46 x 32 cm

This rare example of a fresco preserved in the shrine in a monk's cell in the south-eastern corner of the Monastery of Dionysiou was only recently detached from the wall. The Virgin is represented in full-length, seated on a high-backed throne, her left hand resting on the Christ Child's shoulder.

The iconographic type of the enthroned Virgin and Child, already known from the early Christian art (Soteriou 1956, no. 4), continued to be used throughout the sixteenth century, and occurs in the frescoes of Athonite monasteries, decorating the apses of the katholika of the Monasteries of Xenophontos (1544), Dionysiou (1547) and Docheiariou (1568) (Millet 1927, pls. 169.2, 136.1, 218.1).



Bibliography: Unpublished.

I.T.





### 1.8 The Holy Mandelion Dionysiou Monastery

Fresco, 75 x 40 cm

Depicted in this fresco is the haloed head of Christ, painted on a veil suspended from rings set at regular intervals; apart from Christ's head the veil displays scattered ornaments and the inscription: 'Jesus Christ The Holy Mandelion'. In painting the face of Christ the artist has followed the type of the archetype holy icon from Edessa, Mesopotamia, (Weitzmann 1971 (1960), p. 228), with its serenity of expression, slanting gaze, short bifurcated beard and long hair framing the face. The cruciate halo is inscribed with the words: 'I am the Being'.

The representation of the Holy Mandelion is an integral part of the iconographic programme of many Athonite churches. This particular fresco most probably comes from the ruined Chapel of Hagioi Pantes in the Monastery of Dionysiou (Tavlaakis 1981, p. 260). It dates from the sixteenth to seventeenth century, and was in all likelihood the work of the group of artists who were decorating the monastery during that period (see no. 3.4).

**Bibliography:** Tavlaakis 1981.

17th c.

I.T.

### 1.9 St Gregory the Theologian 18th c., 2nd quarter Simonopetra Monastery

Fresco, 44.5 x 33 cm

St Gregory the Theologian is depicted in three quarter view, turned towards the left. He is wearing a polystavriion phelonion and an omophorion set with crosses, and is holding up between his hands an open scroll inscribed with the text 'God reposing among the Saints'. Set on either side of his halo is the inscription 'St Gregory the Theologian'. The face of the saint, with its broad brow, rough-hewn fleshy features and flat beard belongs to a type found in works of the first half of the eighteenth century, such as the frescoes in the Church of St Nicholas (1727) in Moschopolis, Albania (Chatzidakis 1987, fig. 98), the frescoes in the Church of Nea Panagia (ca. 1730), Thessaloniki (Tsigaridas 1994 (1), fig. 1), and the frescoes in the Church of St John the Prodrome (1727) in Kastoria (Tsigaridas 1994 (1), fig. 20 etc.). These works reveal a return to the iconographic types and artistic manners of the Palaeologan period.

This return to Palaeologan prototypes, especially those of Panselinos in the Church of the Protaton, was a trend which made its appearance





on Mount Athos in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and from there spread into urban centres across Macedonia, appearing in churches like the Nea Panagia in Thessaloniki (ca. 1730), St John the Prodrome in Kastoria (1727), and St Nicholas in Moschopolis, Albania (1727). The theoretical exponent of this movement,

which stamped the artistic production of Mount Athos throughout the eighteenth century and into the early part of the nineteenth, was the Athonite monk Dionysios, from Fournas in the Agrapha (Tsigaridas 1994 (1), pp. 315-68).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.







## 2 PORTABLE ICONS

When the Iconoclast controversy was over, and the Seventh Ecumenical Council had formulated the doctrine concerning icons (787), Orthodoxy had triumphed over the Iconoclasts, and the feast of the Holy Images had been established (843), the portable icon assumed a prominent position in the liturgical life of the Church. The Seventh Ecumenical Council proclaimed that 'we make icons, but we do not deify them, knowing that they are only images and nothing else, for they have only the name of the original and not the essence.' The Council described the veneration of the holy icons, which 'passes to the prototype' (Basil the Great), as 'a sanctioned godly custom and tradition of the Church, a devout demand and need of its flock.' The veneration of the holy icons has been an essential characteristic of the Orthodox Church ever since, because, as Tarasios, Patriarch of Constantinople (789-806), notes, 'it is acceptable and pleasing to God to venerate and kiss pictorial representations of the economy of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the immaculate Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, the holy angels and all the saints.'

The icons displayed in this exhibition, sacred objects of veneration of the Orthodox Church, constitute an outstanding sample from the rich treasure-houses of the Athonite monasteries. At the same time they are an essential expression of the spirituality of Orthodox monasticism and the artistic flowering of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Hellenism.

The surviving portable icons in the monasteries, *sketae*, and *kellia* of Mount Athos make up the largest collection of its kind in the world. They number about twenty thousand, only a small proportion of which has been published. Iconographically and artistically speaking, and also in numerical terms, the most important and the largest collections of icons belong to the monasteries of the Great Lavra, Vatopedi, Iviron, Chilandari, and Pantokrator.

Scientific examination has shown that the oldest icons on Mount Athos date to the eleventh century. But according to the unbroken tradition of the monastic republic, which goes back over a thousand years, some of the icons, which have miraculous powers and are especially venerated, are older. These include the *Axion estin* ('It is very meet and right') in the Protaton, the Virgin Bematarissa (Our Lady the Sacristan) in Vatopedi, and the Virgin Portaïtissa (Our Lady the Gatekeeper) in Iviron.

The Athonite icons display a rich and diverse thematic repertory and a variety of iconographical types of saints – inspired by the Old and New Testaments, the apocryphal Gospels, and the lives of saints – which correspond to the Church calendar and the canon of saints and answer various needs, such as veneration, liturgical use, and private monastic prayer. They also reveal the importance which icons gradually acquired in the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church after the Iconoclast period.

The icons offer valuable direct or indirect evidence of the history of the monasteries and of Athonite monasticism in general. They also enable us to draw pertinent conclusions about the



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The icons offer valuable direct or indirect evidence of the history of the monasteries and of Athonite monasticism in general. They also enable us to draw pertinent conclusions about the

development of Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting, artistic activity on Mount Athos, and the monasteries' relations with the areas of Greece and the Orthodox countries in the Balkans and eastern Europe in which they had *metochia* (*dependencies*).

The high artistic standard of many of these icons also enables us to recognise the spiritual and economic relations which the monasteries forged with the major centres of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople and Thessaloniki, and to appreciate the leading role which Mount Athos played, whether directly or indirectly, in the art of the Orthodox Church, particularly after the Fall of Constantinople (1453).

As regards their liturgical use, most of the icons fall into one of two broad categories: icons for veneration and templon or iconostasis icons. The latter are permanently in place on the screen between the sanctuary and the nave of the church; the former are either permanently positioned on icon-stands or else changed daily on the icon-stands in accordance with the Orthodox Church calendar.

Depending on their position, the templon icons are bema doors, despotic icons, epistyle icons, and the crowning cross. The Annunciation is usually on the bema doors, which close the central passage through the templon or iconostasis. One of the oldest icons of this kind on Mount Athos is the bema door depicting the Virgin of the Annunciation from Vatopedi Monastery (no. 2.6). The despotic icons are usually large, are venerated by the faithful, and have fixed subjects, being busts of Christ, the Virgin, St John the Baptist, and the saint to which the church is dedicated. The most important icons of this type include those of the Virgin and of Christ in Chilandari (nos. 2.8, 2.9) and Vatopedi (nos. 2.10, 2.11), which were painted around 1260 and in the last quarter of the thirteenth century respectively.

On the epistyle are the Dodekaorton (icons which relate to the Life of Christ) and the Great Deesis icons in one or two rows. One of the oldest surviving epistyles is that of Vatopedi Monastery (no. 2.4), a work of the second half of the twelfth century, which combines the compact form of the Great Deesis with the Dodekaorton and scenes from the Life of the Virgin. In the post-Byzantine period, the Dodekaorton on the epistyle of the iconostasis was supplemented with scenes from the Anastasis and Pentecost cycles. This is particularly apparent on the Iviron epistyle (nos. 2.42, 2.43), the work of Theophanis the Cretan, and the Pantokrator epistyle (no. 2.76), which was painted by an anonymous, non-Cretan, artist in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The Great Deesis on the iconostasis comprises the *Trimorphon* (the Virgin, Christ, and St John the Baptist) in the centre of the epistyle, flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and the twelve apostles. In the compact form, the apostles are replaced by Sts Peter and Paul and the four Evangelists. Some of the most characteristic groups of this kind are the Great Deesis in Vatopedi and Chilandari, both dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century, in Dionysiou, the work of the Cretan painter Euphrosynos (1542), and in the Protaton (1542). The height of the iconostasis increased considerably in the post-Byzantine period, and in some cases a third row of icons was added, depicting the prophets.

The surviving crosses that surmount the iconostases in the katholika and chapels of the Athonite monasteries date from no earlier than the fourteenth century. The oldest is in the katholikon of Pantokrator Monastery and dates to the third quarter of the fourteenth century (no. 2.18). A particularly interesting cross of the sixteenth century is the one in Iviron Monastery, which survives in fragmentary condition: according to archival sources, it is the work of a painter, 'the monk Ioasaph from Saravari', and a wood-carver, 'the monk Neophytos from the isle of Crete'. It is dated to 1525 and is believed to have been



3.3 metres tall. Two more crosses, in the katholika of the Great Lavra (1535) and Stavronikita (1546), are attributed to the Cretan painter Theophanis (no. 2.54); and another two, in Koutloumousiou and Dionysiou, are ascribed to Cretan painters of the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

There is a particular category of portable icon which is painted both front and back. These are generally processional icons, and the front usually bears a representation of the Virgin and Christ, while the back has a theme connected with Christ's Passion, such as the Crucifixion, the Deposition, or the Man of Sorrows. Representative examples of this genre are the double-sided icon from St Paul's Monastery (no. 2.30), a work of the second half of the fourteenth century, depicting the Virgin Hodegetria on the main face and the Crucifixion on the rear, and two icons from Pantokrator Monastery (nos. 2.19, 2.20).

Also of special interest are the icons in the form of diptychs, triptychs, or polyptychs, which, depending on their iconographical programme, are intended for private veneration or, more rarely, for liturgical use.

In terms of material, special categories of portable icons are mosaic icons and icons with a gemmed gilt or silver cover, which conceals the background of the picture and, usually, the figure depicted in it, apart from the face and other areas of bare flesh. Icons with a metal cover are objects of special veneration, and for this reason they are usually placed either on the iconostasis as despotic icons or on icon-stands. The oldest surviving icons of this kind on Mount Athos are the Virgin Portaïtissa in Iviron Monastery and the Virgin Bematarissa in Vatopedi Monastery. Vatopedi boasts the largest collection of icons of this kind on Mount Athos.

Mosaic icons are extremely costly items, made of, usually tiny, tesserae of multicoloured stone or glass attached with wax-mastic to a wooden base. These icons, which are highly demanding works of artistry produced usually by Constantinopolitan workshops, are the gifts of secular or Church officials to the monasteries. Nine of them survive on Mount Athos, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century: St George and St Demetrios at Xenophontos (nos. 2.1, 2.2), the Virgin Hodegetria at Chilandari (no. 2.3), St John the Theologian and Christ Pantokrator at the Great Lavra, the Crucifixion at Vatopedi (no. 2.12), St Nicholas at Stavronikita, and Christ Pantokrator at Esphigmenou.

The portable icon is not a completely independent genre in Byzantine art, it is influenced by the thematic repertory, the style, and the techniques of monumental painting and manuscript illumination; and from the Palaeologan period onwards the converse is also true. From this point of view, it is not fortuitous that both unknown and well-known artists (Panselinos, Theophanis the Cretan, Zorxis, Frangos Katelanos, Antonios, Dionysios of Fourni) were equally at ease with wall painting and icon painting. It was only in the middle Byzantine period that the artists of the Cretan school – with the exception of Theophanis and Zorxis, who bequeathed us both wall paintings and icons on Mount Athos – tended to specialise in the painting of portable icons: they include Michael Damaskinos (no. 2.73), Euphrosynos (nos. 2.44, 2.45, 2.46), Ioannis Apakas, and Constantinos Tzanes, among others, and works of theirs still survive on the Holy Mountain.

The Byzantine icons preserved on Mount Athos do not provide any information about their date, their painter, or their donor. In a very few cases, icons of this period carry inscriptions that tell us the name of the donor and the date, but never the name of the painter. In the sixteenth century, however, and more so in the eighteenth, icons increasingly carry inscriptions with the painter's name, the date, and the donor. When the donors are portrayed

in icons, they are usually emperors or princes and founders of the monastery (nos. 2.29, 2.77).

The oldest icons on Mount Athos – apart from some devotional icons which tradition dates to the years of the Iconoclast controversy – are from the Comnenian period. They are few in number, but are represented in this exhibition by twelfth-century works of outstanding artistry, including two mosaic icons from Xenophontos Monastery (nos. 2.1, 2.2) and one from Chilandari (no. 2.3), and two sections of the epistyle of an iconostasis from Vatopedi (no. 2.4), combining the Great Deesis with scenes from the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ.

Very few icons survive on Athos from the first half of the thirteenth century. However, the monasteries have preserved many from the Palaeologan period (1261-1453), and these fully represent the Orthodox calendar of feasts and canon of saints, as also the artistic trends of the age. Many of them may be described as outstanding works of the Palaeologan Renaissance and traced to workshops from Constantinople and Thessaloniki.

The early Palaeologan period (1261-1328) is represented in the exhibition by ten icons, one of which, the Crucifixion from Vatopedi (no. 2.12), is a mosaic work. The icons of this period display a limited thematic repertory, because most of them are despotic icons of, for the most part, Christ and the Virgin. Nonetheless, some of them – including the Virgin Hodegetria and Christ from Chilandari (nos. 2.8, 2.9) and St Demetrios from Vatopedi (no. 2.13: attributed to the painter of the Protaton, Manuel Panselinos) – are superlative expressions of the art of this period.

The icons from the later Palaeologan era (1329-1453) presented in the exhibition display greater thematic variety, being despotic icons, large Great Deesis icons, processional icons, bema doors, devotional icons, and double-sided icons. Artistically speaking, they are splendid examples of the painting output and the artistic trends of the time and attest the Athonite monasteries' contacts with those great centres of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople and Thessaloniki. This period coincided with the rise of Hesychasm, but also with the progressive dwindling of the Empire. Particularly striking for their expressive quality are the icons of the Great Deesis from Vatopedi (nos. 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.24) and Chilandari (nos. 2.25, 2.26, 2.27), which were produced by the same workshop in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the cross from Pantokrator (no. 2.18), and the double-sided icon from St Paul's Monastery (no. 2.30).

Most of the surviving portable icons on Mount Athos belong to the post-Byzantine period, notably the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The icons exhibited from this period have been selected according to certain criteria, the purpose of which is to present as clear a picture as possible of the artistic trends that were developing on Mount Athos at this time. Efforts have also been made, in the general context of this approach, to include the works of known artists and indeed of Athonite workshops.

The early period of post-Byzantine art on Mount Athos, from the start of Ottoman rule to 1535 – the year when the great Cretan painter Theophanis came to live on Mount Athos and inaugurated his artistic career there with the decoration of the katholikon of the Great Lavra – saw a falling-off in artistic production on Mount Athos.

At the same time artistic activity shifted from the great artistic centres of Constantinople and Thessaloniki to the provinces. The icons on Athos from this period are thus the products of Northern Greek or Athonite workshops, with a small number being works of a very high standard produced by anonymous artists of the Cretan School in the fifteenth century and



imported to Athos (nos. 2.32, 2.33) from Crete or from parts of Greece under Venetian domination.

The second period, which began in 1535 and ended in 1711, when hieromonk Dionysios, from Fournas in the Agrapha Mountains (Eurytania), decorated the Chapel of St John the Prodrome in Karyes, was marked by the artistic activity on Athos of the Cretan painter Theophanis, whose influence is detectable until the early eighteenth century. Apart from monumental ensembles, this great artist and his atelier, which included his sons Symeon and Neophytos, also bequeathed a very important collection of portable icons: in the Great Lavra (1535), Iviron (1535-45), Pantokrator (1535-45), Stavronikita (1545-6), and Gregoriou (ca. 1546). Of these are displayed in the exhibition the Dodekaorton from Iviron (nos. 2.42, 2.43) and Stavronikita (nos. 2.58-2.72), together with a selection of icons from Iviron (nos. 2.40, 2.41), Pantokrator (no. 2.74), and Stavronikita (nos. 2.54, 2.57).

A contemporary of Theophanis's on Mount Athos was another Cretan painter named Zorzis, who is credited with the frescoes in the katholikon of Dionysiou (1547) and probably those in the katholikon of Docheiariou (1568). This writer believes that he also painted the icons of the Great Deesis in the Protaton (1542), which other scholars attribute to Theophanis.

Athonite monasteries also preserve signed works by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cretan artists, such as the priest Euphrosynos (1542) in Dionysiou Monastery (nos. 2.44, 2.45, 2.46), Michael Damaskinos (16th c., 2nd half) in Stavronikita (no. 2.73), Ioannis Apakas (late 16th-early 17th c.) in the Great Lavra, Constantinos Palaiokapas (1640) in Karakalou, and Constantinos Tzanes (1677) in Vatopedi. These icons were brought to Mount Athos either from Crete or from other parts of Greece under Venetian rule.

Other icons from this period represent the output of local workshops on Mount Athos which were chiefly influenced by the iconographical types of the Cretan school, particularly as exemplified by Theophanis – or else were produced by anonymous or known artists – such as Ioasaph Saravaris (1525) and Constantinos from Linotopi – or workshops from North-western Greece, particularly Macedonia.

The third period of post-Byzantine painting on Mount Athos begins in 1711 and ends in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the atelier of Father Ioasaph was set up (1859) and the western artistic idiom gained the ascendancy, particularly as exemplified by the Nazarenes and their oil-painting technique. In the early part of this period, hieromonk Dionysios and other artists of the first half of the eighteenth century who followed him, such as Kosmas of Lemnos (1721) and David of Selenitsa in Albania (1715 and 1727), were exponents of a scholarly artistic movement which sought a return to the iconographical models and artistic techniques represented by Panselinos' paintings in the Protaton. Between 1728 and 1733, Dionysios of Fournas wrote his *Painter's Manual (Hermeneia)*, which was a theoretical exposition of this same tradition. All these artists set their own clear seal on the artistic output – wall painting and icon painting – of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century on Mount Athos. Dionysios in particular is known to have worked in both genres.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, known and anonymous artists from Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, and elsewhere were producing monumental paintings and portable icons on Mount Athos. In the latter part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, the Athonite workshop of hieromonk Makarios from Galatista in Chalkidiki turned the production of icons into something of a light industry.

The nineteenth century has many dated or signed icons to show, most of them the works of known Athonite monks or folk artists. The following are some of the names found on dated or undated icons of the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century: Theodoretos, hieromonk, (1813); Metrophanis Nikephoros (1816); Melhisedek, prior of Vatopedi (1828); Gennadios, monk (1844); Matthaios (1847, 1856); Makarios, hieromonk, (1842); Veniamin hieromonk, (1865); archimandrite Anthimos (1865); Neophytos from Arta (1721); Constantinos from Adrianople (1786); Chadzilambrinos from Smyrna; Michael Ierosolymitis (1871); Theophanis from Nigrita, Serres prefecture (1875).

The most distinctive feature of the artists of this period is that they combine established iconographical types, sometimes enriching the iconography, or else they introduce new iconographical types adapted to the demands of the time, the new martyrs, for instance. From an artistic point of view, they reflect nineteenth-century religious folk art, which allies traditional artistic techniques with elements – in the natural and architectural setting – taken from the western conception of art, the latter elements introduced chiefly by way of engravings. These are subsidiary aspects of the composition of the icon, rendered after the manner of nineteenth-century folk painting, and do not affect the character of the iconography of the Orthodox Church.

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25 The Apostle Peter, detail.





**2.1 St George** 12th c., 2nd half  
Xenophontos Monastery  
Mosaic on wood, 136 x 65 cm

Two mosaic icons survive in Xenophontos Monastery, one of St George, the patron of the old katholikon and the monastery itself, and the other of St Demetrios (no. 2.2), to whom the

chapel attached to the south-east side of the katholikon is dedicated.

St George is depicted standing, turning slightly towards the viewer's right, his head and hands lifted in supplication towards Christ, who is portrayed from the waist up in the upper right corner, making a gesture of blessing. The saint is dressed not as a warrior, but as a courtier, in a full-length dark blue tunic tied at the waist and decorated with a gold reticulated pattern enclosing gold stars. Over the tunic he wears a red chlamys ornamented with gold and fastened on the right shoulder. On his chest is a rectangular patch of fabric, the *tablion*, which represents his military rank. On either side of the saint's head, an inscription on the gold ground of the icon reads: 'St George'.

The tesserae at the bottom of the icon have fallen off and the ruined section has been painted in. On the face too, and at various points on the gold ground, missing tesserae have been replaced with wax-mastic and their shape rendered on it in colour.

In his sumptuous, colourful attire, reminiscent of early Christian mosaics, this figure of St George is distinguished by its hieratical stance and its flat drapery, which hangs with monumental weight in large stiff folds. Despite the damage, from a technical point of view, the saint's face, with its curly hair, arched eyebrows, refined features, and sober expression, reflects the aesthetic of the late Comnenian period (Lazarev 1983, fig. 18).

Xyngopoulos opined that this mosaic icon of St George and its companion icon of St Demetrios were not originally portable icons, but embedded in the spandrels of the arches over the east columns supporting the dome of the old katholikon, in the sites now occupied by frescoes of the same saints done in 1544 (Xyngopoulos 1981, pp. 91-2). This writer, however, believes that they always were portable, probably hung as devotional icons on the fronts of the pilasters at either end of the original marble templon in the old katholikon (St George on the left pilaster, St Demetrios on the right). Alternatively, they may have been placed on icon-stands in the church, in the same positions as Komnenos saw



them when he visited Mount Athos in 1698, and worshipped in the katholikon of Xenophontos (Komnenos 1701, pp. 95-6). These positions of honour in the katholikon are due to the fact that St George is the patron of the monastery and of the old katholikon, next to which a chapel dedicated to St Demetrios was built in the fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Demus 1991, pp. 26-8, pl. IV (with earlier bibliography).

E.N.T.

## 2.2 St Demetrios 12th c., 2nd half Xenophontos Monastery

Mosaic on wood, 136 x 73 cm

St Demetrios, dressed as a courtier, is depicted standing and turning slightly towards the viewer's left. His pose is one of supplication towards Christ, who is portrayed from the waist up in the upper left corner, making a gesture of blessing. The saint wears a full-length brick-red tunic covered with gold striation, and a long blue chlamys decorated with gold geometric ornaments and fastened on the right shoulder. The gold ground of the mosaic is surrounded by a red mosaic border and bears the inscription: 'St Demetrios'. Large areas of the gold ground have come away and the gaps have been filled in with wax-mastic, on which lines have been incised in an imitation of the missing tesserae.

This icon of St Demetrios is distinguished by the saint's stiff, hieratical pose, his slim, almost fleshless body, and the flat, stiff drapery, the rendering of which is characterised by the use of abundant gold tesserae, reflecting the luxurious nature of the icon's manufacture.

From a technical point of view, the saint's triangular face is rendered with limited olive-green underpainting, while on the wheaten flesh, the cheekbones defined with red patches, broad white localised highlights illuminate the brow, the ridge of the nose, and the area around the eyes. This facial type, with the specific technique that brings out the volume of the face, is also seen in frescoes in the Churches of Hosios David



in Thessaloniki (1160-70) and St Demetrios in Vladimir (1198) in Russia (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), p. 108, figs. 23, 84β). It therefore seems reasonable to date this icon to the second half of the twelfth century and to link it with workshops active in Constantinople in this period.

The unbending, hieratical pose of the saint, who is not animated by the dynamic style of the late Comnenian painting of the end of the twelfth







century, shows that this icon and that of St George (no. 2.1) must have been devotional icons placed on the fronts of the bare of painting pilasters of the marble templon in the old katholikon (Demus 1991, pp. 26-8), or else on icon-stands in the nave (Komnenos 1701, pp. 95-6).

**Bibliography:** Demus 1991, pp. 26-8, pl. 5 (with earlier bibliography).

E.N.T.

### 2.3 The Virgin Hodegetria

12th c., 2nd half

Chelandari Monastery

Mosaic on wood, 38 x 27 cm

The Virgin is depicted from the waist up in a strictly frontal pose, holding Christ with her left arm, her right hand lifted before her breast. She wears a dark blue maphorion with gold edging and gold stellar ornaments, which symbolise the Trinity and allude to her own role in the Incarnation.

The relatively large Christ turns slightly to one side, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding a closed scroll in his left. He wears a brown himation with abundant gold striation. The lower part of his body is ruined, as is the left side of the Virgin's face. On the gold ground of the icon is the abbreviated inscription: 'Mother of God'.

Iconographically, the Virgin represents the austere type of the Hodegetria, the prototype of which was the icon of the Virgin in Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople. With regard to iconography and physiognomy, this mosaic icon shows similarities with the mosaic icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, a work which is generally agreed to date to about 1100 (Demus 1991, pp. 39-42, pl. VII).

From a technical point of view, with their grave expression, sharply delineated brown shadows, pink flesh warmed with patches of red, and the linear rendering of the features, the faces of the Virgin and Christ trace their origin to the mosaic art of the eleventh century. More specifically, the technique of the sharp chiaroscuro

with no tonal gradations is also seen in the mosaics in Nea Moni on Chios (mid-11th c.) and in the Annunciation in the nave of the katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (3), pp. 222ff., figs. 181-2), and is continued to be used throughout the twelfth century (Demus 1991, pp. 19-21, pl. VIII).

The icon has been variously dated to the eleventh to fourteenth century. It is believed to have been placed on the templon or, more probably, on an icon-stand in the katholikon and to be the work of an atelier either from Thessaloniki or Constantinople (Djurić 1966, pp. 17-20. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 138, 146-7; opinion shared by Babić) or even from the West (Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. LXI, fig. 166; opinion shared by Radojčić). More specifically, Djurić believes that the icon dates to the end of the twelfth century and that it was commissioned and donated, about 1198, by the founders of Chelandari Monastery, St Sabbas and Symeon Nemanja, to be used as the monastery's household icon. Indeed, tradition has it that, just before he died in 1200, Symeon Nemanja commended his soul to God before this very icon (Djurić 1966, pp. 17-20. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, pp. 58-60, fig. 37). Demus, however, dates it to the first half of the twelfth century and believes that it may have come from the monastery that previously stood on the site of Chelandari (Demus 1991, pp. 39-42).

**Bibliography:** Demus 1991, pp. 19-22, pl. II (with relevant bibliography).

E.N.T.

### 2.4 Two sections of the epistyle of an iconostasis, 12th c., 2nd half Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera

45 x 71 cm and 69 x 71.5 cm

Among the most important works preserved on Mount Athos is an epistyle icon, which has been reverently treasured at Vatopedi Monastery. It was originally on the cornice of the katholikon marble templon, which no longer survives.

The epistyle icon is now in four sections,



which contain a total of thirteen relief arches, each one resting on colonnettes and enclosing one painted representation. The arcade is bordered top and bottom by a projecting integral frame ten centimetres wide.

The central subject of the epistyle is a compact form of the Great Deesis, which occupies five compartments. The other eight contain scenes from the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ.

The epistyle displayed in the exhibition depicts the Presentation of the Virgin and Mary Entrusted to Joseph on one section and the Crucifixion and the Deposition on the other.

Certain iconographical details link the epistyle with twelfth- and early thirteenth-century painting. The diaphanous loincloth, for instance, worn by Christ in the Crucifixion and the Deposition is also seen in Vatopedi Cod. no. 762 (Millet 1916, fig. 428. Thesaurou 1991, fig. 219). Again in the Deposition, the artist most unusually places the Virgin on the right, rather than the left, as she receives Christ in her arms, with Joseph of Arimathea at her side. It is an iconographical

type seen in relatively few post-tenth-century works (Chatzidakis 1964-5, pp. 391-2).

Some striking features in the Presentation of the Virgin are the realistic portrayal of Mary and the seven accompanying maidens, who are depicted very small, in striking contrast to the towering figures of her parents and Zacharias. The scene of Mary Entrusted to Joseph is innovative in that two priests are present rather than one, and that Joseph, bowing at the head of a group of suitors, is not holding the usual flowering rod or rod with a dove (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964-5, pp. 167-79. Kalokyris 1972, pp. 109-11).

Typologically and stylistically, the scenes reflect twelfth-century painting. The faces express a pensive tranquillity, devoid of inner tension and charged emotions, even in scenes like the Crucifixion and the Deposition. The drapery is also more simply and summarily executed than in the Great Deesis (see nos. 2.21 - 2.24), with highlighted areas which hint at the body beneath or give shape to the drapery, and white lines







which define the edges of the folds without the rather mannered effect that appeared towards the end of the twelfth century.

The compositions are spare, confined to the essential figures, and they are organised evenly and symmetrically around the focal element of the human figure. Particularly in the Crucifixion and the Deposition, the figures are reposeful, well-positioned, and harmoniously linked and held together by their reciprocal poses and movements. They seem to be inspired by a breath of inner life, which animates their faces and unites them in an integrated, closely bound, comprehensive schema. A similar quest for synthesis is evident to varying degrees in monuments of the second half of the twelfth century (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 132-8).

On the basis of the iconographical and stylistic

features, this writer believes that all the paintings on the epistyle display a unity of artistic style that reflects the general trends of the second half of the twelfth century. Indeed, the high standard of the work, with the painterly modelling, the noble, restrained ethos of the figures, the flowing drapery, and the lithe postures with their rhythmically reciprocal poses and movements in the classical style, makes this epistyle one of the most outstanding works of Comnenian painting. There is every chance, moreover, as Chatzidakis also surmises, that it is the product of a Constantinople workshop (Chatzidakis 1964-5, p. 396).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1964-5, pp. 377-403, pls. 77-86. Weitzmann et al. 1966, pp. XIV-XV, pl. 43. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 354-61, figs. 296-305.

E.N.T.





**2.5 St Peter** 12th c., 3rd quarter  
Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 89 x 40 cm

The 'first among the Apostles' is portrayed full-length, standing, and turning slightly to the left. He makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holds in his left an open scroll with a

now illegible inscription. This is a tall, slender figure, with a relatively small head and a wide face with prominent cheekbones, an aquiline nose, arched brows, and large almond-shaped eyes. The beard is short, the hair curly, with a linear mannerist texture characteristic of late Comnenian painting (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 95-7); he wears a long bluish tunic and a brownish himation that hangs with monumental weight.

The execution of the face does not use the sharp chiaroscuro so characteristic of some manifestations of late Comnenian painting; the flesh is rendered with gentle gradations of a uniform wheaten colour, the cheeks enlivened with patches of red. The resulting expression is serene and tranquil. On the other hand, the slightly counterpoised movement of the body with one leg straight and the other flexed, and the slight turn of the trunk and the head with which the artist tries to modify the frontal pose make this icon one of the forerunners of the so-called 'dynamic style' of the second half of the twelfth century. This trend involved a revival of a thematic repertory known from antiquity – relating to the poses and movements of the figures; it was enriched with the Comnenian dynamic conception, in the classical style, of the figure moving or standing in space, but without the extreme aspects of late Comnenian painting at the end of the twelfth century (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 112-6).

The drapery is shapely and flows over the body in such a way as to reveal the volumes beneath, producing a harmonious relationship between clothing and body which is a feature of the classical aspect of Comnenian painting in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 117-8, 122-3). The monumental stance of the figure, the plasticity of the drapery as it hints at the body beneath, the linear calligraphic rendering of the hair, and the serene facial expression carrying no emotional charge are features that place this icon in the classical style of the Comnenian period and link it with the monumental paintings in the Church of Hosios David in Thessaloniki (1169-70) and the Church of St Nicholas Kasnidzis in Kastoria (1160-80), among others.

**Bibliography:** Weitzmann et al. 1966, pp. XXIV, LXXXIII, fig. 41. Chatzidakis 1979 (1), pp. 361-2. Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 77.

E.N.T.



## 2.6 The Virgin (bema door) ca. 1200 Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 107 x 35 cm

The Virgin stands before a backless throne, her left leg straight, her right leg flexed, and her body turning to the right in harmonious *contrapposto*. Her head bends to the right and she raises her right hand to her chin in a gesture of submission to God's will, in accordance with the accompanying inscription. She wears a dark green tunic and an aubergine maphorion edged with gold and, as specified in the Protoevangelion of James (Tischendorf 1853, XI, p. 21), she is spinning, holding the distaff in her left hand and the spindle in her right.

The ground of her halo is light brown, ornamented with an undulating tendril done in gold. Instead of gold, the ground of the icon is light green with a painted red border. At the top of the upper curve there survive three of the eleven knobs that originally crowned the door. An inscription in the upper right gives the subject of the icon: 'Annunciation', and the relevant Gospel text: 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word' (Luke 1:38).

In the iconography of the middle Byzantine period, the Virgin is frequently portrayed standing, though there was a greater tendency to show her seated in the twelfth century. However, the fact that she is spinning in our icon is one of the basic features of the iconography of the Annunciation in the Comnenian period (Hadermann-Misguich 1975, pp. 99-100).

Her face is triangular, the inner cheek sharply outlined, her nose narrow with wide nostrils, her mouth pursed, her eyebrows dark, and her eyes, the right one slightly exophthalmic, wide open. The volumes of her face are rendered in a painterly manner, with the pink flesh tones covering large uniform areas, and the highlights either defining the wings of the nose and the cheekbones with close striations, or illuminating the chin, brow, and fingers with broad thick brushstrokes. This painterly technique of rendering the face, which has abandoned the network of fine red lines on the cheeks – a fundamental feature of Comnenian



painting –, is seen in monuments of the second half of the twelfth century (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 98-103).

The drapery of both the tunic and the mantle is rendered in broad folds that hang straight,





2.6 Bema door: The Virgin, detail.



heavy, and monumental, without creases or ripples, as was the tendency at the end of the twelfth century, in marked contrast to the mannerism of the late Comnenian aesthetic that predominated in this period (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), p. 125, pl. 96, 105β).

So, in terms of the typology, the technical rendering of the face and clothing, and the tight form and *contrapposto*, this icon reflects predominant trends of the late Comnenian painting (Tsigaridas 1986 (1), pp. 112-16, pl. 33, 93α-β, 101β, 130α-β. Tsigaridas 1988, pp. 315-16, fig. 30), and it may therefore be dated to around 1200.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 361-3, fig. 307.

E.N.T.

## 2.7 The Transfiguration late 12th c. Xenophontos Monastery

Wood, egg tempera  
104 x 71 cm

Christ stands in *contrapposto* on the peak of Mount Tabor surrounded by a deep blue oval aureola. With his right hand he makes a gesture of blessing, in his left he holds a closed scroll. He is flanked, on peaks of equal height outside the aureola, by Elijah and Moses, the former making a gesture of supplication, the latter holding the tables of the Law, and both bowing towards Christ.

In the lower part of the scene we see, from left to right, the disciples Peter, John, and James. Peter kneels and lifts his right hand and his head towards Christ. John, in the centre, is unconcerned and aloof, in a pose similar to that of Joseph in scenes of the Nativity. James has fallen to the ground and supports himself on his left hand, while raising his right and his head towards Christ.

The general iconographical format of the scene, the poses, and the disciples' gestures reflect the iconography of this subject as seen in the art of the twelfth century (Millet 1916, pp. 216-31. Hadermann-Misguich 1975, pp. 142-7). Specifically,

James' and, particularly, Peter's poses are common in the painting of the second half of the twelfth century (Demus 1949, fig. 19b. Hadermann-Misguich 1975, figs. 66-7. Mouriki 1990, figs. 27-8), while the aloof John's is more unusual and is mentioned by Nicholas Mesaritis in his description of the mosaics in the Church of the Hagioi Apostoloi in Constantinople (PG 132, 1023-5). Again, late Comnenian trends are reflected in the unusual portrayal of Moses as an elderly, bearded man, as he is in the Churches of the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria (ca. 1180) and St George in Kurbinovo on the Yugoslav side of Lake Prespa (1192; Hadermann-Misguich 1975, p. 146, figs. 67-8). Lastly, the complex rocky landscape is reminiscent of that in the Kastoria Transfiguration.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.



2.7 The Prophet Moses, detail.









2.8 *The Christ Child, detail.*

## 2.8 The Virgin Hodegetria ca. 1260-70 Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 109 x 57 cm

The Virgin is depicted from the waist up on a gold ground, turning three-quarters towards Christ. She holds him with her right arm, tilting her head slightly in his direction, and lifts her right hand before her in a gesture of supplication. She wears a bluish kerchief and a dark brown maphorion edged with gold. Christ's head is slightly raised, and he holds a closed scroll in his left hand, lifting his right in blessing. He wears an orange himation covered with gold striation.

The paint film is badly damaged. The Virgin Hodegetria represents an established iconographical type, in which the sadness of the facial expression hints at Christ's future Passion.

The Virgin's physiognomical type, with the triangular face, narrow brow, large expressive eyes, arched eyebrows, long narrow nose, and full red lips, reflects the tradition of works of the second half of the thirteenth century, such as the

Virgin Hodegetria with Christ on her right (13th c., last quarter) in the Sinai Monastery (Mouriki 1990, fig. 62. See also Soteriou 1958, no. 192) and the Hodegetria in Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), fig. 310).

The iconic type of Christ, with the chubby face, rough features, high forehead, and broad nose, was also in vogue in this period and is seen in the above-mentioned icons of the second half of the thirteenth century.

From a technical point of view, with their broad expanses of blushing ochre, limited olive-brown shading, and linear highlights, the faces of the Virgin and Christ reflect techniques commonly seen in works of the second half of the thirteenth century, such as the Sinai Hodegetria (Mouriki 1990, fig. 62) and the Vatopedi Hodegetria (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), fig. 310).

In conclusion, the facial type of the Virgin and of Christ, the technical execution of the faces, the Virgin's sadly pensive, noble expression with its spiritual beauty, and the high standard of the painting link the Chelandari icon with such outstanding works of Byzantine art as the frescoes in the Sopocani church (ca. 1265) in mediaeval Serbia (Djurić 1963, pl. LIV), and make it, together with the icon of Christ (no. 2.9), a masterpiece of Byzantine art.

**Bibliography:** Pelekanidis 1958, pp. 75-83. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, pp. 62-4, fig. 43. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 135, 161. Müller - Djordjević 1984, pl. 5.

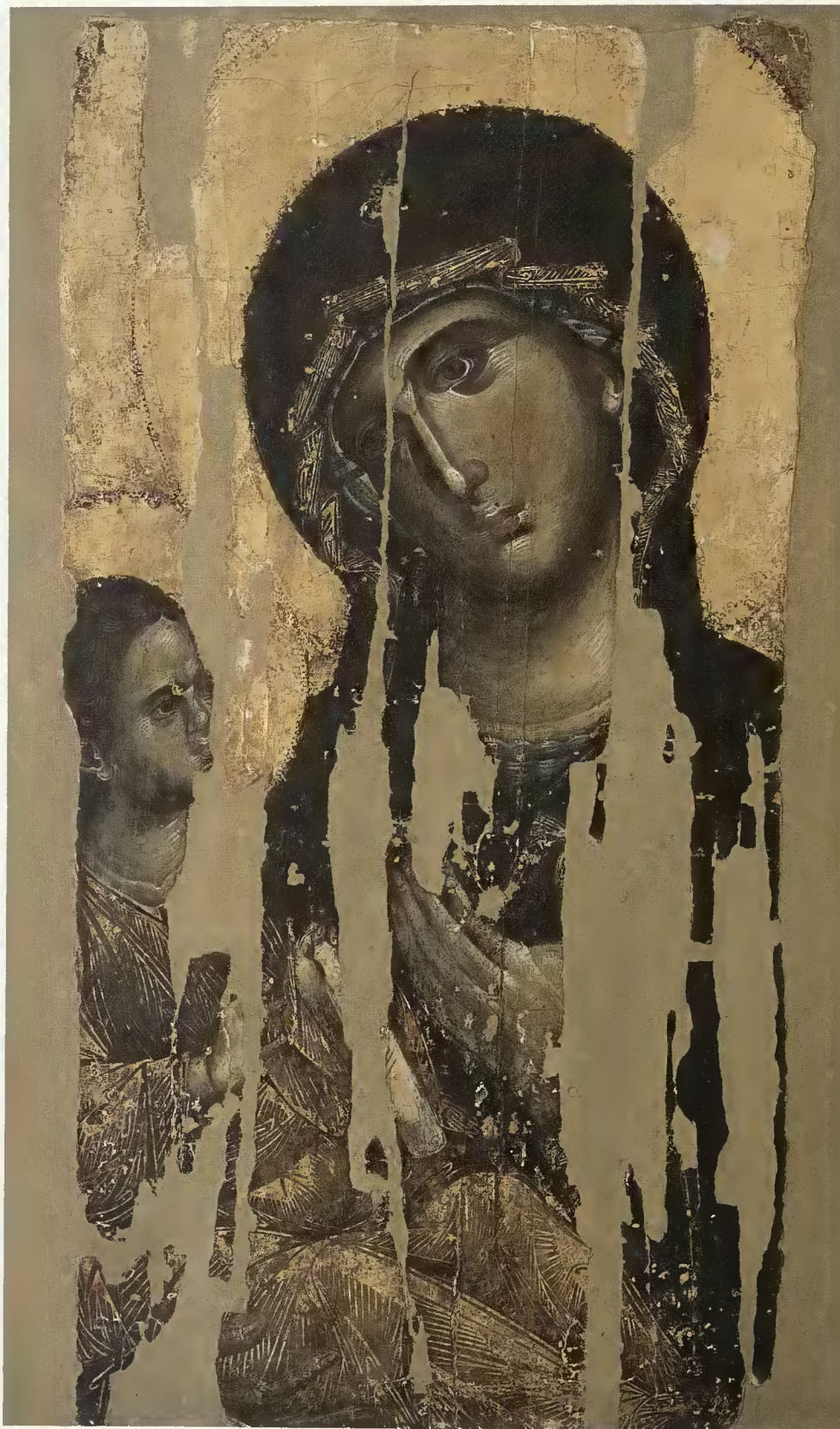
E.N.T.

## 2.9 Christ Pantokrator ca. 1260-70 Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 120 x 90 cm

This icon of Christ Pantokrator and the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (no. 2.8) are outstanding works of art painted about 1260-70 by an exceptionally gifted artist. They have the same dimensions and seem originally to have been despotic icons on the old templon in the katholikon of Chelandari Monastery.





2.8 The Virgin Hodegetria.





2.9 Christ Pantokrator.



Christ is depicted from the waist up in a frontal pose. He holds a closed Gospel ornamented with pearls and gemstones in his left hand and his right is raised in blessing. He wears an aubergine tunic and a deep blue himation.

The stern monumental figure of Christ, with the long narrow face, the robust neck with its schematic musculature, and the brawny palm of the right hand with the stylised joints on the large fingers, refers to wall paintings and icons of the second half of the thirteenth century (Soteriou 1956, fig. 196. Djurić 1963, pl. XLII. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), figs. 309, 312).

Despite the damage to the paint film, in the rendering of the face the olive-green underpainting is limited and functions as shading, while the ochre of the more predominant areas of flesh is illuminated with linear highlights on the brow and around the eyes. It is interesting to note that the distribution and function of the highlights on the brow and around the eyes are also seen in icons in Vatopedi from the second half of the thirteenth century (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), figs. 309, 312).

The monumental aspect of the figure, the calm, deeply pensive face with its benevolent expression, the plastic rendering of the face, and the breadth of the body make this icon one of the masterpieces of Byzantine painting and link it with the frescoes at Sopocani (ca. 1265) in Serbia (Djurić 1963, pl. XLII) and the expressive quality of the icon of Christ Pantokrator (1262-3) in Ochrid (Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 126). The anonymous painter, who must be regarded as one of the most outstanding artists of the Byzantine period, gives the impression in this icon that he is reviving the expressive quality and the merits of the visual art of the early Christian period, as represented, for instance by the encaustic icon of Christ Pantokrator (6th c., 1st half) in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai (Galavaris 1990 (1), pp. 92-3, figs. 1-2).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 173, fig. 24. Radojčić, *Icônes*, pp. 3, 7. Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. LXII, pl. 157. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, pp. 62-4, fig. 45. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 135, 160. Müller - Djordjević 1984, pl. 4. Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 79.

E.N.T.

## 2.10 The Virgin Hodegetria

13th c., last quarter

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 57.5 x 43 cm

The Virgin is portrayed from the waist up on a gold ground in the type of Hodegetria. She holds Christ in her left arm, bending her head slightly, tenderly, towards him, and raising her right hand in a gesture of supplication. She wears an aubergine maphorion with bluish highlights. Christ half reclines in her embrace, his right foot under his left leg, the bare sole upturned. He holds a closed scroll in his left hand and makes a gesture of blessing with his right as it emerges from his orange himation.

From an iconographical point of view, Christ's pose is particularly interesting: he is almost lying in his mother's embrace, as in the Anapeson, which, as we know, is a prefiguration of the Passion. His crossed legs and bare sole were also part of the semiology of the Passion as early as the thirteenth century and are characteristic features of a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Cretan icons (Baltoyanni 1994, p. 137). So this icon is a variant of the Hodegetria type, with iconographical elements that allude to Christ's future Passion. One of the earliest examples of this variant is an icon from the Sinai Monastery dating to the last quarter of the thirteenth century (Mouriki 1990, pp. 116-17, fig. 62).

As regards typology and technique, the faces of the Virgin and Christ, with their broad areas of blushing ochre, the limited brown shadows, the rendering of the eye sockets and other facial features, and the tendency to break up the surface of the flesh with groups of supple linear highlights on the cheekbones, the chin, and around the mouth, reflect facial types and techniques identifiable in works of the second half of the thirteenth century (Weitzmann et al. 1982, fig. 261), such as the famous icon in Chelandari Monastery (1260-70).

On the other hand, the Virgin's clothing displays a supple softness in its western-style drapery (Weitzmann et al. 1982, fig. 219), while





2.10 *The Christ Child, detail.*

the maphorion over her head seems somehow inflated, being rendered without the usual structural folds and convolutions and falling in undulating pleats only on the right side.

On the basis of the iconographical, typological, and technical features, this writer believes that this icon of the Virgin Hodegetria dates to the second half and probably the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, Christ's apprehensive gaze and fearful pose, as he envisions his own future Passion in the Virgin's sorrowful face, clearly reveal the artist's ability to express his subjects' psychology and make this icon one of the most outstanding creations of its time.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 365-8, fig. 311.

E.N.T.

### 2.11 Christ Pantokrator 13th c., last quarter Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 57 x 43 cm

The two icons of Christ (no. 2.11) and the

Virgin (no. 2.10), with the same dimensions, are contemporary works by the same artist. They were probably despotic icons on the iconostasis of a small chapel at the end of the thirteenth century; though, being relatively small, they may alternatively have been devotional icons.

In the icon of Christ, the subject is portrayed as the Pantokrator, the all-ruling Lord of the universe, from the chest up, in slight *contrapposto*, the body being turned to his right and the head and gaze to his left.

His right hand emerges from his himation in a gesture of blessing, and he holds a closed scroll in his left hand. He wears an aubergine tunic with a pink and gold clavus, and a deep red himation covering both shoulders. On the gold field are the inscriptions: 'Jesus Christ' and 'The Pantokrator'.

The stern figure of Christ, with the long narrow face and rugged features, is an iconic and iconographical type also seen in the icon of Christ Pantokrator at Ochrid (1262-3), which was painted when Constantine Cabasilas was archbishop (Djurić 1961, no. 2. Müller - Djordjević 1984, no. 6), and in a thirteenth- to fourteenth-century icon of Christ belonging to Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 364, fig. 309).

As regards style, Christ's face is rendered with limited brown shading and large areas of ochre highlighted with flowing striations, which help to bring out the volume of the face. A similar technique is seen in the mosaic Pantokrator in the Church of the Panagia Parigoritissa in Arta (ca. 1290), which, according to Orlandos, imitates techniques typically used in portable devotional icons (Orlandos 1963, p. 123, pl. 1, 11).

In conclusion, this icon of Christ Pantokrator, with its frowning expression and stern oblique gaze attesting a return to Comnenian models, belongs to the iconic types and artistic trends of the second half, and more specifically the last quarter, of the thirteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 365, fig. 310.

E.N.T.





2.10 The Virgin Hodegetria.





2.11 Christ Pantokrator.



## 2.12 The Crucifixion

late 13th-early 14th c.

Vatopedi Monastery

Mosaic on wood, 33 x 29 cm

In this mosaic icon of the Crucifixion, Christ is depicted dead upon the cross, his arms outstretched, his body curving and slightly turned towards the right, his head bent. The cross is symmetrically flanked by the figures of the Virgin



on the right, lifting her head with controlled grief towards Christ, and St John on the left, sorrowful and introverted in a limp pose reminiscent of figures on ancient grave reliefs. The Virgin wears a brown tunic and a dark blue maphorion, John a dark blue tunic and a brownish red himation. They are accompanied by the inscriptions 'Mother of God' and 'St John'.

Two angels are shown flying away beneath the arms of the cross. The whole scene is set before the walls of Jerusalem, which is depicted in the background in a purely conventional,

decorative manner. The ground of the upper part of the icon is done in silver tesserae, most of which have fallen off, the lower part in green to denote the natural terrain, dotted with sketchy white and dark blue flowers.

The haloes are outlined with alternating white, dark blue, and red tesserae, giving a chequered effect. The ground of the haloes must have been similarly rendered, but most of the tesserae have fallen off. The upper part of the icon is framed by a series of multicoloured lozenges, which isolate and emphasise the crucified Christ.

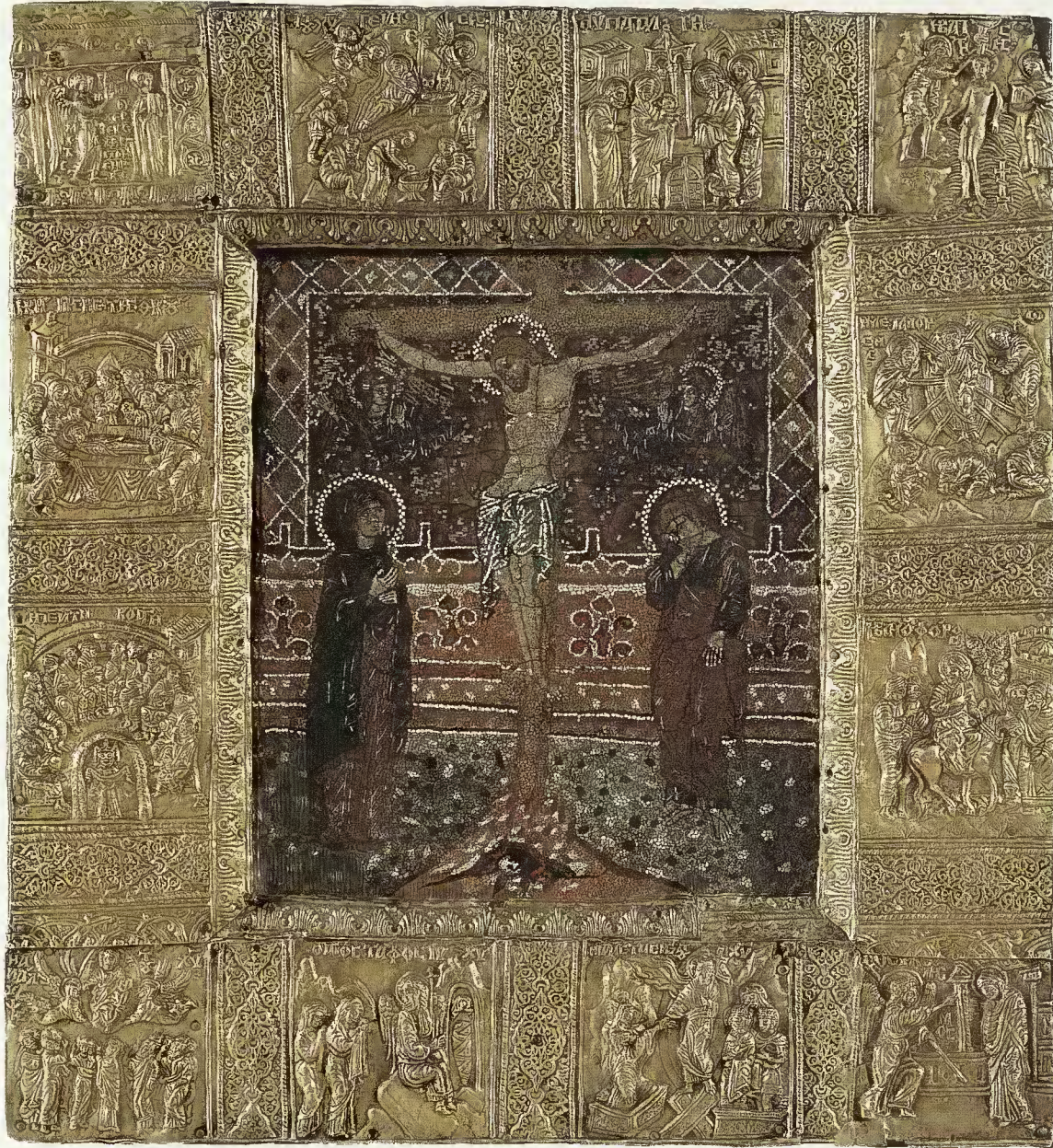
The mosaic Crucifixion is framed by a silver cover on which are depicted twelve scenes from the Dodekaorton, separated by narrow ornamental compartments, probably inspired by oriental gold- and silver-work. The cover is contemporary with the icon and dates to the early fourteenth century (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 488-9, fig. 314).

The simple format of the Crucifixion, confined to the main participants, with its specific iconographical details, such as Christ's pose, the departing angels, and the walls of Jerusalem, belongs to the iconographical tradition of the eleventh to twelfth century. It did continue into the Palaeologan period, however, as is apparent not only from this icon from Vatopedi, but also from other mosaic and painted icons, such as the Berlin Crucifixion (late 13th c.) and the Crucifixion in the mosaic Dodekaorton in Florence (early 14th c.; Lazarev 1967, figs. 427, 490).

As regards technique, this Crucifixion is distinguished by its variety of colour, its decorative tendency, and the use of truly minute multicoloured tesserae of stone, glass, and silver, which the artist handles with exceptional dexterity as he affixes them to a layer of wax-mastic on a wooden panel support.

With the exception of Christ's loincloth, the garments are rendered in monochrome and the folds are defined, in an imitation of enamel technique, with hair-fine threads of silver, which give the impression of linear highlights. The face, however, with its pinkish wheaten flesh and 'flickering highlights' in the form of minute dots on the brow and around the eyes and nose, is rendered in a painterly manner with marvellous skill in the details.





A similarly painterly technique in the rendering of the clothes and face is seen in the mosaic icon of Christ Emmanuel (late 13th c.), originally from Mount Athos and now in the Historical Museum in Moscow (Bank 1985<sup>2</sup>, no. 258). And a similar halo and frame are seen in the mosaics in the Church of the Porta Panagia in Thessaly, the icon of the Dodekaorton in Florence (early 14th c.), and the mosaic icon of four hierarchs (early 14th c.) in the Hermitage (Weitzmann et al. 1982, p.

165. Lazarev 1967, fig. 490. Bank 1985<sup>2</sup>, no. 259).

On the basis of these iconographical, technical, and stylistic details, this writer would date the icon to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Lazarev 1967, p. 285. Grabar 1975, pp. 52-3. Furlan 1979, no. 24, p. 149 (with earlier bibliography). Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 369-72, fig. 314. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 488-9, fig. 314.

E.N.T.



### 2.13 St Demetrios

ca. 1300

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 88 x 52 cm

Panselinos' workshop

One of the most important surviving early Palaeologan icons on Mount Athos is this icon of St Demetrios, which was painted by the artist who executed an icon of St George of the same size. St Demetrios is portrayed from the waist up as a warrior saint. His slightly contorted body is broad with sloping shoulders, and seems to be constricted by the narrow confines of the icon. With its warm, softly blended colour tones and tranquil, slightly melancholy gaze directed at the viewer, the saint's face presents the expressively lifelike portrait of a young warrior, a martyr of the Church, for whose portrayal the artist has undoubtedly borrowed from old sources that go back to the early Christian period.

This iconic type of St Demetrios, with the noble, contemplative face, profound spirituality, and lofty ethos, reflects the same artistic style and expressive quality as the wall paintings in the Protaton (ca. 1290) in Karyes on Mount Athos. These are traditionally attributed to the eminent Thessalonian painter 'Master Manuel Panselinos', one of the greatest artists of all time. A comparison between this icon and the wall painting of St Demetrios in the Protaton confirms their connection (Tsigaridas 1996 (2), figs. 5, 6).

As regards technique, the rendering of the face, with the wide area of slightly pinkish warm ochre, the green shading on the brow, the cheeks, and the neck, lightly suffusing the flesh like a diaphanous web, and the white linear highlights that discreetly illuminate the face, also closely reflects the techniques used in the Protaton.

Despite the slight variations due to the difference in genre, the typological, technical, and stylistic affinity which this icon of St Demetrios shares with the wall paintings in the Protaton strongly suggests that it is a fine product of the same artistic environment, was

painted by Panselinos' workshop, and may be dated to around 1300 or the first decade of the fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Weitzmann et al. 1966, pl. 60. Miljković-Pepk 1967, pl. CLXXXIX. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 372-3, fig. 315, and particularly Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 355-9, figs. 4-6.

E.N.T.

### 2.14 St John of Damascus

early 14th c.

Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera

40 x 29 cm

St John of Damascus is portrayed from the waist up, turning slightly towards his right. In his left hand he holds an open, inscribed scroll, and with his right he makes a gesture of blessing. He wears a dark green monastic cloak, beneath which the short stole of the *megaloschemos* is just discernible.

The turban on his head also covers his shoulders and denotes his Arab origin. His head is surrounded by a wide gold halo, while the rest of the figure is set against a pale green ground, on which is the inscription: 'St John of Damascus'.

St John of Damascus (7th-8th c.) came from an Arab Christian family. Having briefly served in the administration of the Arabian state, in 717 he became a monk in the Lavra of St Sabbas in Palestine, where he spent the rest of his life in spiritual asceticism, study, and writing. He gained particular renown for his theological work refuting the Iconoclasts. His entire *oeuvre*, which came to form the basis of Orthodox Christianity, assured him eternal glory.

The saint's iconographical type, in monastic garb and a turban, was introduced in the twelfth century and has remained unchanged ever since (Babić 1987, pp. 206-10, figs. 5-8).

His physiognomical type is distinguished by a long narrow face, long, slender nose, deeply shadowed eyes, the painterly accentuation of









2.14

the volumes with emphasised cheekbones, and fine, limited, vivid highlights shimmering on a face darkened by the desert sun.

With its stern gaze, intensified by spiritual ascesis, this face may also be seen in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century

monuments (Millet - Frolow 1962, pl. 117.4. Constantinides 1992, II, figs. 94, 102, 218b. Todić 1993, fig. 31) with artistic connections with Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

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## 2.15 The Presentation of the Virgin early 14th c.

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 110 x 96 cm

This icon of the Presentation of the Virgin, which is a masterpiece of Palaeologan art, must have occupied a very special place in the liturgical life of the monastery, because the monastery celebrates its patronal festival on the Feast of

the Presentation. The icon was probably one of the despotic icons on the original templon in the katholikon.

The protagonists in the scene – Mary's parents Joachim and Anne, Mary herself, and the high priest Zacharias, who welcomes her – are grouped in the centre of the composition, before the canopied altar. On the right, behind Zacharias, on a stepped seat in the inner sanctum of the temple sits the Virgin being fed by an angel, in accordance with the account in the Apocryphal





Gospel and ecclesiastical hymnology. Behind the Virgin's parents and in front of a tall narrow building are the Virgin's friends, the seven taper-bearing daughters of Zion, depicted realistically but on a smaller scale than Zacharias, Joachim, and Anne.

The icon, which reflects the account in the Protoevangelion of James, adopts a traditional iconographical format that was established as early as the Macedonian and Comnenian periods and is seen in the Menologion of Basil II and the mosaics at Daphni (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964-5, pp. 136ff., pls. XXXIV. 80, XXXV. 83). Typical of the conservative iconography of the scene is the fact that the Virgin's parents precede the daughters of Zion, whereas in the Palaeologan period they are usually depicted behind them, as in Chora Monastery in Constantinople (1318-21) and Studenica (ca. 1315; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975, pp. 179ff., fig. 18).

From an artistic point of view, despite the damage to the paint film, the figures of Joachim, Anne, and Zacharias are robust and wide-bodied. By contrast, with their classical tunics, slender build, graceful poses and movements, and faces of Hellenistic beauty, the delicate taper-bearing daughters of Zion clearly reflect the classicising trends of the Palaeologan period, which are so manifestly apparent in the frescoes in the Protaton (ca. 1290).

The figure which best typifies the classicism of the age is the girl at the extreme left, who is depicted with the loose stance of ancient funerary figures. The way she uses her hand to shield her flame from the wind introduces a realistic note hitherto unknown in the iconography of this scene.

As regards technique, the full, fleshy faces with sharp olive-green shadows on the ochre, a slight blush on the cheeks, accentuated cheekbones, and thick, supple, linear highlights bring to mind techniques seen in the frescoes in the outer narthex of Vatopedi Monastery (1312), particularly those executed by the artist who painted Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives and who has been linked with Panselinos' workshop (Tsigaridas 1996 (3), pp. 271-9, figs. 218-20, 232, 236).

This icon, which is unquestionably one of the most outstanding works preserved in Chelandari

Monastery from the time of the Serbian ruler Stephen Milutin, has been dated to the end of the second decade of the fourteenth century and linked with the work of one of the artists who decorated the katholikon of Chelandari (1318-21) and who reflects the artistic environment of Thessaloniki (Djurić 1964, p. 82. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 86. Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 140).

However, this writer is of the opinion that the icon is in fact an outstanding work representative of the Palaeologan Renaissance, executed by an exceptionally talented anonymous artist from Thessaloniki, who uses techniques that closely resemble those of the painter of Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives in the outer narthex of Vatopedi Monastery (1312). It is therefore proposed that this icon of the Presentation of the Virgin should be dated to the first decade of the fourteenth century and dissociated from the artists who decorated the katholikon of Chelandari.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 174, fig. 27. Radojčić, *Icones*, p. 24. Djurić 1964, pp. 81-2, figs. 32, 33. Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. LXVI, figs. 194-5. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 86, figs. 72-3. Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 176.

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## 2.16 The Virgin Hodegetria

14th c., first two decades

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 135 x 99 cm

This icon of the Virgin Hodegetria and the icon of Christ (no. 2.17) occupied the intercolumnar spaces in the templon in the new katholikon built in 1293 by the Serb ruler Milutin in Chelandari Monastery.

The Virgin is depicted from the waist up turning slightly towards Christ, whom she holds in her left arm, her right hand raised, as the iconography requires, before her breast. She wears an aubergine maphorion with an orange border embellished with gold striation. Christ sits erect in her embrace, holding a closed scroll in his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his right. He wears a





bluish tunic and an orange himation covered with gold striation. The Virgin is qualified as the Eleoussa (Our Lady of Mercy), an appellation that was particularly common in Cretan painting (Vocotopoulos 1995, pp. 13-14).

Facially, both the Virgin and Christ bear a close resemblance to works of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The iconic type and fine facial features of the Virgin in particular attest direct links with the icon of the Virgin and Child (14th c., 1st quarter) in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 100) and particularly with the icons of the Virgin and Child from the Church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki (Xyngopoulos 1964 (2), pl. 144) and the Church of Joachim and Anne (1315) at Studenica in Serbia (Babić 1987, pl. XXXIII). Christ too, with his high forehead, snub nose, and receding chin, reflects a facial type that was in vogue in the early period of Palaeologan art, as we can see in the full-length Virgin and Child in Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 373, fig. 317).



2.17

Although the paint film has flaked slightly, in the rendering of the faces the Virgin and Christ are distinguished by the delicacy of the painting, and their slender build and noble air, features which link this icon with that of the Virgin and Child in the Museum of Byzantine Culture and the Virgin Psychosostria (Our Lady the Saviour of Souls) in Ochrid (Weitzmann et al. 1966, fig. 159), both of which date to the early fourteenth century. Her gentle oblique gaze, however, recalls the Virgin in the Studenica church and in the Church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki.

The Chelandari icon's direct links with icons and frescoes connected with Thessaloniki workshops suggest that it should be dated to the first two decades of the fourteenth century and that it belongs to the artistic environment of Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 173, fig. 22. Bogdanović-Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 86, fig. 71. Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 99.

E.N.T.



## 2.17 Christ Pantokrator

14th c., first two decades

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 135 x 100 cm

Christ is depicted from the waist up, holding a richly bound, closed Gospel and making a gesture of blessing with his right hand. He wears an aubergine tunic with a clavus and a dark blue himation.

The Chelandari Christ represents an iconographical type that was widespread in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art.

From an artistic point of view, the iconic type, with its slender proportions, long narrow face, and noble features, has moved away from the robust figure preferred in the second half of the thirteenth century and is reminiscent of the Christ in the Deesis representation in Chora Monastery in Constantinople (1318-21; Underwood 1966, 2, fig. 39). As regards the rendering of the face, although the highlights have flaked off, the icon stands out for the delicacy of the painting and the benevolent expression on Christ's face.

Apart from its dimensions, this icon of Christ also shares technical and stylistic similarities with the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria from Chelandari (no. 2.16). They were both despotic icons on the templon in the new katholikon, which the Serbian ruler Stephen Milutin built for the monastery in 1293. On the basis of these shared characteristics, both icons may be dated to the first two decades of the fourteenth century and ascribed to the same workshop, which belonged to the artistic milieu of Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 173, fig. 23. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 86, fig. 70.

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## 2.18 Cross

ca. 1360-80

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 183 x 134 cm

This wooden cross, painted with a representation of the Crucifixion and, above, a symbolic depiction

of the Last Judgement, was originally positioned either behind the altar or on top of the iconostasis in the katholikon.

The central composition is a painted crucifix, on which Christ has already closed his eyes and sunk his head onto his right shoulder. The body, naked but for a short loincloth, is rendered in harmonious *contrapposto* characterised by a jutting pelvis. On either side of the arms of the painted cross is a miniature, of the Virgin on the left and John on the right, both from the knees up.

The Virgin is a slender figure, swathed in her maphorion, with only her left hand and her face showing. Her pose and the movement of the hand and the head denote a figure wrapt in grief. John too turns towards the crucified Christ. His limp pose and the movement of his hand and head reinforce the impression of a figure exhausted by mental anguish.

The Christ-type with marked *contrapposto* is characteristic chiefly of Palaeologan works. In this particular case, the jutting pelvis and the extremely stylised anatomical details link the icon to the late phase of Palaeologan art (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 130, 140). The tall, slender figure of the Virgin, with its tight, closed form, is very similar to that of the Virgin in an icon of the Crucifixion in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 82), which is dated to the mid-fourteenth century. St John in the Pantokrator icon also shows typological similarities with the figure of the same saint in the Athens icon, and even more so with the figure of an apostle in the representation of the Dormition at Sopocani in Serbia (1260-70), one of the most important monuments produced by the art of Constantinople (Djurić 1963, pl. XXVII). The figure of John attests a return to thirteenth-century models, which is a feature of the art of the second half of the fourteenth century.

From a stylistic point of view, with the soft, painterly modelling of their clothes and faces and their delicately melancholy expression, the figures of the Virgin and John may be linked with works of the second half of the fourteenth century, such as the double-sided icon (1371) in the







Archaeological Museum in Sofia (Weitzmann et al. 1966, pl. 103, 105. Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 125-6).

The facial type of the Christ figure also harks back to the same period, being iconically and stylistically reminiscent of the icon of the Man of Sorrows in the diptych in the Monastery of Metamorphosis (Transfiguration) at Meteora (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 123-4), which is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. Therefore, this writer believes that the Pantokrator cross also dates to this period, and more specifically to 1360-80.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1978, pp. 195-6, pls. 13β, 14α-β.

E.N.T.

## 2.19 Double-sided icon

a. St John the Baptist

b. St John the Baptist

and the Virgin and Child

14th c., 3rd quarter

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 99 x 67 cm

On the main face of this double-sided icon, John the Baptist is portrayed from the waist up, clad in a hair garment that leaves his right shoulder and part of his chest bare. He makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand in front of his chest. In his left hand he holds a staff topped by a cross,





between the arms of which is a medallion bearing a representation of Christ Pantokrator. In the corresponding position in the left corner, on the same scale as Christ, is a supplicatory angel also in a medallion.

This icon of John the Baptist has iconographical parallels in Palaeologan icons and wall paintings (Vocotopoulos 1995, p. 2, figs. 1, 3). Typologically, the saint's tall, slender form, with its long stylised coiffure and longish, fine-featured face full of human sadness for the destiny of Christ (Grabar 1969, pp. 113-20), places the icon among the classicistic trends of the second half of the fourteenth century (Chatzidakis 1974 (1), pp. 175-6).

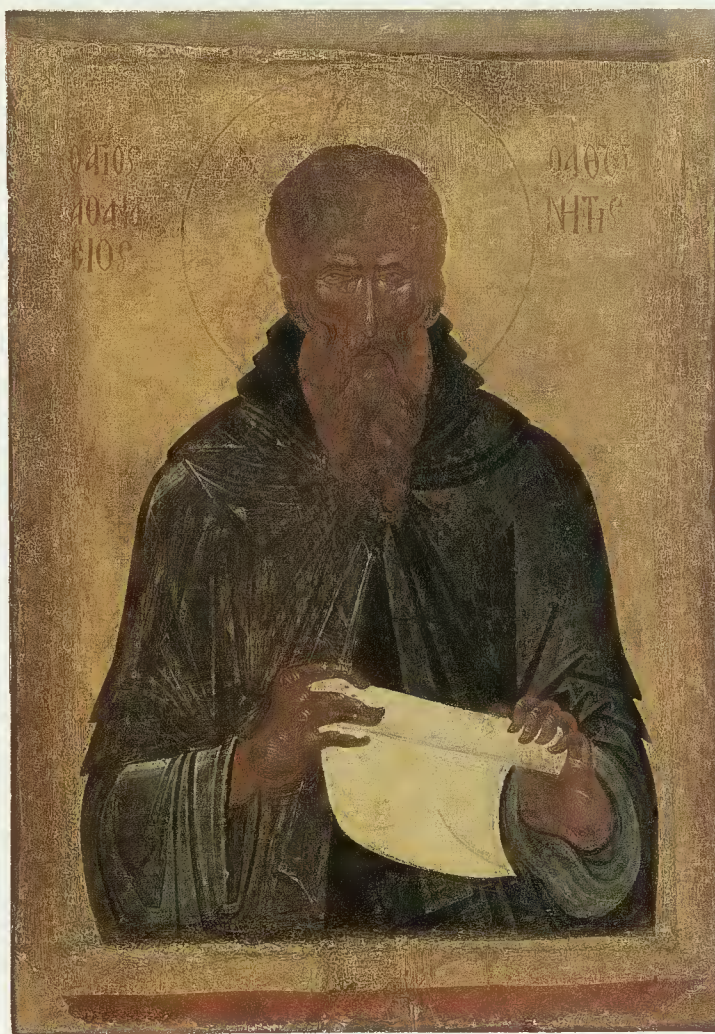
From an artistic point of view, the brown

that suffuses the whole image and the limited highlights in the form of white striations link the icon with works – wall paintings and icons – of the first half and third quarter of the fourteenth century (Vocotopoulos 1995, pp. 1-3, figs. 1-3). Finally, the noble figure of the Baptist, with its slender body, monumental pose, and refined face, places the icon among the works of the capital, as do the high standard of the execution and the whole ethos of the figure.

On the rear of the icon, John the Baptist is depicted on the left, facing right and holding in his left hand a staff topped with a cross. He wears a bluish goatskin which leaves part of his body bare. His severed head lies on a tray at his feet in the lower centre of the composition. The Virgin



2.20





on the right turns slightly and inclines her head towards the Baptist. In her left arm she holds the seated Christ Child, who has a scroll in his left hand and makes a gesture of blessing with his right.

This iconographical type of the Virgin, which is known from late thirteenth-century works (Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1975, p. 162), is also seen in works of the second half of the fourteenth century (Djurić 1961, pl. LXV). The facial type, the technical execution of the figures (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 25-33), the slender physiques, and the Virgin's small face in relation to her body also point to the same period. By the same token, the grace and elegance of the poses, the figures' harmoniously reciprocal movements, and the elevated ethos of the faces place this icon among the representative works produced in Constantinople in this period.

**Bibliography:** Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, pl. 103. Tsigaridas 1978, pp. 196-7, pl. 16α-β.

E.N.T.

## 2.20 Double-sided icon

### a. Christ Pantokrator

### b. St Athanasios

1360-80

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 104 x 71 cm

On the main face of this double-sided icon Christ is depicted as the Pantokrator. He is portrayed from the waist up wearing a cherry-red tunic with a clavus and a deep blue himation. His right hand is raised before his chest in a gesture of blessing, and he holds a richly-bound closed Gospel in his left. The long face is framed by brown hair, which touches the left shoulder. The beard sprouts softly out of the chin and is rendered with sensitive linear brushstrokes. The inscription 'Jesus Christ the Pantokrator' is written in the upper part of the icon on a yellow ground that imitates gold.

This iconographical type of Christ Pantokrator is a common one in Byzantine art. However, the slender proportions and the long, narrow face bring this icon very close to the Pantokrator in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, which is also from Pantokrator Monastery and is dated to about 1363 (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 96).

St Athanasios the Athonite, in bust, is wearing a hooded monk's habit and holding a half-opened blank scroll. The prominent cheekbones, sunken cheeks, relatively small, narrow eyes, and long light brown beard give the saint's ascetic face an intense expression. The ground of the icon is yellow, as on the other side, and the inscription, 'St Athanasios the Athonite', is written on either side of the saint's head.

Athanasios's face is rendered with limited areas of dull green underpainting, to which is added the brown colour of the flesh, the prominent areas of the brow and cheeks being emphasised with white, linear highlights.

The technique employed for the faces of both figures is typical of Byzantine art from the mid-fourteenth century on (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 16ff. Soteriou 1959, pp. 81ff.). Dense fine hatching accentuates the illuminated areas of the face, giving the luminous flesh a translucent quality, an impression which is strengthened by the shading, which, with no linear outline, defines and softly blends into the face in a painterly manner. In monumental painting, this technique is seen in the frescoes in the Church of the Peribleptos at Mistra (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 29-32), the frescoes at Ravanića in Serbia (1385-7), and the frescoes by Manuel Eugenikos at Calendžicha (1384-97) in Georgia (Lazarev 1967, figs. 520-1, 524). The geographical spread of the technique, which served to produce fleshless, idealised figures animated by a religious lyricism and an exalted spirituality, cannot be unconnected with the mystic tendencies that prevailed in religious thought after the triumph of the Hesychast movement and spread throughout the Balkans and into Russia in the second half of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, the wide diffusion of this particular technique, with its specific aesthetic effect, confirms that, despite the gradual decline



of its political power, Constantinople continued to set the tone of artistic inquiry. More specifically, as regards the type and execution of Christ's face, this icon's close similarities with the Hermitage icon and, particularly, with Christ in the Transfiguration in the Peribleptos at Mistra (Chatzidakis 1974 (1), fig. 13) suggest that it should be dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century; a dating which may be slightly narrowed down to somewhere between 1360 and 1380. Its high standard of execution makes the icon one of the most representative works of art from this period.

**Bibliography:** Byzantine Art 1964, nos. 201, 721. Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. XXXI, pl. 71. Tsigaridas 1978, pp. 194-5, pl. 13α.

E.N.T.

## 2.21 Christ Pantokrator (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

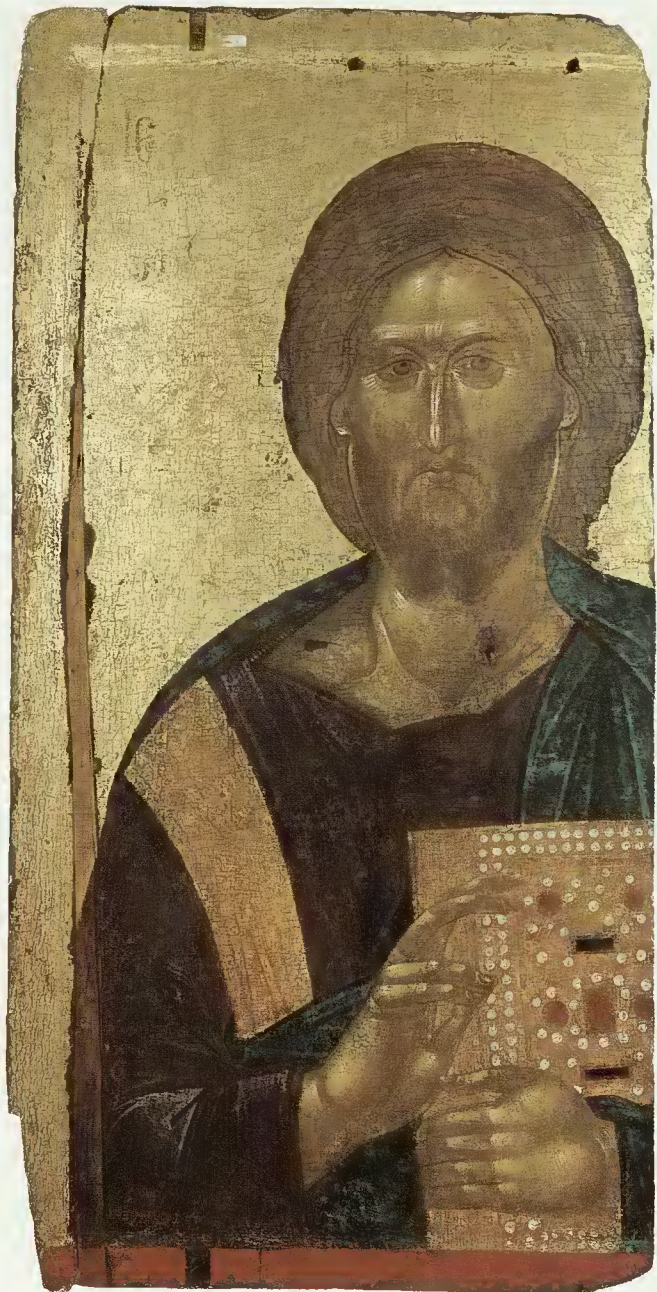
Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 138 x 60 cm

This icon of Christ belongs to a group of five icons, which, together with another six that no longer survive, made up the Great Deesis group on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery in the third quarter of the fourteenth century (Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 359-64). Of the central figures, only the icons of Christ Pantokrator and John the Baptist survive; all that remains of the icon of the Virgin is two pieces of wood bearing traces of the paint film. The archangel Gabriel also survives, who, with the now lost archangel Michael, flanked the central Deesis theme. The group was completed by the Apostles Peter and Paul and the four Evangelists, of whom only St John (no. 2.24) and St Luke survive.

Of the extant Great Deesis icons, which have not retained their original dimensions, four are displayed in the exhibition: Christ Pantokrator, the Archangel Gabriel (no. 2.23), St John the Baptist (no. 2.22), and St John the Theologian (no. 2.24).

The icon of Christ Pantokrator has not come



down to us intact: pieces are missing from the right and left sides, though part of the right-hand side, with the integral frame, has been found recently. The central icon in the whole Great Deesis composition, it depicts a bust of Christ holding a closed, richly bound Gospel, his right hand raised in blessing.

The Vatopedi Christ reproduces an



iconographical type that was widespread in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art. Although some of the paint has gone from the hair and the facial shading, the figure is nonetheless impressive, particularly in respect of the sharp chiaroscuro on the face, with which the painter accentuates the expression.

With its frowning air, intense gaze, and linear highlighting in the form of limited radial striation beneath the eyes and a luminous sheen on the brow, this Christ type is also seen in a number of anticlassical works of the second half of the fourteenth century, such as the wall painting of Christ Pantokrator in the Church of the Hagioi Apostoloi in Peć in mediaeval Serbia (Djurić - Žirković - Korać 1990, fig. 135), the icon of Christ Pantokrator from the Church of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, fig. 30), and the icon of Christ Zoodotis (the Giver of Life), the work of Metropolitan John in 1393/4 (Weitzmann et al. 1966, fig. 189), now in Skopje but originally from Zrze Monastery outside Prilep. The Vatopedi Christ differs from the Thessaloniki and Zrze icons in the delicate modelling of the hands, the long, slender fingers, and the softer linear highlighting on the face. Coupled with the icon's physiognomical and stylistic similarity to the wall painting of Christ Pantokrator at Pec, dated to about 1350, these features suggest a dating for the Vatopedi icon in or shortly after the mid-fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 382-3, fig. 323.  
Tsigaridas 1996 (2), p. 360, figs. 8-9.

E.N.T.

## 2.22 John the Baptist (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 119 x 96 cm

St John the Baptist is depicted from the waist up, turning three-quarters towards the right in a gesture of supplication. His broad body is

covered by a greenish-blue tunic and a dull yellow himation. His long, narrow face, with its impeccably drawn almond-shaped eyes and aquiline nose, is supported by a short neck which widens at the shoulders. The bottom of the icon has been cut off to fit a new site, with the result that, although it retains its original width, the height has been reduced from about 138 cm to 119 cm.

From a technical point of view, this icon of John the Baptist is characterised by an elegant precision in the rendering of the features, a delicacy in the modelling of the face, and a softness in the highlighting that imparts a pensive serenity to the figure. The hair forms broad flame-shaped locks, and the curly beard is very realistically rendered. The garments, finally, have wide flat folds, which emphasise the breadth of the body.





Some minor differences apart, the Vatopedi Baptist presents close physiognomical and stylistic similarities to the Great Deesis icon of St John the Baptist in Chelandari Monastery (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, fig. 86). The similarities include the flatness of the body, the delicate technique, the discreet facial highlighting, and the expressive quality. So, since it is generally agreed that the Chelandari icon dates to around 1360, it seems reasonable to put the Vatopedi icon somewhere between 1350 and 1360.

The close typological, physiognomical, and stylistic similarities shared by the Vatopedi and Chelandari Great Deesis icons suggest that, despite the few differences, they are outstanding products of the same workshop, made in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the former probably between 1350 and 1360. It has also been shown (Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 359-64) that the Vatopedi icons are the remnants of the Great Deesis that adorned the iconostasis in the katholikon at that period.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1974 (1), fig. 9. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 383, fig. 324. Tsigaridas 1996 (2), p. 361, fig. 12.

E.N.T.



## 2.23 The Archangel Gabriel (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 139 x 94 cm

Gabriel is portrayed from the waist up turning three-quarters to the right and holding an orb in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. He wears a pink tunic and orange himation elaborately decorated with gold striation.

With its noble ethos, patrician poise, broad physical bulk terminating in a small head, delicately modelled hands with long, slender fingers, and flowing drapery, the impressive figure of Gabriel has its origins in superlative works of monumental painting from the early Palaeologan period, such as some of the unpublished frescoes in the Church

of the Hagioi Apostoloi in Thessaloniki.

However, the iconic type, with its intense gaze and linear highlighting in the form of limited radial striations beneath the eyes and a luminous sheen on the brow, is also seen both in the accompanying Great Deesis icon of Christ Pantokrator and in a number of frescoes and icons of the second half of the fourteenth century, including the Panagia Tricheroussa (Our Lady with Three Hands) in Chelandari Monastery (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, fig. 93) and St George from the Church of the Panagia Tripiti in Aigion (Vocotopoulos 1995, fig. 145).

**Bibliography:** Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, fig. 136a. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 383, fig. 325.

E.N.T.



## 2.24 St John the Theologian (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 119 x 94 cm

St John is depicted from the waist up, turning three-quarters to the right, his right hand holding a closed Gospel under his left arm. The icon is now smaller than its original size, which is estimated at 138 x 95 cm. The saint is portrayed with an exceptionally wide and bulky, sculptural body, and a short brawny neck supporting a large head with a very high forehead.

At first sight, this burly, almost athletic, figure, with its bulky body and strong neck, seems to have connections with monumental paintings of the early Palaeologan period, notably the wall paintings in the Protaton (Millet 1927, pl. 23.2, 37.2, 39.1. Chatzidakis 1972 (1), figs. 1-2).

However, a careful scrutiny of the icon shows that, both typologically and stylistically, it is very closely related to works – wall paintings and icons – of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, which manifest a tendency to return to early Palaeologan iconic models. Characteristic in this respect is the icon's typological and physiognomical resemblance to the wall painting of St John the Theologian (1360-70) in Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos (Tsigaridas 1978, pl. 7), and particularly to the icon of St John the Theologian from the Great Deesis in Chelandari Monastery (Vocotopoulos 1995, fig. 120), a work which is generally agreed to date to about 1360.

The Vatopedi icon shares not only typological and physiognomical similarities with the Chelandari icon, but also the modelling of the face and garments.

The underpainting is a deep olive-green, the flesh wheaten with limited brighter spots producing a luminous sheen on the face, and with linear highlighting in a technique and style similar to that of the Chelandari icon. The drapery too, which is wide and supple with greyish-white highlighting on a golden-

yellow ground, gives the impression of a garment naturally enveloping a robust body, in much the same way as the drapery in the Chelandari icon.

The beard too, which, as in the Chelandari icon, is greyish-white, is rendered not summarily but with a softness very true to life. The hand is striking with its long, shapely fingers and clearly marked joints.

Despite some minor differences, which chiefly relate to the emphasis on the physical bulk in the Vatopedi icon, the close artistic similarity between the two icons strongly suggests that they are products of the same workshop (Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 356-64) and reflect an artistic trend of the third quarter of the fourteenth





century characterised by the return to early-Palaeologan iconic models.

The sublime spirituality of the figures and the artistic links already pointed out (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 386) between the Great Deesis icons in Vatopedi and the Evangelists in Cod. no. 16, which was a gift from John VI Cantacuzenos to the monastery, permit us to suggest that the Great Deesis icons both in Vatopedi and in Chelandari reflect the Hesychast spiritual movement and were produced by a Constantinopolitan atelier which continued the techniques of the workshop that produced Vatopedi Cod. no. 16 in 1340-1 (Lamberz 1996, fig. 506. Kadas 1996 (1), fig. 544). It may well be that the Great Deesis icons, like Cod. no. 16, were given to the monastery by John Cantacuzenos.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 384-6, fig. 326. Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 361-2, fig. 10.

E.N.T.

## 2.25 The Archangel Gabriel (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 100 x 63 cm

This icon of the Archangel Gabriel is one of a group of eleven icons which made up the Great Deesis on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Chelandari Monastery in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

Of this impressive group survive the Virgin, John the Baptist, Michael and Gabriel, Peter and Paul, and the four Evangelists. Only the icon of Christ, the central subject of the monumental composition of the Great Deesis, no longer survives. Three of the icons are displayed in the exhibition: the Archangel Gabriel, St Luke, and St Matthew.

Gabriel is depicted from the waist up turning three-quarters towards his right. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, his left is stretched forth in a gesture of supplication. On the gold ground of the icon is the inscription: 'The Archangel Gabriel'.



With its noble bearing and broad body culminating in a relatively small head, the origins of this figure lie in works of the early Palaeologan period, such as the icon of the Archangel Gabriel in Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), figs. 320-1).

However, the broad luminous face with the sharp olive-green shadow emphasising the volume, the localised linear highlighting, and the geometrical drapery with its luminous sheen are also seen in works of the second half of the fourteenth century, such as the Annunciation on the bema doors in the Great Lavra



**2.24 St John the Theologian (Great Deesis)**  
14th c., 3rd quarter  
Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 119 x 94 cm

St John is depicted from the waist up, turning three-quarters to the right, his right hand holding a closed Gospel under his left arm. The icon is now smaller than its original size, which is estimated at 138 x 95 cm. The saint is portrayed with an exceptionally wide and bulky, sculptural body, and a short brawny neck supporting a large head with a very high forehead.

At first sight, this burly, almost athletic, figure, with its bulky body and strong neck, seems to have connections with monumental paintings of the early Palaeologan period, notably the wall paintings in the Protaton (Millet 1927, pl. 23.2, 37.2, 39.1. Chatzidakis 1972 (1), figs. 1-2).

However, a careful scrutiny of the icon shows that, both typologically and stylistically, it is very closely related to works – wall paintings and icons – of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, which manifest a tendency to return to early Palaeologan iconic models. Characteristic in this respect is the icon's typological and physiognomical resemblance to the wall painting of St John the Theologian (1360-70) in Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos (Tsigaridas 1978, pl. 7), and particularly to the icon of St John the Theologian from the Great Deesis in Chelandari Monastery (Vocotopoulos 1995, fig. 120), a work which is generally agreed to date to about 1360.

The Vatopedi icon shares not only typological and physiognomical similarities with the Chelandari icon, but also the modelling of the face and garments.

The underpainting is a deep olive-green, the flesh wheaten with limited brighter spots producing a luminous sheen on the face, and with linear highlighting in a technique and style similar to that of the Chelandari icon. The drapery too, which is wide and supple with greyish-white highlighting on a golden-

yellow ground, gives the impression of a garment naturally enveloping a robust body, in much the same way as the drapery in the Chelandari icon.

The beard too, which, as in the Chelandari icon, is greyish-white, is rendered not summarily but with a softness very true to life. The hand is striking with its long, shapely fingers and clearly marked joints.

Despite some minor differences, which chiefly relate to the emphasis on the physical bulk in the Vatopedi icon, the close artistic similarity between the two icons strongly suggests that they are products of the same workshop (Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 356-64) and reflect an artistic trend of the third quarter of the fourteenth





century characterised by the return to early-Palaeologan iconic models.

The sublime spirituality of the figures and the artistic links already pointed out (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 386) between the Great Deesis icons in Vatopedi and the Evangelists in Cod. no. 16, which was a gift from John VI Cantacuzenos to the monastery, permit us to suggest that the Great Deesis icons both in Vatopedi and in Chelandari reflect the Hesychast spiritual movement and were produced by a Constantinopolitan atelier which continued the techniques of the workshop that produced Vatopedi Cod. no. 16 in 1340-1 (Lamberz 1996, fig. 506. Kadas 1996 (1), fig. 544). It may well be that the Great Deesis icons, like Cod. no. 16, were given to the monastery by John Cantacuzenos.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 384-6, fig. 326. Tsigaridas 1996 (2), pp. 361-2, fig. 10.

E.N.T.

## 2.25 The Archangel Gabriel (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 100 x 63 cm

This icon of the Archangel Gabriel is one of a group of eleven icons which made up the Great Deesis on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Chelandari Monastery in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

Of this impressive group survive the Virgin, John the Baptist, Michael and Gabriel, Peter and Paul, and the four Evangelists. Only the icon of Christ, the central subject of the monumental composition of the Great Deesis, no longer survives. Three of the icons are displayed in the exhibition: the Archangel Gabriel, St Luke, and St Matthew.

Gabriel is depicted from the waist up turning three-quarters towards his right. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, his left is stretched forth in a gesture of supplication. On the gold ground of the icon is the inscription: 'The Archangel Gabriel'.



With its noble bearing and broad body culminating in a relatively small head, the origins of this figure lie in works of the early Palaeologan period, such as the icon of the Archangel Gabriel in Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), figs. 320-1).

However, the broad luminous face with the sharp olive-green shadow emphasising the volume, the localised linear highlighting, and the geometrical drapery with its luminous sheen are also seen in works of the second half of the fourteenth century, such as the Annunciation on the bema doors in the Great Lavra



(Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 116).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 175. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), p. 131. Djurić 1960, pp. 333-51. Radojčić. *Ikônes*. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 108, fig. 85. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 141, 191. Müller - Djordjević 1984, pl. 21. Djurić 1989 (1), fig. 14.

E.N.T.

## 2.26 St Luke (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 100 x 73 cm

St Luke is depicted from the waist up turning



three-quarters to his right. A richly bound, closed Gospel rests on his left arm, and his right hand is raised in blessing. He wears a bluish tunic with a clavus and an aubergine himation. His broad, bulky, almost athletic body is topped by a robust neck and a fleshy face. There is an inscription on the gold ground of the icon: 'St Luke'.

With its rugged features, arched brows, and hooked nose, the face stands out for its mature flesh, rendered in a painterly manner, and the highlights that shimmer on the face and emphasise the joints of the shapely fingers.

The drapery of the tunic forms wide, deep, straight folds, while the deep folds and highlighted areas of the himation break the surface up into irregular restless plastic shapes.

The technique produces a plastic rendering of the flesh of the face and reveals the shape of the body beneath the clothing. At the same time, Luke's terrestrial, muscular stature is distinguished by the serene, peaceful expression on the face, which is suffused with an unearthly light.

This athletic figure, which is distinguished by its exceptionally spiritual air, attests direct artistic links with the icons of the Vatopedi Great Deesis. They may all have been produced by the same workshop in the third quarter of the fourteenth century (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 382-6, figs. 323-6).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), pl. 31, p. 175. Chatzidakis 1956, p. 280. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), p. 131. Djurić 1960, pp. 333-51. Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. LXVIII, fig. 187. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 108, fig. 82. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 141, 189.

E.N.T.

## 2.27 St Matthew (Great Deesis)

14th c., 3rd quarter

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 100 x 67 cm

St Matthew is portrayed from the waist up turning three-quarters to his left. He holds a



half-open Gospel in his left hand and wears an aubergine tunic and a dark green himation. On the gold ground of the icon is the inscription: 'St Matthew'.

This sturdy figure, with the broad burly body, robust neck, and serene, profoundly spiritual expression tinged with sadness, traces its origin to early Palaeologan works of monumental painting, such as the frescoes in the Protaton (ca. 1290; Millet 1927, pls. 36-7).

However, this St Matthew has a more direct typological and stylistic connection with the Matthew in Vatopedi Cod. no. 16 (1340-1), which was given to the monastery by Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (Lamberz 1996, pp. 568-9, fig. 506).

From a technical point of view, the volumes of the face are full and fleshy, rendered in a painterly manner with limited olive-green shading, a warm wheaten colour for the flesh, and broad, localised, supple highlights that give the face a luminous sheen.

The joints of the long, shapely fingers too are rendered not schematically, but in a painterly manner. The beard and hair fall in flame-like, supple locks. The drapery, wide and flowing with patches and lines of highlighting, reveals the breadth and bulk of the body beneath. Similar techniques in rendering the face, the areas of bare flesh, and the drapery are seen in the Apostles in Vatopedi Cod. no. 16 (Lamberz 1996, fig. 506. Kadas 1996 (1), fig. 544) and in the Great Deesis icons in Vatopedi Monastery (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 384-6, fig. 326), among others.

The physiognomical and stylistic affinity between this icon of St Matthew from Chelandari and the miniatures in Vatopedi Cod. no. 16, and particularly the Great Deesis icons in Vatopedi, suggests that the Great Deesis icons in both Chelandari and Vatopedi were produced by the same workshop. They reflect artistic trends of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, which manifested a return to iconic types of the early Palaeologan period (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 386).

Furthermore, the sublime spirituality of the figures and the artistic links between the

Chelandari Great Deesis icons and the Evangelists in Cod. no. 16 allow one to venture the opinion that both the Chelandari and the Vatopedi Great Deesis icons are expressions of the Hesychast spiritual movement and were produced by a workshop from Constantinople, which continued the techniques used by the workshop that produced Vatopedi Cod. no. 16 in 1340-1.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 175. Chatzidakis 1956, p. 280. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), p. 131. Djurić 1960, pp. 333-51. Weitzmann et al. 1966, p. LXVIII. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 108, fig. 81. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 141, 188, 190. Müller - Djordjević 1984, pl. 26. Djurić 1989 (1), fig. 10. Vocotopoulos 1995, pl. 119.

E.N.T.







**2.28 Bema doors: the Annunciation**  
 14th-15th c.  
 Simonopetra Monastery  
 Wood, egg tempera, 126 x 42 cm (each door)

The Archangel Gabriel is depicted on the left door, standing and facing the Virgin. He holds a herald's wand in his left hand and proffers his right in an oratorical gesture. The Virgin is depicted



on the right door, her body slightly turned towards the archangel, her stance and gesture eloquent of her humble submission to the will of God. Gabriel is dressed in a deep blue tunic and olive green himation; the Virgin wears a dark green tunic and a bluish, brick-red maphorion. In her left hand, which hangs close to her body, she holds a spindle wound with red thread. The two figures are painted, with no details of spatial context, on a green lower and orange upper ground, the latter an imitation of gold.

The artist follows a strict iconographical format, with discreet poses and gestures, the movements unemphasised, and the faces inward looking, utterly overwhelmed by the mystery of the divine incarnation. In this respect the icon has a parallel in the fourteenth-century bema doors in the Great Lavra (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 116).

Stylistically, the shadowy tones that predominate in the faces, with the bold lines imparting a luminous sheen, the highlights on Gabriel's garment, and the drapery hanging in harmonious relation to the body beneath link these bema doors with artistic trends of the second half of the fourteenth century (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pl. 7.1, 8.2), which continued in the painting of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, as is attested by the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century bema doors on Siphnos (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 90).

**Bibliography:** Kissas 1991, p. 187-8, fig. 105.

E.N.T.

## 2.29 Double-sided icon ca. 1375

a. The founder of Dionysiou Monastery,  
Alexios III Comnenos, and its patron,  
St John the Baptist  
b. Sts Canidios, Eugenios,  
Valerian, and Acylas  
Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 72.5 x 50.5 cm

On the main face of this double-sided icon, which has been reduced down both sides, are the founder of Dionysiou Monastery, Alexios III

Comnenos (1350-90), and John the Baptist, to whom the monastery is consecrated. Alexios, Emperor of Trebizond, is portrayed on the left, standing in a frontal pose, dressed in royal attire, and wearing a crown with pearl-studded pendants. In his right hand he holds a sceptre with a cross, in his left a model of a domed church. St John the Baptist is shown full-length on the right, standing on rocky ground. He wears a bluish goatskin with an olive-green himation on top. In his left hand he holds a closed scroll and a cross on a staff, and in his right a model of the church. Above the model is the seated Christ in glory, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding a closed Gospel in his left.

The Emperor is accompanied by the following inscription, in red capitals on a gold ground: 'ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΕΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[Υ]Σ / ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΝΑΤΟΛ[ΗΣ] [Ι]ΒΗΡ[Ω]Ν / ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ / Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΤΗΤΩΡ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΙ/ΜΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ' (Alexios in Christ our God, faithful King and Emperor of all the East, Iberia (Georgia), and all lands beyond, the Great Comnenos and founder of the Monastery of the Holy Prodrôme).

The Emperor is a close copy of the portrait of Alexios Comnenos which accompanies the chrysobull he issued in 1374-5 concerning the foundation and endowment of the monastery (Dölger - Weigand 1943, p. 97. Actes de Dionysiou 1968, pp. 50-61. Kadas 1986, fig. 124). The chrysobull is still treasured in the monastery as part of its precious heritage. The close resemblance between the icon and the chrysobull means either that the same artist painted both the miniature and the icon or that the artist who painted the icon copied the portrait of Alexios on the chrysobull, where he is depicted with his consort Theodora.

On the reverse of the icon, on an orange ground that imitates gold, are four saints from Trebizond: Canidios, Eugenios, Valerian, and Acylas. The full-length saints stand in frontal poses, wearing sleeved tunics and cloaks, each holding the cross of his martyrdom in his left hand. St Eugenios is discreetly distinguished by the fact that his cross is on a staff and his halo is gold, rather than dark blue. He is also accompanied











by an inscription attesting his place of origin: 'The Trapezuntine'.

The depiction of Emperor Alexios Comnenos as founder of the monastery on the main face of the icon just as he is portrayed on the chrysobulls concerning the founding of the monastery (1374-5), together with the depiction of the Trapezuntine saints on the reverse, suggests that both icon and chrysobull may have been painted by the same workshop and that the icon was therefore given to the monastery by the Emperor.

**Bibliography:** Gabriel D. 1959, pp. 20, 49. Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1980-1, p. 341, pl. 96a. Kadas 1997, p. 104.

E.N.T.

**2.30 Double-sided icon** late 14th c.  
**a. The Virgin Hodegetria**  
**b. The Crucifixion**  
**St Paul's Monastery**

Wood, egg tempera  
110 x 80 cm

This is a double-sided processional icon with the Virgin Hodegetria on the main face and the Crucifixion on the rear. Double-sided processional icons are a visual expression of the doctrine of the divine incarnation and the symbolism of the divine Passion, which is why the subject on the rear is usually the Crucifixion, the Deposition, or the Man of Sorrows (Pallas 1965, pp. 91ff., 118ff., 308ff. Belting 1980-1, pp. 3, 9ff.).

On the main face, the Virgin is depicted from the waist up turning slightly towards Christ, her head tilted slightly in his direction. She holds the Child in her left arm, while her right hand is not raised before her breast in the usual way, but rests on Christ's knees. She wears a fringed aubergine maphorion with an orange border decorated with gold striation. Christ sits erect in his mother's embrace, holding a closed scroll in his left hand, his right raised in blessing. He wears an orange himation liberally adorned with gold lineation. The ground of the icon is



gold and bears two inscriptions: 'Mother of God the Hodegetria' and 'Jesus Christ'.

On the basis of the Virgin's pose and gesture, this icon of the Virgin and Child may be regarded as a variant of the iconographical type of the Virgin Hodegetria, among the oldest examples of which are an icon in Vatopedi Monastery (13th c., 2nd half) and another in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (early 14th c.), the latter from the Church of St Nicholas in Thessaloniki (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), fig. 308. Vassilaki-Karakatsani 1966-9, pl. 83).

In its iconography, physiognomy, and technique, this icon closely resembles the Vatopedi Hodegetria, dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. In fact, a number of features – the Virgin's broad body culminating in a small head (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), fig. 308),





the slenderness of the figures, the gracious faces with their fine, well-drawn features, the soft, gentle chiaroscuro of the faces shading to pinkish on the cheeks, and the localised linear highlights that impart a luminous sheen – are seen not only in the Vatopedi icon but also in other works of the same period, such as the Virgin Peribleptos at Zagorsk outside Moscow (late 14th c.), which is believed to have come from Constantinople (Ikoni 1991, no. 56).

The Crucifixion on the rear face is dominated by the central figure of the crucified Christ. His body, clad in a loincloth, is bent in a reverse S, his hands and feet nailed and still bleeding, and his head drooping onto his right shoulder.

On the left, the Virgin has swooned at the sight of her son dead on the cross and is held up by her companion. On the right are John

and the centurion. John is introverted, exhausted, and bowed with grief, resting his head on his right hand, while his left, positioned horizontally across his breast, holds up the edge of his himation. The centurion behind him holds a shield, turns towards Christ, and lifts his right hand to confess that 'Truly this man was the Son of God' (Mark 15:39).

In the background are the walls of Jerusalem. There is one inscription on the horizontal arms of the cross: 'The Crucifixion', and two more on the gold ground: 'Mother of God' and 'St John the Theologian'.

From an iconographical point of view, what sets this icon of the Crucifixion apart from the traditional iconography of the subject is the Virgin's swoon. Though known in the iconography of the Crucifixion since the eleventh century, this particular motif is not very common in Byzantine art; but it is seen in two ensembles of monumental painting on Mount Athos: the frescoes in the katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery (1312) and in Chelandari Monastery (1318-19) (Tsigaridas 1996 (3), fig. 194. Millet 1927, pl. 69.2). Both in the general iconographical format, poses, and gestures and in the depiction of the swooning Virgin, the anonymous painter of the St Paul's Crucifixion seems to have used the Vatopedi Crucifixion as his model, for he has copied it closely, omitting only a few minor details. However, in some iconographical details, such as the sigmoid curve of Christ's body and the protruding, almost tympanitic, belly, the painter adopts trends which appeared in icons of the Crucifixion in the second half of the fourteenth century (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 83, 108, 143).

From an artistic point of view, the figures in the Crucifixion are lean and slender, with drapery highlighted by bright luminous patches and stiff white lines defining the edges of the folds.

In the rendering of the faces, the painter uses dark green underpainting and brownish to olive-green flesh with faint red patches on the cheeks. At the same time, a lattice of supple linear highlights covers the sides of the face, encircles the eyes, and illuminates the ridge of



the nose, the forehead over the eyebrows, and the neck. This painterly technique of soft chiaroscuro, which gives the volumes and the facial features substance without sharp outlines or isolated areas, and with highlights that lend the face a translucent quality, is seen in Palaeologan artistic trends that appeared in the second half of the fourteenth century and continued into the first half of the fifteenth.

In this respect, the St Paul's Crucifixion is chiefly linked with works of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, such as the double-sided icon in Sofia (1371), the wall paintings of the Anargyroi saints (Cosmas and Damian) in Vatopedi Monastery (1371?), the wall paintings in Sklaverochori on Crete (late 14th c.), and the icon of the Crucifixion on Patmos (early 15th c.) (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 125-6. Tsigaridas 1996 (3), figs. 238-41. Borboudakis 1991, pls. KB'-KT'. Vocotopoulos 1995, fig. 143).

In fact, the strikingly close facial and stylistic resemblance between the Virgin in the St Paul's

Crucifixion and the Virgin in the Ascension in the Church of the Eisodia in Sklaverochori on Crete (Borboudakis 1991, pl. ΚΓ', α) makes it possible to date this icon more precisely to the end of the fourteenth century.

In conclusion, from an iconographical point of view, the representation of the Crucifixion with the swooning Virgin adopts iconographical formats from the early Palaeologan period, such as that of the fresco Crucifixion in Vatopedi Monastery (1312). Stylistically, with its slender figures, the sigmoid curve of Christ's body, and the delicate rendering of the faces, this Crucifixion reflects the artistic techniques of workshops in Constantinople or Thessaloniki at the end of the fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

### 2.31 St Julitta and St Cerycos 15th c., 1st half

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 39.5 x 33.5 cm



Both saints are depicted full-length, standing, turning slightly to the right. St Julitta occupies the centre of the icon wearing a long dark brown maphorion and a dark blue tunic; her right hand touches her son's head and her left is slightly raised with the palm outwards, a characteristic martyr's gesture. St Cerycos on his mother's right wears a russet tunic and a red cloak and raises both hands.

Both figures turn towards the bust of Christ in an irregular multi-rayed glory in the upper right corner. He holds a closed scroll in his left hand and makes a gesture of blessing with his right. On the light green ground survive the identifying inscriptions: 'St Julitta' and 'St Cerycos'.

From an artistic point of view, with the painterly modelling and limited linear highlights on the cheekbones, chin, and brow, the faces of Cerycos and Julitta reflect Palaeologan painting techniques, which continued into the first half of the fifteenth century (Borboudakis 1991, pl.



ΚΓ´) The drapery of Julitta's maphorion, with its wide, flat folds and geometrical luminous highlights, also recalls techniques used in that period (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, nos. 30, 32). It seems reasonable, therefore, to date the icon to the first half of the fifteenth century. The light green, rather than gold, ground is also seen in portable icons in the same period.

It should be noted that the figure of Christ is a later addition by a Northern-Greek workshop in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

### 2.32 The Synaxis of the Archangels mid-15th c.

Vatopedi Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 82 x 76.5 cm



In this icon of the Synaxis of the Archangels, the two 'ministers of the Lord', Michael on the left and Gabriel on the right, are depicted with strict symmetry in a full-length frontal pose holding between them a medallion containing a bust of Christ Pantokrator.

According to Grabar (Grabar 1957, p. 252), the iconography of the Synaxis of the Archangels must have been established sometime in the ninth century, immediately after the Iconoclast controversy, when Theodore of Studios wrote his discourse on the Synaxis of the Heavenly Powers.

The earlier examples of the Synaxis of the Archangels, which date to the eleventh century, do not include the figure of Christ (Kalopissi-Verti 1975, pp. 188-95. Gabelić 1977, pp. 58-9). Later on, in the thirteenth century, Christ Pantokrator or Christ Emmanuel was included in a medallion, the former rather less frequently than the latter.

From an artistic point of view, the Archangels' facial types, with their idealised beauty, the delicacy of the painting, the skilful highlighting technique using a dense network of fine white lines, and the distinctive stylised hair, refer to

works of the Cretan School of the second half of the fifteenth century, such as St Phanourios painted by Angelos on Patmos, St George on the bema door on Tenos and the Archangel Michael in the parish of Spelia in the diocese of Kissamos and Selinos, Crete, both ascribed to the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos or his circle (Vocotopoulos 1994 (1), fig. 201.5. Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, no. 47. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1994 (1), vol. I, p. 7, vol. II, fig. 4. Eikones 1993, no. 159). In the Vatopedi icon, which lacks the calligraphic starkness that characterises the icon of the Archangel Michael, the shadow of the nose descends to the chin, defined by a white line, a technical detail typically seen in the painting of Angelos and Ritzos (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 9. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1994 (1), I, p. 7).

These features, coupled with the high standard of the painting, date the icon to the middle or the second half of the fifteenth century and link it with the artistic environment of Angelos or with early works of Andreas Ritzos.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1996 (1), p. 404, figs. 338-9.

E.N.T.





**2.33 The Dormition  
of St Ephraim the Syrian**  
Iviron Monastery

mid-15th c.

Wood, egg tempera, 56 x 37 cm  
Cretan School

In the centre of the icon, against a backdrop of gentle hills and caves, stands a group of monks lamenting over the mortal remains of St Ephraim. The saint has been wrapped in a monk's habit and laid on a low slab, with an icon on his chest. Around him stands a dense semicircle of grieving monks. Some bend to give him the last kiss and a priest swings a censer as he prepares for the burial. A monk in the background strikes the *semantron*, in accordance with the rule, to announce the saint's death to the hermits and summon them to the funeral. They are depicted in rocky caves, praying, working, or studying. One of them is shown sitting on a pillar receiving a basket of food.

Other hermits, old, ill, or infirm, are being accompanied to the funeral: one on a donkey, another on a lion, another on a litter carried by two monks; one even crawls on his knees. In the upper part of the icon, the bust of an angel is shown carrying the saint's soul heavenward.

The landscape, which consists of soft, almost three-dimensional, hills and caves with pointed roofs, is scattered with bushes, pines, and animals, such as the two hares on the left sitting beside a cluster of low trees. Behind the monk with the *semantron*, a western-style landscape with the walls of a township discreetly unfolds in the distance.

As the subject is described and analysed by Markos Eugenikos in the fifteenth century, the representation in the Iviron icon, with its several discrete scenes and multi-level landscape, seems to be based on an iconographical prototype which appeared fully developed in the thirteenth century and was supplemented in the Palaeologan period with various picturesque details (Martin 1954, pp. 217-25. Chatzidakis 1974 (2), pp. 189-92. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, pp. 41-5). The most representative examples of the type are seen in portable icons of the fifteenth-century



Cretan School, thanks to which the theme became especially popular in monumental painting, particularly that of the sixteenth-century Cretan School (Chatzidakis 1974 (2), p. 191, pl. ΚΔ'. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, pp. 44-6).

The Ivron icon is part of this Cretan-School group, but, in comparison with other icons of the same type, the iconographical format here is simpler. In this respect it more closely resembles the icon in the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Soteriou 1938, pl. 21), which lacks the picturesque details of flora and fauna found in other icons, such as gazelles, a lake with birds in the foreground, and a stream flowing from the rocks. Another detail that distinguishes it from other icons of the same subject is the distant landscape with the walled township, which discreetly reflects a western perception of spatial perspective (see also the icon in Worcester, Martin 1954, fig. 3).

It should also be noted that the synthetic

conception, which is sparse not dense, and the structure and form of the rocky landscape with the soft hills and the harmonious range of colour tones which are very close to Palaeologan models, again have a parallel in the icon in the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

From a technical and stylistic point of view, the figures are tall, with mature modelling, sensitive outlines, and simple drapery that has a close organic relationship to the body beneath. The faces are rendered with soft, painterly modelling and with bright, limited spots of highlighting. This soft, resilient effect, which has its origins in early fifteenth-century Palaeologan icons (Chatzidakis 1985, pls. 8-9), also characterises the Dormition of St Ephraim in the Patriarchate of Constantinople and in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which are dated to the first half and the middle of the fifteenth century respectively (Soteriou 1938, p. 32. Acheimastou-Potamianou 1991, p. 54).

This writer therefore believes that the Ivron icon, which reveals artistic links with trends in the Palaeologan painting of the fifteenth century, though without the academic aspect that appears in late works at the end of the fifteenth century, may be dated to the middle of the fifteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1974 (2), pp. 189-92, pl. ΚΓ'. 1.

E.N.T.

## 2.34 The Transfiguration

15th c., 2nd half

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 50.5 x 40.5 cm

Christ is depicted in a resplendent glory on the top of Mount Tabor. Dressed in white, the standing, full-length figure makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holds a closed scroll in his left. On either side of Christ stands a prophet on a rocky peak over a cave, Elijah on the left, and Moses, holding the tables of the Law, on the right. In front of the rocky caves on either side of the peak is shown Christ's ascent and descent of Tabor with his disciples Peter,





James, and John (Millet 1916, p. 231, figs. 198, 200). In the lower part of the composition, the three are shown 'falling on their face', overcome by dread at the splendour of Christ's glory and the 'voice out of the cloud'. In the upper part of the icon, on a gold ground, is the inscription: 'The Transfiguration'.

The iconographical format, the tight, well-balanced composition, and the figures' intense poses and gestures come directly from the Palaeologan artistic tradition, as reflected in the miniature of the Transfiguration in Cod. Par. Gr. 1242 (1371-5; Galavaris 1995 (2), fig. 224). The Cretan School adopted this format in the fifteenth century (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, no. 58), and, through Theophanis the Cretan's paintings, it became widespread in post-Byzantine art.

From an artistic point of view, the rendering of the faces reflects Palaeologan techniques used in the art of the fifteenth century (Borboudakis 1991, pl. ΚΤ'); while the rendering of the clothes, with the luminous geometrical highlights, links the icon with techniques of the fifteenth-century Cretan School (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, fig. 58).

In conclusion, this writer is of the opinion that, in his iconographical format and the poses and gestures of his figures, the anonymous painter modelled this Transfiguration on a fifteenth-century work of the Cretan School such as the fifteenth-century icon of the Transfiguration in the Benaki Museum in Athens (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, fig. 58), adapting it to his own personal artistic idiom.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

## 2.35 The Raising of Lazarus

15th-16th c.

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 43.5 x 34 cm

The left side of the picture is dominated by the figure of Christ, moving towards the right, his right hand extended towards the dead Lazarus. Behind him is the dense, deep crowd of the



disciples, headed by Peter and John. The dead man's sisters, Martha and Mary, kneel at Christ's feet, their faces profoundly marked by grief and pain.

On the right of the composition is Lazarus wrapped in his cerements in a tomb hewn out of the rock. It has just been opened by three servants in short tunics. On Lazarus's right, a crowd of Jews of all ages watch the scene with curiosity and disbelief. The background is occupied by two huge masses of rock, which rise steplike to their peaks and serve as symmetrical backdrops to the two groups which are the main focal points of the icon. In the centre, behind the rocks, is the wall of Bethany, with a male figure painted in monochrome in the tympanum over the gate. Directly above the wall is the inscription, in capitals on a gold ground: 'The Raising of Lazarus'.

From an iconographical point of view, there



is nothing original about this icon, for it reproduces a format known from the mid-Byzantine period, which continued both in Palaeologan art and in the post-Byzantine period (Millet 1916, pp. 237ff., figs. 211-16). The format differs in several respects from the tight, balanced, symmetrical, composite schema of works of the Cretan School (Millet 1916, fig. 223. Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 9, 38, 73).

From an artistic point of view, the figures are slender with small heads and serene poses. The expressionless faces are undifferentiated. As regards technique, they are rendered with rapid brushstrokes after the manner of fresco painting, with quite sharp chiaroscuro. The clothing is characterised by angular highlights and the folds have a hard, geometrical linearity.

The iconographical format, the type of the figures, and the similarity of expression on the rugged faces all point to a workshop active on Mount Athos in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, before Theophanis the Cretan settled there in 1535. The same workshop produced an icon of the Entry into Jerusalem which is in the sacristy of the Protaton and shows that this icon of the Raising of Lazarus belongs among the Dodekaorton on the epistyle of an iconostasis.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

### 2.36 St Catherine

late 15th-early 16th c.

Simonopetra Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 41 x 29 cm

St Catherine is portrayed, in accordance with her iconography, as a princess, wearing an ornate dark green tunic with gold floral decoration and a gem-studded belt and edging. Over the tunic she wears a red cloak, with gold floral decoration, gemmed edging, and large ornamental patches of appliqué work on the shoulders. Her left hand holds a gemmed cross, her right is raised, palm out, before her breast, in the gesture of a martyr. Her hair is confined in a snood and on her head she wears a five-pointed crown richly ornamented



with gemmed crosses and pearls. Each of her long earrings consists of three spindle-shaped stems set with pearls.

The saint's iconographical type, with the elaborate royal attire, is based on Palaeologan models (Papazotos 1995, nos. 23, 29). However, the flat modelling of the face, dominated by olive-green shading and rosy flesh, the few, discreet highlights, and the serene expression are features seen in works produced by Macedonian workshops in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Papazotos 1995, no. 128).

**Bibliography:** Kissas 1991, p. 188-9, fig. 112.

E.N.T.

### 2.37 Portrait of Neagoe Basarab and his son Theodosios

16th c., 2nd decade

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 32 x 25 cm

On this small panel are portrayed, turning three-quarters to the right, the busts of the ruling





Prince of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab (1512-21), and his son Theodosios. Both are dressed in the typical attire of the ruling princes of Wallachia. In the upper right corner is the hand of God, blessing them both.

Neagoe had particularly close connections with Dionysiou Monastery. As one of its founders, he paid for the building of the tower in 1520 and the aqueduct, both of which still stand (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 494, p. 171. Kadas 1994, p. ve'). He was also the spiritual son of St Nephon (d.-1508), Patriarch of Constantinople, who is especially revered in the monastery and whose church-shaped reliquary (1515), which is kept in the monastery, was the gift of Neagoe (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 495, p. 161). The spiritual bond between Neagoe and Nephon is illustrated in the icon no. 2.38 from Dionysiou Monastery, which is displayed in the exhibition.

This portrait of the monastery's founders, Neagoe Basarab and his son Theodosios, is distinguished by its realism and was part of a trend for painting similar portraits of the rulers of Romania



2.38



and Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pucko 1987, pp. 54-64, figs. 5, 8, 9).

**Bibliography:** Kadas 1997, p. 23 (photograph).

E.N.T.

### 2.38 St Nephon and Voivode Neagoe Basarab

16th c., 1st quarter

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 22.5 x 35.5 cm

The icon is smaller than its original dimensions, having been trimmed along all four sides. It depicts St Nephon II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the ruling Prince of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab (1512-21), founder of Dionysiou Monastery.

St Nephon is depicted from the waist up in the vestments of a prelate. In his left hand he holds a closed Gospel, with his right he makes a gesture of blessing. On the left, in an attitude of prayer, is the ruling Prince of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab, wearing a crown.

St Nephon, to whose memory a chapel in the monastery is dedicated, was a hieromonk in Dionysiou Monastery. He became Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Patriarch of Constantinople twice (1486-9 and 1497-8), and then, at the invitation of the ruling Prince, Radulu, he went to Wallachia to help sustain the Orthodox faith. He returned to Dionysiou, where he died in 1508 (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 465, p. 162. Kadas 1997, pp. 133-4).

Neagoe was founder of the monastery, paying for the building of the tower (1520) and the aqueduct, both of which still stand (Kadas 1996 (2), p. 213).

This portrayal of St Nephon and Neagoe together in the same icon is connected with the fact that Neagoe was Nephon's spiritual son. Neagoe was also responsible for the construction in 1515 of a gilded silver reliquary in the shape of a church, which contains the saint's relics and is still in the monastery today (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 465, pp. 161-2). In 1518, Neagoe took Nephon's head and right hand to the capital of Wallachia, Curtea de

Arges, where, at the invitation of Neagoe's predecessor, Radulu, the saint had worked to sustain the Orthodox faith of his subjects.

**Bibliography:** Kadas 1997, pp. 121, 133-4.

E.N.T.

### 2.39 Pietà

16th c., 1st half

Ivion Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 23.5 x 18 cm  
Cretan School

Christ is portrayed as the Man of Sorrows, lifeless and naked in a red sarcophagus, with his hands crossed before his abdomen. On his right, the Virgin embraces him with controlled grief. The arms of the cross can be made out behind the two figures. Two inscriptions in red lettering survive on the gold field: 'Jesus Christ' and 'Mother of God'; and on a tablet on the cross: 'The King'.

This subject, which is very well known in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century western painting, was introduced into the religious iconography of the Orthodox east by an icon now in St Petersburg painted by Nikolaos Tzafouris in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Chatzidakis 1974 (2), pp. 183-5, pl. IE' .1). The Ivion Christ in fact closely reproduces the iconographical type of Tzafouris' icon of the Man of Sorrows now in Vienna (before the end of the fifteenth century), as also of another icon of the same subject painted in the early sixteenth century and now on Patmos (Chatzidakis 1974 (2), pl. IA' .1. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 28, pl. 91).

Typologically and stylistically, the anonymous artist adopts facial types and artistic techniques of the Cretan School, which trace their origins to late Palaeologan painting (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pls. 7.1, 7.2). Specifically, the facial types of Christ and the Virgin, as also the modelling of the faces, with the triangular shadows under the eyes, the brown shading softly blending into the pink of the flesh, and the supple linear highlights, have parallels in a late fifteenth-century icon of the Crucifixion in the Church of Panagia in Lithines, Crete (Eikones 1993, no. 145), and also in the paintings of Theophanis the Cretan





(Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 18-20). The same technique is seen on an early sixteenth-century processional cross on Patmos with the crucified Christ painted on the main face (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 32, pl. 90).

In view of what has been said above, this writer believes that the icon, which obviously has

connections with the Cretan School, may be dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century, though it may very well be associated with the artistic activity of Theophanis the Cretan on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1953, p. 22, pl. XV.11. Tsigaridas 1992, p. 164, fig. 7.

E.N.T.





**2.40 The Virgin Hodegetria**  
Ivion Monastery

1535-45

Wood, egg tempera, 162 x 125 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The icon of the Virgin Hodegetria is one of the despotic icons on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Ivion Monastery. The Virgin is depicted on a gold ground from the waist up, holding the Christ Child and turning slightly to





2.41

the right, according to the austere type of the Hodegetria. Christ is portrayed in an erect frontal pose, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding a closed scroll in his left. In the upper corners are miniatures of the archangels

Gabriel and Michael, again from the waist up, turning towards the Virgin with their arms veiled in respect. The Virgin wears a purple maphorion edged with gold and a bluish kerchief; Christ a bluish tunic and an orange himation with dense



gold highlights. The Virgin's halo is outlined with dots and decorated with a rinceau interspersed with four dotted circles enclosing the symbols of the four Evangelists, a motif rarely seen in the decoration of haloes.

Iconographically and typologically, the Iviron Hodegetria is a close copy of the Lavra Hodegetria (1535), which was painted by the Cretan artist Theophanis (Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 44. Tsigaridas 1997 (1), fig. 4). Theophanis stamped his own clear imprint on ecclesiastical painting at Meteora and Mount Athos in the sixteenth century.

Despite the damage to the faces, at the technical level, the shading and the faultless technique of the white linear highlighting on the faces are identical in both the Iviron and Great Lavra icons. Furthermore, the rendering of the Virgin's garment, with the broad, flat folds on the breast, and the impeccable execution of the gold striation on Christ's clothing have features in common which reveal the identity of the artist.

As regards the style, the faces of Christ and the Virgin stand out for their expressive quality and their serene and peaceful air, features identical to those seen in the Lavra icon. Another striking characteristic shared by both icons is the Virgin's intense gaze, with its indefinable sadness as she ponders Christ's future Passion.

In conclusion, the iconographical, typological, and stylistic connections between the Iviron and the Lavra Hodegetria make it possible to ascribe the Iviron icon to Theophanis. Its expressive quality allows us to include it among Theophanis's mature works, executed between 1535, when he decorated the katholikon of the Great Lavra, and 1545/6, when he decorated the katholikon of Stavronikita.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1997 (1) (forthcoming).

E.N.T.

#### **2.41 Christ Pantokrator 1535-45** **Iviron Monastery**

Wood, egg tempera, 163 x 125 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Like the Virgin Hodegetria (no. 2.40), this

icon of Christ Pantokrator is one of the despotic icons from the iconostasis in the katholikon of Iviron Monastery. Christ is depicted from the waist up, holding an open Gospel in his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his right. He wears an aubergine tunic and a bluish himation. His halo is outlined with dots and, like that of the Virgin Hodegetria, is decorated with a rinceau enclosing a rosette.

The inscription on the gold ground of the icon reads: 'Jesus Christ the Pantepoptis (the All-Seeing); the inscription on Christ's halo: 'I am the Being'; and the Gospel is inscribed with the following text: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me' (Matt. 11:28-30).

Iconographically and typologically, this icon of Christ Pantokrator is a close copy of the icon of the same subject in the Great Lavra (1535), which was painted by Theophanis the Cretan (Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 45). As regards the technique, despite the damage and the more linear execution, the manner of the shading, the faultless rendering of the face and the garment, and the expressive quality are identical in both works and therefore reveal the identity of the artist and his workshop.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1997 (1) (forthcoming).

E.N.T.

#### **2.42 Part of an epistyle 1535-45** **with scenes from Christ's Passion** **Iviron Monastery**

Wood, egg tempera, 137 x 46 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Four parts of the epistyle of an iconostasis survive in Iviron Monastery, decorated with twelve themes from the Christological cycle. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, these four parts, together with others now lost, composed the epistyle of the iconostasis in the katholikon, with a total of twenty-four themes. Two of the four surviving parts are displayed in the exhibition.



This section of the epistyle contains three scenes from Christ's Passion: the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, and Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives.

Each scene occupies a separate compartment defined by a carved relief arch resting on colonnettes. The inner curves of the arches are decorated with a row of little arches, and the spandrels are filled with a rosette in the centre of three acanthus leaves. The colonnettes take the form of stylised palm trunks, topped with cubic capitals.

From an iconographical point of view, the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet closely resemble the same themes in the *katholika* of Anapafsas Monastery (1527), the Great Lavra (1535), and Stavronikita (1545/6), all by Theophanis the Cretan. Both the iconographical format and the quest for synthesis expressed in the spatial organisation of the figures and their reciprocal poses and movements are identical in the aforementioned monuments and on the Ivron epistyle.

An identical version of the scene of Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives is seen in the *katholikon* of Stavronikita, though not in the *katholika* of Anapafsas Monastery and the Great Lavra. Typical of Theophanis's approach to the organisation of the scene is the fact that the four main incidents of the divine drama are disposed crosswise in the icon with the same poses and gestures as in the fresco in Stavronikita; and the group of dozing disciples is absolutely identical in the icon and the fresco. The rocky masses are also conceived and rendered in a very similar way, though their rendering is more sculptural in the icon.

The iconographical and stylistic features



which this section of the epistyle shares with Theophanis's painting indicate that it may be firmly ascribed to the Cretan painter.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1991-2, pp. 185-208, figs. 1-7, 21-6.

E.N.T.

#### 2.43 Part of an epistyle 1535-45 with scenes from Christ's Passion Ivrou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 147 x 46 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

This section of the epistyle contains three scenes from Christ's Passion: the Betrayal, the Judgment of the High Priests, and Peter's Denial. Like no. 2.42, this piece is from the epistyle of the iconostasis that was in the monastery's *katholikon* in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Of the twenty-four scenes painted on the epistyle, twelve survive today. Each scene occupies a separate compartment defined by a carved relief arch resting on colonnettes, the spandrels being filled with a rosette in the centre of three acanthus leaves.

All three scenes display close similarities with iconographical types which Theophanis used in the *katholika* of Anapafsas Monastery, Meteora (1527), the Great Lavra (1535), and Stavronikita (1545/6).

With the agitated crowd of Jews surrounding the central figures of Christ and Judas, the scene of Betrayal is identical to the wall paintings of the same subject in the Great Lavra and particularly Stavronikita, with regard to the iconography, the arrangement of the scene, and the use of the same iconographical types.

In the Judgment of the High Priests, the iconographical and structural format is the same as in the wall paintings of the same scene in the *katholika* of Anapafsas Monastery and the Great Lavra. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that on this epistyle and in the *katholikon* of Anapafsas Monastery the poses and gestures of all the figures that compose the scene are identical, as are the furnishings and the buildings



that accompany the main subject.

The same holds for Peter's Denial, in which the iconography of the scene, with the three successive incidents, and the typology of the faces are identical to those of the same scene in Anapafsas Monastery.

With regard to their iconography, the scenes on these two sections of the Iviron epistyle are characterised by the selection of the same iconographical types, which belong to the tradition of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, but were established in the sixteenth century by Theophanis. The iconography of the scenes is chiefly characterised by a narrative simplicity that is classical in style, and they are dominated by the human figure, harmoniously linked with the other elements of the representation – buildings and landscape – in strong structural schemata.

From an artistic point of view, the Iviron epistyle is distinguished by the high standard of its painting, as evidenced by the sensitive, but unflinching design, which renders the figures with confidence and portrays the natural environment and the buildings with an assured hand, as also by the artist's synthetic ability, which produces compositions that are classical both in their structure and in their expressive quality. These are characteristics that have been ascribed to the synthetic powers and merit of Theophanis, that great artist who creatively assimilated and enriched with his own talent the achievements of the Cretan School of the fifteenth century.

With regard to portraiture and style, the physiognomical characteristics of the Iviron epistyle are also constants in Theophanis's work as a whole. As far as technique is concerned, the rendering of the faces and clothing reflects the established techniques of the Cretan School, which Theophanis adopted.

The close iconographical and stylistic similarities between this section of the Iviron epistyle and Theophanis' painting enable us to ascribe it unreservedly to him.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1991-2, pp. 185-208, figs. 2, 8-11.

E.N.T.



2.42



2.43





#### 2.44 Christ (Great Deesis)

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 118 x 89 cm

Cretan School. Euphrosynos

1542

This icon and four others – of the Virgin, John the Baptist, St Peter, and St Paul – arranged

symmetrically around the central, frontal figure of Christ, make up the Great Deesis group on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery. With their well-posed sturdy figures, these five icons together compose a broad, monumental, rhythmically coherent composition, one of the most important of its time, and precisely dated to 1542.



Along the narrow bottom edge of the icons runs the following archaic metrical inscription in white majuscules: 'Made by the hand of the scribe and priest, the humble Euphrosynos, at the expense of Clement, Cretan and hieromonk. Mediate, herald Baptist, with Christ for both of them. In the year [AM] 7050, 15th indiction, January 21.' Thanks to this inscription, we learn the name of the painter of the icons, the dedicator's name and place of origin, and the year in which the Great Deesis was painted, which is 1542.

Three of the five icons that make up this monumental Great Deesis are displayed in the exhibition: Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist.

Christ is portrayed frontally from the waist up, holding a closed Gospel in his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his right. He wears an aubergine tunic with a clavus and a deep blue himation. This writer believes that the origins of the facial type, with its sweetly benevolent expression, and the painting technique, with the soft chiaroscuro and the painterly function of the linear highlights on the illuminated face, may be traced back to types and manners used by the Cretan School in the fifteenth century. The facial type of Christ in particular, with its idealised beauty and its stylistic features, attests direct links with the work of the fifteenth-century painter Angelos (1430-57), as represented by the icon of Christ in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the figure of Christ in the icon of the Deesis in Viannou Monastery on Crete (Eikones 1993, nos. 85, 157).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 273-91, pls. KA' - KZ'. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 132-3. Moni Dionysiou.

E.N.T.

## 2.45 The Suppliant Virgin 1542 (Great Deesis)

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 118 x 89 cm  
Cretan School. Euphrosynos

The Virgin is depicted from the waist up in a suppliant pose, turning three-quarters to the right. She wears a bluish tunic and a brick-red

maphorion edged and fringed with gold. Three gold stellar ornaments on her mantle symbolise the Trinity and hint at her role in the incarnation (Galavaris 1967-8, pp. 364-9).

Along the bottom of the icon runs part of the inscription that accompanies the whole Great Deesis group, the part with the painter's name: 'humble Euphrosynos'. On the gold ground of the icon are the abbreviations that stand for 'Mother of God'.

The facial type and the technique of rendering the face, with the soft chiaroscuro, the large, luminous area of rosy-hued flesh, and the supple linear highlights, convey all the delicacy of the flesh and the most venerable beauty of the Mother of God.

The specific facial type of the Virgin, with its expression of sweet sorrow, and its technical execution again have their origins in the painting of Angelos, as is apparent if we compare the Virgin from the Great Deesis and the Virgin from Angelos' Deesis in Viannou Monastery on Crete (Eikones 1993, no. 151).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 273-91, pl. KB'.  
1. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 132-3. Moni Dionysiou.

E.N.T.

## 2.46 St John the Baptist 1542 (Great Deesis)

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 118 x 89 cm  
Cretan School. Euphrosynos

St John the Baptist is portrayed from the waist up in a suppliant pose, turning three-quarters to the left. His broad, burly body is dressed in an orange tunic and a dark olive-green himation.

Along the bottom of the icon runs part of the inscription that accompanies the whole Great Deesis group: 'Mediate, herald Baptist'. On the gold ground of the icon is the abbreviated inscription: 'St John the Forerunner'.

The face, long and narrow with finely drawn features, is distinguished by a faultless technique, soft chiaroscuro, and supple linear highlights





**2.47 The Suppliant Virgin** 1542  
(Great Deesis)

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116 x 93 cm  
Cretan School

The Virgin is depicted from the waist up turning three-quarters to the right in a gesture of supplication. She wears a deep blue tunic and a brick-red maphorion with gold edging and a gold fringe. Three gold stellar ornaments on her mantle symbolise the Trinity and allude to her role in the incarnation (Galavaris 1967-8, pp. 364-9).

Her face is small in relation to her wide body, with prominent cheekbones, and sharp chiaroscuro rendered in an impeccable linear, though cold and calligraphic, technique. It reveals a certain stylisation and aridity in the painter's technique in relation to the work he probably used as his model, which may have been either the Virgin from Euphrosynos' Deesis in Dionysiou

Monastery (no. 2.45) or, more probably, a work by Theophanis that predates the Virgin Hodegetria in Stavronikita Monastery (1546; Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 83. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, fig. 13).

At a physiognomical and technical level, then, the Protaton Virgin recalls iconic types and artistic techniques of Theophanis's contemporary and probable apprentice, Zorzi, who painted the frescoes in the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery (1547) and to whom are ascribed the frescoes in the katholika of the Great Meteoron (1552; Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, fig. 161) and Docheiariou (1568; Chatzidakis 1987, p. 297, among others).

**Bibliography:** Xyngopoulos 1953-5, pl. 4. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7, fig. 84.

E.N.T.

**2.48 Christ Pantokrator** 1542  
(Great Deesis)

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116 x 94 cm  
Cretan School

This icon of Christ together with six others – of the Virgin, John the Baptist, the archangels Gabriel and Michael, and the Apostles Peter and Paul – which flank it in two symmetrical groups of three, compose the Great Deesis group on an iconostasis of the sixteenth century. With a further four, which would have depicted the Evangelists, all these icons constituted a wide, unified, rhythmically coherent, monumental composition, precisely dated to 1542 (Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 326).

Christ is portrayed frontally from the waist up, holding a bulky, closed, gemmed Gospel in his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his right. He wears an aubergine tunic with a clavus and a deep blue himation.

This physiognomical type, with the broad flat body and narrow shoulders, topped by a small head, is distinguished by a fine, long, narrow face rendered in sharp chiaroscuro with





sharply defined areas that make it somewhat dry and cold. Despite some differences, it is a facial type that derives from Theophanis's works, such as the icons of Christ in the Great Lavra (Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 45), Pantokrator (Tsigaridas 1977 (3)), Ivion (Tsigaridas 1977 (1)), and Stavronikita (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, fig. 14). The difference consists chiefly in the softer modelling of the face in Theophanis's icons, which ultimately produces a difference in the ethos expressed: the face of Theophanis's Christ is serene, peaceful, and pensive, that of Christ in the Protaton icon more linear and restless, his inner state less carefully analysed. It is certainly not without significance that Chatzidakis compared the Protaton Christ with the fresco of Christ in the katholikon of the Great Meteoron (Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 47-8; see also Christ in the Baptism, in Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, fig. 127), for, on the basis of new data, the decoration of the Great Meteoron katholikon (1552) is now attributed to Zorzi (Chatzidakis 1987, p. 297).



So, judging by stylistic criteria, this writer feels that the Protaton icon of Christ may also be attributed to Zorzi (see no. 2.53), who was probably an apprentice of Theophanis's on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7, fig. 48.

E.N.T.

## 2.49 St John the Baptist (Great Deesis)

1542

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116 x 91 cm  
Cretan School

St John the Baptist is portrayed from the waist up in an attitude of supplication, turning three-quarters to the left. He wears an olive-green tunic that forms large structured folds. The inscription on the gold ground of the icons



reads: 'St John the Forerunner'.

This figure's physiognomical type, with the long narrow face, the linear, schematic definition of the volumes, the sharp chiaroscuro, and the wide flat body topped by a small head, attests direct links with the frescoes of John the Baptist in Dionysiou Monastery (unpublished), of the Forerunner in the Baptism in the katholikon of the Great Meteoron (Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, fig. 127), and the representation of the saint in the Great Deesis in the katholikon of Docheiariou Monastery (Millet 1927, pl. 237.2).

According to archival sources, the frescoes in Dionysiou Monastery were painted by Zorzis in 1547; those in the Great Meteoron (1552) and Docheiariou (1568) may also, in all probability, be ascribed to him (Chatzidakis 1987, p. 297). So the close similarities which this icon of John the Baptist shares with the painting of Zorzis suggests that it may confidently be included in his artistic output (see also no. 2.53).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, p. 283, fig. ΚΓ'. 1. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pl. 37.1. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7.

E.N.T.

## 2.50 The Archangel Michael 1542 (Great Deesis)

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116 x 91.5 cm  
Cretan School

Michael is portrayed from the waist up, turning to the right, holding out his hands in a gesture of supplication towards Christ in the centre of the Great Deesis group. The youthful figure has long curly hair bound by a blue ribbon and wears a deep blue chiton with a clavus and a russet-coloured himation with greyish-blue highlights. On a gold ground in the upper left and right corners is the inscription: 'The Archangel Michael'.

On the oval face and areas of bare flesh, the underpainting, which is uncovered and denotes the shadowed areas, is dark brown, while the



illuminated surfaces are a pinkish ochre. Fine white parallel striations on the brow, cheeks, and neck illuminate the flesh. On the basis of stylistic criteria, this icon of the Archangel Gabriel may be attributed to Zorzis, who learned his art on Mount Athos, probably under Theophanis (see no. 2.53).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 283-4. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7. Borboudakis 1993, pp. 11-13, fig. 14.

E.N.T.

## 2.51 The Archangel Gabriel 1542 (Great Deesis)

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116 x 94 cm  
Cretan School

Gabriel is portrayed from the waist up, turning to his right, his hands held in a gesture





2.51

of supplication towards Christ in the centre of the Great Deesis composition. The youthful figure has long curly hair bound with a blue ribbon and wears a dark green tunic and himation with bluish highlights. Gold striation mark out the details on his large brown wings. On a gold ground in the upper left and right corners is the inscription: 'The Archangel Gabriel'.

Gabriel's oval face is rendered like Michael's with brown underpainting that forms an outline of the whole face and a nasal shadow. The flesh is a pinkish ochre accentuated with white highlights in the form of parallel curved lines on the brow, under the eyes, on the chin, and on the neck. The facial features are rendered in a linear manner. On the basis of stylistic criteria, this icon of the Archangel Gabriel may be attributed to Zorzis, who learned his art on Mount Athos, probably under Theophanis (see no. 2.53).

**Bibliography:** Xyngopoulos 1953-5, pl. 4. Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 283-4, pl. KE'. 1. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7, pl. 85. Borboudakis 1993, pp. 11-13, fig. 15.

E.N.T.

## 2.52 St Peter (Great Deesis)

1542

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116.5 x 94 cm  
Cretan School

St Peter is depicted from the waist up, turning to the right. He wears a deep blue tunic and brown himation with broad areas of olive-green and white highlights. In his left hand he holds the keys of Heaven and a half-open scroll with the inscription: 'Blessed be the Lord'. In the left-hand part of the gold ground is the inscription: 'St Peter'.

Peter's face is oval and rendered with sharp chiaroscuro. The underpainting is done in brown and takes the form of a stark shadow on the cheeks, the brow, and the wings of the nose. The flesh is a pinkish ochre highlighted with white striations on the brow, the cheeks, the tip of the nose, and the neck, in a manner common to the Cretan School. The hair is depicted schematically with a dry linearity and the drapery is rendered in much the same way as that of St Paul (no. 2.53) and the archangels (nos. 2.50-2.51). On the basis of stylistic criteria, this icon of St Peter may be attributed to Zorzis, who learned his art on Mount Athos, probably under Theophanis (see no. 2.53).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 283-4, pl. ΚΣΤ'. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7. Borboudakis 1993, pp. 11-13, fig. 16.

E.N.T.

## 2.53 St Paul (Great Deesis)

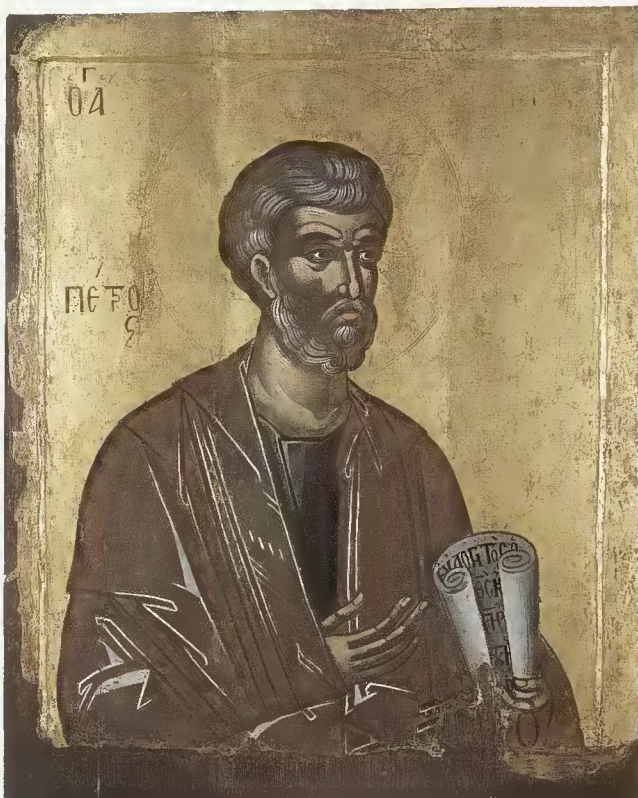
1542

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 116.5 x 92.5 cm  
Cretan School

St Paul is depicted from the waist up, turning slightly to the left. He wears a deep blue tunic with a clavus and a brown himation with broad light blue illuminated areas and white highlights. He holds a closed, bound Gospel with both hands. In the upper left and right corners survives the





2.52

inscription in majuscules: 'St Paul'.

The Apostle's oval face, with its harsh regular features and furrowed brow, is supported by a long neck upon sloping shoulders. The drapery is flat, with stiff, hard folds making the body seem almost fleshless.

The icons of Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, and of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael and the Apostles Peter and Paul (nos. 2.47-2.53) belong to a group of eleven, probably portable, icons which made up the Great Deesis on an iconostasis. The first three are now on the tenth-century marble templon in the Protaton.

On the basis of the inscription on the frame of the icon of John the Baptist, mentioning Gregorios as the *Protos* of Athos, all these icons have been dated to 1542 and ascribed to the Cretan painter Theophanis (Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 326 n. 56. Borboudakis 1993, pp. 11-13). However, the present writer is of the opinion that the dry, calligraphic linearity of the rendering of the faces and hair, the chiaroscuro that makes the faces so stark, and the stiff stylised drapery which effaces



2.53

the volumes of the body are alien to Theophanis' style; nor are these features to be seen in works of his that post-date these Protaton icons, such as the Great Deesis group (1546) in Stavronikita Monastery (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 111, figs. 37-8).

This writer believes that the specific features mentioned above link the Protaton icons with another Cretan painter, Zorzis, who was probably a student of Theophanis's on Mount Athos and who painted the frescoes in the katholika of Dionysiou Monastery (1547) and Doussiko Monastery (1557) in Thessaly (Chatzidakis 1987, p. 297, among others).

As it appears at least from an examination of the recently restored Dionysiou wall paintings, Zorzis closely followed Theophanis's iconic models and artistic techniques, but his work lacks the quality of the prototype. His painting is more schematic, more linear, and as regards expression, his uneasy faces lack the serene spirituality that imbues all Theophanis's works.

Xyngopoulos expressed a similar opinion



with regard to the Protaton icons. He did not attribute them to Theophanis, but asserted that 'the painter of the Protaton icons had as his immediate models the frescoes painted by Theophanis in 1535 in the katholikon of the Great Lavra' (Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 133-4).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1956, pp. 283-4, pl. ΚΔ'. 1. Xyngopoulos 1957 (1), pp. 133-4, pl. 37.2. Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326-7. Borboudakis 1993, pp. 11-13, fig. 17.

E.N.T.



## 2.54 Iconostasis cross Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 189 x 169 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Originally placed in the middle of the iconostasis in the katholikon, above the Dodekaorton and the Great Deesis icons, this cross is part of the ensemble of icons on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery, the work of Theophanis and his son Symeon in 1546 (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 58-60).

On the wooden cross, which has no carved

decoration, is a painting of the dead Christ nailed to the cross. The three five-lobed extremities of the cross bear representations of the symbols of the Evangelists, the eagle of St John, the lion of St Mark, and the angel of St Matthew. The calf of St Luke is missing because the bottom of the cross has been broken off. At the top of the painted cross is a *tabula ansata* bearing the



inscription: 'The King of Glory'. The abbreviated form of 'Jesus Christ' is inscribed on the horizontal arms.

Christ's head has fallen onto his right shoulder and his limp body forms the double curve of a reverse S. A loincloth is knotted around his hips.

This type of cross, painted with the crucified Christ and the symbols of the four Evangelists, traces its origins to the Venetian crosses of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and is an established feature of the iconography of Cretan crosses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Chatzidakis 1962, p. 178. Kazanaki-Lappa 1991, pp. 226-32, pl. 117). The older crosses of this type on Mount Athos survive in Iviron Monastery (1525), the Great Lavra (1535), Dionysiou Monastery (1542), and Koutloumousiou Monastery, among others.

The crucified Christ is rendered in accordance with the traditional iconography and the artistic manners of the Cretan School. The configuration of the sinews on the arms, sternum, and ribs recalls techniques seen on the crucified Christ in the Great Lavra, but in fact they seem to derive from Italian-Cretan works of the late fifteenth century (Chatzidaki 1993, figs. 3, 15).

**Bibliography:** Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 118, fig. 41.

E.N.T.

## 2.55 St Peter (Great Deesis) 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera

62.5 x 51 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

This is one of five icons which, with others that no longer survive, made up the Great Deesis group on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery (1546). The other four surviving icons represent Sts Paul, Luke, Mark, and Andrew.

Peter is depicted from the waist up turning to the right. He wears a dark green tunic and an orange himation. In his left hand he holds a half-



open scroll, his right is raised in blessing.

Typologically, this figure resembles the St Peter in the Protaton in Karyes (no. 2.52), an icon which is attributed to Zorzis, not Theophanis. But despite the typological similarities – which are obviously due to a common model, probably painted by Theophanis before 1542 – the Stavronikita St Peter is distinguished by a softer, painterly, execution of the face and hair and by more elaborate drapery, which is supple and clearly reflects the shape of the body beneath.

The icons from the Stavronikita Great Deesis share a stylistic coherence, date to 1546, and are jointly attributed to the Cretan painter Theophanis and his son Symeon (Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, figs. 63-7. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 58-9, 111, figs. 36-40).

Not only the Great Deesis icons, but all the icons on the iconostasis in the katholikon, as also the frescoes in the katholikon, the refectory, and the Chapel of St John the Prodrome, are





ascribed to Theophanis and his atelier (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), pp. 41-3).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, fig. 64. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 58-9, 111, fig. 37.

E.N.T.

## 2.56 St Paul (Great Deesis)

Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 61.5 x 50 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

This is one of five icons, which, with others that no longer survive, made up the Great Deesis ensemble on the iconostasis in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery, the work of Theophanis the Cretan in 1546.

Paul is depicted from the waist up, turning slightly to the left. He wears a deep blue tunic

and a red himation and holds a closed Gospel in both hands. On the gold ground of the icon – which has been inserted into a new frame – is the identifying inscription: 'St Paul'.

Typologically, this figure is a replica of St Paul (1542) in the Protaton in Karyes (no. 2.53), an icon which is attributed to Zorzis, not Theophanis. But despite the typological similarities – which are obviously due to a common model, probably painted by Theophanis before 1542 – the Protaton St Paul has a lean face, its inner state roughly represented, and a fleshless body, covered by drapery that is stiffly linear, flat, and geometrical. The Stavronikita St Paul, by contrast, is distinguished by his physical breadth, the solid rendering of the facial volumes which still have a certain resilience, and his pensive expression and intense gaze. Despite its linearity and patchy highlighting, the drapery preserves something of the suppleness of the garments and gives some idea of the shape of the body beneath.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, fig. 65. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 58-9, 111, fig. 38.

E.N.T.

## 2.57 Bema doors: The Annunciation

1546

Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 127 x 36 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

These bema doors are part of an ensemble of twenty-three icons, which, with others that no longer survive, made up the painted decoration of the iconostasis in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery, the work of Theophanis and his son Symeon in 1546.

Each door bears a representation of one of the two protagonists in the Annunciation. On the left door is the Archangel Gabriel calmly stepping towards the Virgin. He wears imperial garb and holds a sceptre in his left hand, his right being advanced in an oratorical gesture. On the



2.57



right door is the Virgin, standing and turning slightly towards the angel, her pose one of humble submission to the will of God. She stands on an orange footstool with gold striation, wearing a deep blue tunic and a deep red maphorion. In

her left hand she holds her distaff and spindle, the latter with red thread wound around it. Both figures are set against a plain gold ground with no indication of any spatial setting.

From an iconographical point of view, the



artist presents a spare, simple format: the poses and gestures are discreet, there is no emphasis on movement, and the serene faces are possessed by the mystery of the divine incarnation. It is a format that traces its origins to the fourteenth-century bema doors in the Great Lavra (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 116) and to the fourteenth-to fifteenth-century bema doors in Simonopetra Monastery (no. 2.28).

From an artistic point of view, the type of the figures, the manner of rendering the faces and the drapery, the palette, and the serene, harmonious rhythm of the poses and movements confirm that the Annunciation on these bema doors is the work of Theophanis.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, fig. 68.  
Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, no. 12, p. 62.

E.N.T.

## 2.58 The Annunciation

1546

Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 44 x 38 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan



This is one of the fifteen icons that made up the Dodekaorton on the epistyle of the iconostasis in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery, which is dated to 1546 and attributed to Theophanis and his son Symeon (Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 325-6. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 58-60). This Dodekaorton, as also that in Iviron Monastery (nos. 2.42-2.43), together mark the culmination of the iconographical and artistic tradition of the Cretan School, which developed distinctive iconographical types and artistic techniques as early as the fifteenth century.

In this icon of the Annunciation (Luke 1:28-38), the archangel Gabriel approaches rapidly from the left, stretching forth his right hand in a conversational gesture, and holding a long sceptre in his left. In accordance with the Gospel, he announces to the Virgin the message of salvation: 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.' The

Virgin on the right receives the glad tidings seated on a backless throne, holding her distaff and red thread, turning her body and bowing her head in acquiescence towards the angel. In the corners, two tall, complex buildings, linked by a light green wall with rectangular niches, provide the spatial setting for the scene.

From an iconographical point of view, in this icon of the Annunciation Theophanis presents a type taken from Comnenian and Palaeologan art (Millet 1916, figs. 12, 20, 21. Soteriou 1956, fig. 208). It is a type that was revived in such fifteenth-century works as the scene of the Annunciation in the icon known as 'In thee rejoices' in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), Appendix fig. 1). Theophanis also used the same iconographical format in the katholikon of Anapafsas Monastery (1527), in the refectory of the Great Lavra (1535), and in the katholikon and refectory of Stavronikita



Monastery (Millet 1916, fig. 30. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), p. 66, figs. 82, 208).

From an artistic point of view, the icon displays such key features of the art of Theophanis and the Cretan School as serene facial expressions, a harmonious rhythm that contains the figures and unifies them in a solid closed composition, flowing drapery discreetly revealing the shape of body beneath, and the harmonious way the figures are framed by the architectural backdrop.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 68. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 68, fig. 15. Dodekaorton, no. 1.

E.N.T.

## 2.59 The Nativity Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 53 x 34 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

In this icon of the Nativity, which has been reduced in width, the composition is dominated by the rocky cave, which towers, flamelike, over everything else. In the centre of the composition, on a flat area in front of the cave entrance, the Virgin is depicted kneeling, not lying down as is more usual, with her hands crossed before her breast, venerating Christ, who lies in a low marble manger inside the cave. Behind the manger are two animals warming the Holy Child with their breath. A broad ray of divine light falls upon him from the star.

The subsidiary scenes are arranged symmetrically around and below the cave. Inspired by the Gospels, both canonical and Apocryphal, they frame and supplement the principal subject of the Nativity. At the bottom left sits Joseph, pensive and withdrawn, accompanied by an old shepherd leaning on his stick. At the bottom right is the scene of the bathing of the infant, which comes from the Protoevangelion of James. It consists of the midwife on the right, an elderly woman sitting on the ground holding Christ with one arm and testing the temperature of the water in the bath with her other hand; and a young woman, Salome, on the left pouring water into



the bath from a jug. Behind the midwife, a cat and a dog are discernible, though they do not survive in their entirety.

Immediately to the right of the manger, sits a young shepherd wearing a wreath and playing his flute to a group of sheep. A little further up, another shepherd, standing, receives the glad tidings from an angel; and to the left of the peak, a dense crowd of angels is depicted glorifying God. Below them, the three Magi ride up to render homage, their gaze fixed on the guiding star. On the gold ground of the icon, which is crowned with an arch of blue, is the inscription: 'The Nativity of Christ'.

From an iconographical point of view, apart from the Virgin's pose, this icon of the Nativity reflects the tradition of the Cretan School of the fifteenth century, which developed in this period





on the basis of Palaeologan models (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 39, pls. 35, 97. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), pp. 80-1. From Byzantium to El Greco 1987, no. 30. Chatzidaki 1993, no. 12).

Apart from the kneeling rather than lying Virgin, both in its general iconographical format and in its details, this Stavronikita icon, which has the same iconographical format as the fresco of the Nativity in the katholikon (1545-6), is more specifically modelled on the scene of the Nativity in an icon of the Deesis and the Dodekaorton in Sarajevo, painted by Nikolaos Ritzos about 1500 (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202). It should be noted, however, that the motif of the kneeling Virgin, which is not a common feature of the iconography of the Nativity in the art of the Orthodox East, first appeared in works of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, such as

the Nativity in the triptych by Nikolaos Tzafouris (1489-1507) in St Petersburg (Chatzidakis 1974 (2), pl. IZ' 1-2). It was from this tradition that Theophanis took the iconographical type of the kneeling Virgin, which he used not only in this icon from the Dodekaorton, but also in his fresco of the Nativity in the katholikon of Stavronikita (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 70. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), p. 73, fig. 83).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 69. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 70, fig. 16. Dodekaorton, no. 2.

E.N.T.

## 2.60 The Presentation in the Temple 1546

### Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 57 x 39 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

In this icon of the Presentation, which is based on the account in Luke 2:22-38, the 'just and devout' Simeon is depicted on a pedestal, holding Christ piously in both hands, on the point of handing him back to the Virgin, who stands on the left. The Virgin is followed by Anna, the prophetess 'of a great age', who lifts her right hand in a conversational gesture and holds in her left an open scroll bearing the inscription: 'This infant hath made fast heaven and earth.' Anna is turning her head towards Joseph behind her, who is carrying in both hands 'a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons', the Jews' customary offering for this ceremony. Behind the figures are the buildings that give the scene its spatial context. Between Simeon and the Virgin are a pair of bema doors with a low screen of green marble, and behind these the upper part of the altar, draped with a red cloth and with a red book lying on it. Over the altar is a ciborium supported by columns and in the background the wall of Jerusalem is just discernible. Behind Simeon and Joseph rise tall, narrow buildings, symmetrically flanking the figures in the scene. On the gold ground of the icon, which is framed at the top by a blue arc, is the inscription: 'The Presentation'.



This icon of the Presentation follows an iconographical format that took final shape in the Palaeologan era (Xyngopoulos 1929, pp. 328-39. Shorr 1946, pp. 17ff.). By way of fifteenth-century works of the Cretan School, such as the icon of the Presentation on Patmos and the scene of the Presentation in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon of the Deesis and the Dodekaorton in Sarajevo (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 26, pls. 24, 202), this specific type was reproduced by Theophanis and became especially popular in post-Byzantine art (Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 36. Drandakis 1990, fig. 89, etc.). Theophanis in particular adopted this iconographical format, with variations, not only in the Stavronikita icon, but also in the wall paintings in the katholika of Anapafsas Monastery (1527), the Great Lavra (1535), and Stavronikita (1545-6) (Millet 1927, pl. 119. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 85).

From an artistic point of view, the scene is distinguished by its solid organisation, in which the figures are held together by an indefinable, rhythmic dialogue of poses and movements, which unify them in a balanced, symmetrical composition similar to that of the Patmos and Sarajevo icons, which are dated to the end of the fifteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 70. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 72, fig. 17. Dodekaorton, no. 3.

E.N.T.

## 2.61 The Baptism of Christ 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 55 x 37 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

In the centre of the icon stands Christ in the blue waters of the River Jordan, in a frontal pose and wearing only a loincloth. From an opening in the sky in the upper portion of the icon, the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove upon Christ's head. On the left bank of the river, which rises in a stylised manner, John the Baptist, clad in tunic and himation, bends slightly to baptise Christ, while lifting his head to the Holy Spirit. On the right bank, three angels venerate Christ, their hands respectfully veiled, while a fourth



lifts his head to the Holy Spirit. The stylised water is full of fish, and in the lower right section is the personification of the sea riding on a sea monster. The left part of the river no longer survives, but would have contained the personification of the Jordan in the form of an aged river god.

Theophanis adopted the same spare iconographical format, with variations from monument to monument, in the katholika of the Great Lavra (1535; Millet 1927, pl. 123.2), and Stavronikita (1545-6; Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 7), and in an icon of the Baptism in Pantokrator Monastery, which is attributed to him (Tsigaridas 1997 (3)). It is a format which originated in works of the Cretan School, such as the scene of the Baptism in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon of the Deesis and the Dodekaorton in Sarajevo (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202), which Theophanis follows closely in terms of both iconographical type and details.

From an artistic point of view, this icon of the Baptism is distinguished by its tight, balanced,



symmetrical composition, in which the figures are linked by their rhythmically reciprocal poses and movements – key features of the Cretan School and of Theophanis's painting.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 71. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 74, fig. 18. Dodekaorton, no. 4.

E.N.T.

## 2.62 The Transfiguration 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 57 x 39 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Christ, dressed in white, stands on the peak of Mount Tabor, surrounded by a resplendent round aureole. He is flanked by Elijah and Moses, standing on rocky peaks in the form of arches in the middle ground, Moses holding the tables of the Law. In the foreground, the poses and gestures of the disciples Peter, John, and James reveal the intense dread inspired by this theophany. On the gold ground, directly below the red arched upper border, is the inscription: 'The Transfiguration'.

In its general iconographical format and in the arrangement, poses, and gestures of the figures, the Stavronikita icon is modelled on the miniature of the Transfiguration in Cod. Par. Gr. 1242 (1371-5; Galavaris 1995 (2), fig. 224), which, in Theophanis's time, was still in the Monastery of St Anastasia outside Thessaloniki, on the road to Mount Athos. This elegant Palaeologan iconographical format passed into sixteenth-century art by way of the tradition of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, as is apparent from a comparison between the Stavronikita icon and the icon of the Transfiguration in the Benaki Museum, Athens, which is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century (Chatzidaki 1983, fig. 26). As regards sixteenth-century icons, the Stavronikita Transfiguration reveals close iconographical and stylistic similarities with two icons of the Transfiguration in Pantokrator Monastery (no. 2.74), both attributed to Theophanis (Tsigaridas 1997 (3)).

From an artistic point of view, the Stavronikita



icon is chiefly characterised by a balanced, symmetrical arrangement of the figures and the landscape details; by reciprocal poses and movements, which obey a smooth rhythm that holds the figures together and integrates them harmoniously into the composition; by sensitivity for colour; and by a distinctive permutation of colours, all of which are characteristics of Theophanis's work.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 72. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 76, fig. 19. Dodekaorton, no. 5.

E.N.T.

## 2.63 The Raising of Lazarus 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 54 x 37 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Christ is depicted on the left, putting forth



his right hand to bless the dead Lazarus, who stands wrapped in his cerements before the arched entrance to the tomb, excavated out of the rock. Christ is accompanied by his disciples, who crowd behind him with Peter at their head. Lazarus' sisters, Martha and Mary, have fallen at Christ's feet, their faces profoundly marked by grief. A Jew behind them has lifted the marble tombstone, and another is unwrapping the cerements from Lazarus' body. In the background, behind the rocks which frame the scene and cant in towards the centre, a group of Jews emerge from the walled city of Bethany and observe in astonishment the scene of the Raising of Lazarus.

This iconographical format is known from the Byzantine period, and the specific details trace their origin to such fifteenth-century Cretan compositions as the Raising of Lazarus in the late fifteenth-century two-zone icon on Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 25, pl. 23). Theophanis

used the same iconographical format in the katholika of Anapafsas Monastery at Meteora, the Great Lavra, and Stavronikita Monastery, as also in the icon of the Raising of Lazarus in the Dodekaorton in the Great Lavra (Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 9, 38. Millet 1927, pl. 124.1. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 88).

From an artistic point of view, the Stavronikita icon is distinguished by a tight, balanced composition in the classical style, by reciprocal poses and movements, and by the functional role of the landscape, the volumes of which accompany and enhance the various compositional groups. One of Theophanis's most splendid creations, this composition was especially popular in the art of the Ottoman period (Tourta 1991, p. 78, pl. 46).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 324, fig. 73. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974 p. 78, fig. 20. Dodekaorton, no. 6.

E.N.T.



2.63





## 2.64 The Entry into Jerusalem 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera

53 x 38 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Christ is portrayed in the foreground, 'riding upon an ass' towards the city of Jerusalem, holding a closed scroll and lifting his right hand in blessing. His head is turned towards the disciples behind him, led by Peter. On the right, in front of the walled city of Jerusalem – which is dominated by the octagonal Temple of Solomon with its high polygonal dome – is a group of Jews, who have come out to welcome him with palm leaves. Little children strew garments and palm leaves on the ground before the Lord. Beside the rocky prominence near Christ and the disciples, a child has scrambled up a slender tree to cut off branches with a pruning-hook.

Below the red arched upper border is the inscription: 'The Entry into Jerusalem'.

Both the overall iconographical layout of the scene and the details link it closely with works of the Cretan School in the second half of the fifteenth century, such as the icon of the Entry into Jerusalem on Lefkada (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 125) and, particularly, the Entry into Jerusalem in the two-zone icon on Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 25, pl. 23) and in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon of the Deesis and the Dodekaorton (1507) in Sarajevo (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202). It is an iconographical format that was particularly popular during the period of Ottoman rule (Tourta 1991, pp. 79-81, pl. 46α), and Theophanis also used it in the katholikon of Anapafsas Monastery (1527) at Meteora and in the icon and the fresco in the katholikon of the Great Lavra (1535; Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, figs. 10, 39, 74. Millet 1927, pl. 125.1).

From an artistic point of view, Theophanis's icon of the Entry into Jerusalem displays a classical, balanced, symmetrical composition, with serene delicate figures and a bright palette. It is worth noting the subtle way he introduces western elements into his compositions, such as the green skullcap worn here by one of the Jews, which recalls figures in works of the Siena School.



**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 325, fig. 74.  
Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 80, fig. 21.  
Dodekaorton, no. 7.

E.N.T.

## 2.65 The Crucifixion 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 54 x 38 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The centre of the icon is occupied by Christ, hanging lifeless on the cross, which is embedded in the rock of Calvary. His head droops onto his right shoulder and his limp body forms the double curve of a reverse letter S. The cross is flanked by the main people present at the Crucifixion, in two groups. On the left, under the arm of the



cross, a group of three women give both moral and physical support to the Virgin, who is exhausted by the grief and pain of her son's death. On the right of the cross, John is portrayed in a limp pose reminiscent of figures on ancient tombstones. Behind him, the centurion's pose, gesture, and facial expression all attest the astonished, heartfelt confession that 'Truly this man was the Son of God' (Mark 15:39). The walls of Jerusalem are seen in the background, and below the red arched upper border is the inscription: 'The Crucifixion'.

In this icon of the Crucifixion, Theophanis adopts an iconographical layout from the Palaeologan period, which was introduced into the painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by way of the fifteenth-century Cretan School. Works of the Cretan School, such as the scene of the Crucifixion in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon of the Deesis and the Dodekaorton (1504) in Sarajevo and, particularly, the icon of the Crucifixion in the parish of Sfaka in the diocese

of Ierapytna and Seteia on Crete (ca. 1500), undoubtedly served as models for Theophanis's icon of the Crucifixion (Eikones 1993, no. 150. Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202).

From an artistic point of view, the composition is tight and spare, with the separate groups integrated into it evenly and symmetrically on either side of the crucified Christ, and the individual figures subjected by their graceful poses and movements to a harmonious rhythm that holds the whole composition together. The spare simplicity of the composition, which serves the theological and doctrinal conception of the Crucifixion, and the artistic quality of the work, with its lyrical lines, bright colours, and controlled expression of human pain with no tension in the faces, make this icon one of the most outstanding creations of the Cretan School, and were echoed in the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Holy Image, Holy Space 1988, no. 80. Eikones 1993, no. 155. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, no. 4).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 75. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 82, fig. 22. Dodekaorton, no. 8.

E.N.T.



## 2.66 The Holy Women at the Sepulchre 1546

Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 53 x 38 cm

Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Dressed in white, in accordance with the Gospel passage (Matt. 28:3), the angel sits on the heavy stone that had sealed the tomb of Christ and points to the sarcophagus in the rock, in which lie the grave-clothes and the sudarium. On the left are two women, who have come to the tomb carrying vessels of myrrh, and now, alarmed at the sight of the angel, stand pressing close to each other. Two rocky hills in the background frame the angel and the myrrh-bearers. At the entrance to the tomb is the inscription: 'The Holy Sepulchre'; and below the red arched upper border, we read: 'See the place where the Lord lay.'



In the Stavronikita icon, Theophanis adopts a spare iconographical format, which in this specific type first took shape in the Palaeologan period (Millet 1910, pl. 121.3, Millet 1916, fig. 576. Pelekanidis - Chatzidakis 1984, p. 101, fig. 15). He also used it in the katholikon of Anapafsas Monastery (1527), and used the same basic iconographical and typological elements in his representations of the same subject in the katholika of the Great Lavra (1535) and Stavronikita (Millet 1927, pl. 127.2. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 101).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 78. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 86, fig. 24. Dodekaorton, no. 10.

E.N.T.

## 2.67 The Anastasis Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 57 x 38 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan



The standing Christ is the focal point of the icon, without the mandorla which usually surrounds him. He moves towards the right, raising the kneeling Adam with his right hand and holding a closed scroll in his left. He is flanked by two groups, equal in size and on a smaller scale than himself. On the right are the righteous, headed by the suppliant Eve; on the left the kings and prophets of the Jews, headed by John the Baptist. Behind the two groups, beetling cliffs converge upon the central figure of Christ. The whole foreground is occupied by the rocky cavern of Hades, with its smashed doors and empty sarcophagi. In the middle of the cavern are the figures of Hades and Satan, crouching together in dread of Christ, who has vanquished death. On the gold ground of the icon, below the red arched upper border, is the inscription: 'The Anastasis'.

In Theophanis's icon, the iconography of the Anastasis, inspired by the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, derives from works of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, whose iconography developed out of iconographical types in Palaeologan painting. Specifically, the icon of

the Anastasis in the Hermitage, which is ascribed to the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos (1421-92), has been designated as the prototype for the iconographical type of the Cretan School's icons of the same subject (Eikones 1993, no. 1, pp. 326-9). Significantly, the iconographical type of the Hermitage icon is also seen in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon in Sarajevo (1504), in Theophanis's fresco and icon in the katholikon of Anapafsas Monastery (1527) and in Stavronikita Monastery (1546) respectively, in the icon of the Anastasis in the Dodekaorton on the epistyle of the Great Lavra iconostasis (Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs. 12, 76, 41), and in sixteenth-century icons in Cyprus (Papageorgiou 1969, p. 66. Papageorgiou 1991, fig. 109).

As regards the iconographical type, the quest for synthesis, the technique and palette, as also the serenity which imbues the figures, the Stavronikita icon is thus directly or indirectly



modelled on the icon of the Anastasis in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), pp. 69-70, Append. figs. 24-5).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 76. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 84, fig. 23. Dodekaorton, no. 9.

E.N.T.

## 2.68 The 'Chairete' Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 56 x 40 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The centre of the icon is occupied by the imposing figure of Christ, standing on a gentle green hill dotted with plants and extending both hands out to the sides in blessing. The marks of the nails are still visible on his hands and feet, and the spearwound is apparent on the right side of his chest. He is flanked by two kneeling women, the Virgin on the left and Mary Magdalene on the right, behind each of whom rises a bare rock, narrowing towards the top. The two women are identified by inscriptions over their back and halo respectively, as 'St Mary Magdalene' and the 'Mother of God', and the central figure as 'Jesus Christ'. Below the red arched upper border is the inscription: 'The "Chairete" to the Myrrhophores'.

This scene, which is Christ's first appearance after his burial and belongs to the iconographical cycle of the Anastasis, illustrates the text of Matthew 29:9: 'And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.'

From an iconographical point of view, the scene, which is known from early Christian art, was especially popular in Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting (Millet 1916, pp. 540-50. Geroulanou-Kalliga 1962-3, pp. 203ff.). The specific iconographical type of the Stavronikita icon is in fact a close copy of the same subject in a two-zone icon in the Collection of St Catherine's Sinaiton, on Crete (Eikones 1993, no. 94), and was also used in the Dodekaorton

in Iviron Monastery (Tsigaridas 1991-2, p. 193, fig. 14), which Theophanis painted some time between 1535 and 1546.

From an artistic point of view, like the Iviron icon of the same subject, the Stavronikita 'Chairete' adopts a strict and symmetrical format, which revolves around the focal point of the figure of Christ, and harmoniously incorporates elements of western art. With her long loose hair and soft red cloak, Mary Magdalene is rendered in both works in a western iconographical type and manner (Tsigaridas 1991-2, p. 193 n. 21). The sculptural quality and material weight of the Virgin's garment also trace their origins to western manners of painting, which entered post-Byzantine works by way of icons produced by Cretan workshops, which adopted western iconographical types of the Virgin, such as the *Madre della Consolazione* (Tsigaridas 1991-2, p. 193 n. 22). However, the bare rocks behind the two women are rendered in the spirit of Byzantine painting, while the hill on which Christ stands is soft and





gentle and rendered more in accordance with the western perception. The only difference between the two icons is one of depth: in the Ivron icon the natural horizon extends behind the rocks in accordance with the western painting; the same is not true of the Stavronikita 'Chairete' to the Myrrhophores.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 78. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 88, fig. 25. Dodekaorton, no. 10.

E.N.T.

## 2.69 The Incredulity of Thomas 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 52 x 37 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

Christ is depicted in the centre of the scene, in front of the closed doors, in accordance with the text of John 20:26, of a bulky cuboid building



with a low dome. He raises his right hand, revealing the spearwound in his right side; the marks of the nails are visible on his hands and feet. Christ is flanked by the disciples in two equal groups, their faces and gestures manifesting their wonder and amazement at the event. At the front of the left-hand group of disciples is Thomas, stretching forth his right hand and placing his finger on Christ's pierced side. Two identical sections of the walls of Jerusalem behind the two groups of disciples form the backdrop to the scene.

The basic features of the scene reflect an iconographical type seen in frescoes and icons from the Palaeologan period (Millet 1910, pl. 121.1. Millet 1927, pl. 27.3. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, fig. 82B). Theophanis also adopted the iconographical format of the Stavronikita Incredulity of Thomas in the katholikon of the Great Lavra (Millet 1927, pl. 119.3) and in the Dodekaorton on the epistyle in Ivron Monastery (Tsigaridas 1991-2, p. 193, fig. 13). He seems to have taken this iconographical format from the tradition of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, and an icon in the Hellenic Institute in Venice (Chatzidakis 1962, no. 9, pl. 11) suggests that it was used with slight variations in the sixteenth century in other places too, not only on Mount Athos (Millet 1927, pls. 154.2, 223.3).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 79. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 90, fig. 26. Dodekaorton, no. 11.

E.N.T.

## 2.70 The Ascension 1546 Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 54 x 39 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

In the lower part of the scene stands the Virgin in an attitude of supplication. She is flanked by two angels clad in white, holding sceptres and pointing towards the ascending Christ. On either side of this central group are the disciples in two groups, led by Peter on the right and Paul on the left. Their heads and hands are lifted in alarm and amazement. In the upper part of the scene



sits Christ in glory, being borne heavenward by two angels. A rocky landscape with olive trees in the background denotes the site of the Ascension, the Mount of Olives.

Iconographically and artistically, this scene of the Ascension alludes to works of the late fifteenth-century Cretan School, in which a type found in Palaeologan painting lived on and crystallised into its final form. Thus, both in its general composition and in its details, the Stavronikita icon has links with Andreas Ritzos' icon of the Ascension in Tokyo (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 201), the icon of the Ascension in the Hellenic Institute in Venice, which is attributed to Andreas Ritzos (Chatzidaki 1993, nos. 13, 13α), and other Cretan icons of the same period in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, in Sarajevo, and elsewhere (Eikones 1993, no. 205. Byzantium 1994, no. 235. Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202).

This writer believes, then, that in his version of the Ascension, both in the icon from the

Dodekaorton and in the fresco in the katholikon of Stavronikita Monastery (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 102), Theophanis adopts an iconographical type which was a familiar feature of the art of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, particularly the painting of Andreas Ritzos, and which became especially popular in post-Byzantine painting (Millet 1927, pl. 232.2. Chatzidakis 1962, figs. 44, 77. Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 43).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 80. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 92, fig. 27. Dodekaorton, no. 13.

E.N.T.

## 2.71 The Pentecost Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 54 x 39 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The Apostles are depicted in two groups



2.70





seated on a horseshoe-shaped bench with a back and footrest. They are led by Peter and Paul. The four Evangelists and St Paul hold closed books, Peter and the rest of the Apostles hold closed scrolls. Tongues of flame emerge from the opening in the heavens at the top of the icon and descend onto the heads of the twelve Apostles. In the horseshoe-shaped space in the lower part of the icon, an elderly figure in profile, wearing royal robes and a crown, is the personification of the World. He holds a piece of fabric containing twelve rolled scrolls. Behind the bench a Π-shaped building with a flat roof and large openings provides the backdrop against which the scene takes place. On the gold ground of the icon, below the opening in the heavens, is the inscription: 'The Pentecost'.

In this icon of the Pentecost, Theophanis adopts the iconographical format which began to evolve after the Iconoclast period (Grabar 1968, pp. 615-17) and which passed, by way of the Palaeologan artistic tradition (Millet 1910, pl. 121.2. Soteriou 1956, figs. 79, 216), into the Cretan School of the fifteenth, and subsequently of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Papageorgiou 1969, p. 56. Papageorgiou 1991, fig. 135. Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 42. Chatzidakis 1962, fig. 78. Eikones 1993, no. 153, and others). Theophanis adopted the same iconographical format in the *katholika* of the Great Lavra (1535) and Stavronikita (1545-6), the only difference being that in the Great Lavra the building in the background is more complex (Millet 1927, pl. 118.2. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 103).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 81. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 94, fig. 28. Dodekaorton, no. 14.

E.N.T.

## 2.72 The Koimesis Stavronikita Monastery

1546

Wood, egg tempera, 54 x 38 cm  
Cretan School. Theophanis the Cretan

The scene is dominated by a bed with a red gold-embroidered cover, upon which lies the



Virgin with her arms crossed. A candle in a holder burns in front of the bed. Behind the bed stands Christ in majestic *contrapposto*, holding the Virgin's soul in the form of a swaddled infant. He is surrounded by a mandorla, within which the four grief-stricken angels flanking him are rendered in monochrome. At the top of the mandorla is a seraph, and in the upper part of the icon the gates of heaven have opened to reveal two monochrome angels preparing to receive the Virgin's soul. On either side of the deathbed are the Apostles, in two dense groups, their poses, gestures, and facial expressions discreetly reflecting their sorrow at the Virgin's Dormition. St Peter is at the head of the group on the right, swinging a censer, St Paul leads the group on the left, paying homage. The scene is supplemented by three hierarchs – St Dionysios the Areopagite, St James the brother of Christ, and St Timothy or St Hierotheos – two of them holding open codices. In the background three women lament. The scene is completed by two



buildings, between which, on the gold ground of the icon, is the inscription: 'The Koimesis of the Mother of God'.

In the Stavronikita icon, Theophanis adopts a spare, tight, balanced format, which entered the fifteenth-century Cretan School by way of the Palaeologan tradition (Underwood 1966, 2, fig. 185). With regard to both its iconography and its composition, the Stavronikita icon is a simple version – apart from Christ's pose – of

an iconographical type developed by Andreas Ritzos and his circle. This is apparent in the icon of the Koimesis in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Vocotopoulos 1995, no. 155), the icon of the Koimesis in the Hellenic Institute in Venice (Chatzidaki 1993, no. 14), and the scene of the Koimesis in Nikolaos Ritzos' icon in Sarajevo (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202), among others.

This iconographical format, which Theophanis also adopted in the katholika of Anapafsas Monastery (1527) and Stavronikita (Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 5. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 14) was particularly widespread in the post-Byzantine art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Vocotopoulos 1990, no. 53. Chatzidakis 1962, no. 130, pl. 70).

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 82. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, fig. 29. Dodekaorton, no. 15.

E.N.T.



## 2.73 The Prophet Elijah

16th c., 2nd half

Stavronikita Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 87 x 51 cm

Cretan School. Michael Damaskinos

Elijah sits on some cuboid rocks in the desert, at the mouth of a dark rocky cavern that terminates in sharp peaks. His body turns to the right and his head, resting on his left hand, turns to the left towards a raven which is bringing him bread.

The prophet wears an olive-green sleeved tunic and a sheepskin under a red cloak. In the bottom left corner is the signature of the major Cretan painter of the second half of the sixteenth century: 'By the hand of Michael Damaskinos' (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp. 38-42).

Damaskinos uses an iconographical format that developed in the Palaeologan period – such as that seen at Gračanića (1318-21; Todić 1989, pl. XXVI) and the Monastery of St John the Prodrome at Serres (1358-64; Xyngopoulos 1973, pl. 22) – which is slightly different, as



regards the form of the landscape and the prophet's relationship to it, from the iconographical format of the Cretan School of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries (Chatzidakis 1985, nos. 29-30, pls. 25, 93. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, no. 10. Eikones 1993, no. 129).

From an artistic point of view, Elijah's sappy and resilient face is well burnt by the desert sun. With the subtle gradations of brown underpainting, the limited areas of wheaten flesh producing an effect of patches of inner illumination, the fine supple lines that emphasise the brow, the cheekbones, the broad nose, and the wavy lines of the thick beard, the face of this venerable old prophet seems almost carved in relief.

This technique of the rendering of the flesh, which revives painting manners of the Cretan School in the second half of the sixteenth century and avoids Damaskinos' usual practice of naturalistically rendering anatomical details, such as veins (Vocotopoulos 1990, p. 40), is also seen in other works of his, such as the icons of St Anthony in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 313), St Anthony on Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, no. 24), and St Symeon in the Collection of St Catherine's Sinaion, on Crete (Eikones 1993, no. 111).

From a stylistic point of view, the prophet's robust body is broad and dignified, its impressive bulk revealed by the deep, heavy folds of his cloak and tunic. The rocky desert landscape, with the small, well-defined flat areas at ground level and the small sharp peaks above the cave, provides a fitting backdrop for the imposing figure of the prophet.

The monumental priestly bearing, the facial type and technical features of the venerable old figure with the profound contemplative gaze place this icon of the Prophet Elijah among those works in which Damaskinos continued the iconographical and stylistic tradition of Byzantine art in the second half of the sixteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Chatzidakis 1953, p. 13, fig. 12. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 132, fig. 48.

E.N.T.

## 2.74 The Transfiguration

1535-45

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 91 x 80 cm

Cretan School. Attributed to Theophanis

Christ stands, clad in white, on the peak of Mount Tabor, surrounded by a resplendent glory. On either side of him, on mountains shaped like arches in the background, stand Elijah and Moses.

The disciples at the foot of the mountain are depicted in attitudes that reflect their dread at the sight of the theophany. The representation is completed by two supplementary scenes framed by the rocky arches, showing Christ and the disciples going up the mountain and coming down again.

In its general iconographical format and the arrangement of the figures, the Pantokrator Transfiguration is based on the miniature of the





Transfiguration in Cod. Par. Gr. 1242 (1371-5; Galavaris 1995 (2), fig. 224), with the exception of the pose of James. This Palaeologan iconographical format entered sixteenth-century painting by way of the iconographical tradition of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, and in this respect the Pantokrator icon has close iconographical links with the icon of the Transfiguration in the Benaki Museum in Athens, which dates to the second half of the fifteenth century (Chatzidakis 1983, fig. 26).

As regards sixteenth-century works, the Pantokrator icon presents a close iconographical and stylistic similarity to a wall painting and an icon of the Transfiguration in Stavronikita Monastery, both painted by Theophanis in 1545/6 (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 87). Specifically, the Pantokrator icon has the same iconographical format as the Stavronikita icon; and as regards the two supplementary scenes of the ascent and

descent of Mount Tabor, as also the pose and gesture of the disciple James, it attests links with the wall paintings in the Great Lavra and Stavronikita (Millet 1927, pl. 123.1. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 87).

From the point of view of style now, this Transfiguration is a tightly organised, compact classical composition in terms of both its structure and its expressive quality. Its main features are the harmonious, symmetrical arrangement of the figures around the central axis formed by Christ; the reciprocity of the poses and movements, which obey a tranquil rhythm that holds the figures together and integrates them harmoniously in the composition; a sensitive use of colour; and an alternation of colours that conforms to the reciprocal aspect of the scene. All these features may be linked with Theophanis's synthetic skills.

In view of what has been said above, this writer believes that the close iconographical and stylistic links between the Pantokrator Transfiguration and Theophanis's painting mean that he may unreservedly be regarded as its creator. As far as its dating is concerned, the tight modelling, the clear articulation, and the compact structure of the mountain mass suggest that it pre-dates the Stavronikita icon of the Transfiguration and was painted when Theophanis was in his artistic prime.

**Bibliography:** Toska 1983, pp. 425-31, pls. 1-3. Tsigaridas 1997 (2) (forthcoming).

E.N.T.



## 2.75 Double-sided icon

16th c.

a. Koimesis

b. The Ladder of St John Klimax  
Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 31 x 24 cm

On the main face of this small double-sided icon the Koimesis is depicted in miniature in a medallion. The Virgin lies lifeless on a bed, behind which stands Christ, surrounded by angels and holding the Virgin's soul in the form of a



swaddled infant in his arms. On either side of the Virgin are Peter and Paul, followed by the rest of the Apostles, prelates, and women. In front of the deathbed, we see the Apocryphal incident involving Jephoniah, the Jew whose hands were cut off by an angel for his impiety. The angel is missing, however, and Jephoniah is followed by two figures of Jews. Below the Koimesis is the walled city of Jerusalem.

Above the medallion, two angels hold either end of an open scroll, inscribed with a quotation from the Song of Songs: 'Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away, O my dove.' In the upper left corner is St Thomas on a cloud, holding the Virgin's girdle.

The iconographical format reflects a known type seen in fifteenth-century works of the Cretan School (Chatzidaki 1993, no. 14). The specific format of the Pantokrator icon, with the main subject in a medallion, has a parallel

in a late sixteenth-century icon in the Hellenic Institute in Venice (Chatzidakis 1962, pl. 54).

The subject on the rear face of the icon is the spiritual 'ladder to heaven' devised by John of Sinai, Hegumen of the Monastery of St Catherine and author of *The Ladder of Perfection*, a manual written to help monks attain spiritual perfection and the inspiration behind this iconographical theme.

According to the *Ladder*, the prerequisite for spiritual perfection is that a monk should attain the thirty virtues, which in the iconography of the theme take the form of the thirty rungs of a ladder, the ascent of which is beset by temptations in the form of demons tugging at the monks' habits. At the top of the ladder awaits salvation in the person of Christ. He holds an open scroll, on which is inscribed: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest' (Matt. 11:28). This theme, which has its origin in the story of Jacob's Ladder (Gen. 28:12), is a pre-eminently monastic iconographical theme, which was devised around the eleventh century under the influence of the theme of the Last Judgement (Martin 1954, p. 150).

It is supplemented in this icon by other, secondary themes depicted on the left against the background of Mount Sinai. On the peak is 'The Koimesis of St Catherine', followed by a representation of the Burning Bush with the Mother of God inside it and below her the summoning of the Prophet Moses (Aliprantis 1991, pp. 31-7). Directly below, an angel in a monk's habit addresses Pachomios: 'In this habit will all flesh be saved, o Pachomios.'

The miniature rendering of both themes, the iconographical type of the figures and the technique with which they are rendered, and the realistic depiction of the city of Jerusalem all link the Pantokrator icon with sixteenth-century works of the Cretan School. The same artist painted another double-sided icon of the same size in Pantokrator Monastery, depicting the Recovery and Exaltation of the True Cross and All Saints.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

E.N.T.







**2.76 Part of the epistyle of an iconostasis with the Dodekaorton, 16th c.**  
Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 300 x 57 cm

Together with three more sections of the same epistyle that survive in Pantokrator Monastery, this piece originally came from the sixteenth-century iconostasis in the katholikon (Tsigaridas 1978, p. 203, pls. 22-4). The epistyle, which survives in its entirety, contains a total of thirty-one scenes, making it one of the most thematically rich surviving epistyles on Mount Athos. The four sections depict scenes from the circles of the Dodekaorton, Christ's Passion and Anastasis, Pentecost, and the Life of the Virgin, all of them known from the art of the Palaeologan period, and adopted into the thematic repertory of the Cretan School both on Mount Athos – the katholikon of the Great Lavra (1535), among others – and on Meteora – the katholika of the Great Meteora (1552) and Doussiko Monastery (1557).

Twelve scenes from the Pentecost cycle are represented on the section of the epistyle exhibited here, in the following order: 'Peace be unto you', The Incredulity of Thomas, the 'Chairete' to the Myrrhophores, the Healing of the Paraetic, Mid-Pentecost, the Woman of Samaria, the Healing of the Blind Man, Christ Walking on the Sea of Galilee, *Noli Me Tangere*, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Koimesis. The subjects are depicted in compartments defined by carved relief arches supported on colonettes, the spandrels decorated with rosette-like ornaments sprouting three three-

lobed leaves. The epistyle is crowned by a wide band consisting of four carved wooden mouldings. The first consists of stylised double leaves similar to those on the little arches; the second carries a kind of bead-and-reel ornament; the third is covered with an undulating tendril enclosing triple leaves; and the fourth, which is almost as wide as the other three put together, is ornamented with a band of palmettes.

Iconographically speaking, the scenes (particularly the *Noli Me Tangere*, Ascension, Pentecost, and Koimesis) follow the strict, spare iconographical format of the Cretan School in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 202), while certain iconographical details link them with the Palaeologan tradition of painting. However, certain other features – the typology and the iconic types of the figures, with their coarse, crude faces rendered with sharp chiaroscuro after the manner of wall painting; and the drapery, with its bright illuminated areas defined by restless outlines on the monochrome ground of the garments, disrupting the unity of the body – distance the epistyle from the artistic manners of the Cretan School and link it with the products of Macedonian workshops of the sixteenth century, such as the wall paintings in the Church of the Panagia Palaioforitissa (second half of the sixteenth century) and the Church of St Cerycos (1589) in Veroia (Papazotos 1994, pls. 87, 96β).

On the basis of what has been said above, this writer believes that, from an iconographical point of view and also as regards his synthetic predilections, the anonymous painter of the epistyle adopts the

spare, strictly organised, symmetrical format of works of the Cretan School; but in his artistic approach he differs radically from the Cretan School's manners and opts for those favoured by sixteenth-century Macedonian workshops. We may thus conclude that he was active on Mount Athos in the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century, and came into fruitful contact there with works of the Cretan School, which influenced him chiefly at an iconographical level.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

**2.77 St George with scenes from his life**  
16th c., last quarter  
St Paul's Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 85 x 63 cm

In the centre of the icon, within an integral frame, St George sits on a backless throne, his feet on a footrest. He wears a long green tunic, a breastplate, and a red chlamys that forms elaborate folds on his right leg. His left arm encircles a bow and arrows; in his partly ruined right hand he holds a spear. He is identified by an inscription in Old Slavonic script: 'St George'. In the lower part of this central section are three full-length figures in attitudes of supplication. On the left is a man wearing a crown and a richly woven sleeveless cloak, accompanied by the inscription: 'ΙΩ ΠΕΤ[—] ΒΟΕΒΟΔ(Α)' (ΙΩ Pet[—] Voivode). On the saint's right are a woman and a child. The woman's cloak, sleeveless like

the man's, is red and ornamented with gold two-headed eagles. These two figures are accompanied by the inscriptions: 'ΙΩ ΜΑΡ[Ι-ΒΟΕ]ΒΟΔ(Α)' (ΙΩ Maria Voivode) and 'ΙΩ ΒΙΛΙΑ (ΝΤ) ΒΟΕΒΟΔ(Α)' (ΙΩ Vlad Voivode).

The central representation is surrounded by twelve small rectangular panels illustrating incidents from the Life and martyrdom of St George in no coherent chronological order. Old Slavonic inscriptions identify the scenes. The cycle of the Life and martyrdom of St George, which is based on the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, appeared in the monumental painting of the eleventh to twelfth centuries in Hagia Sophia, Kiev (1046-67), and the Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria (ca. 1180; Walter 1989, pp. 347-54). As regards portable icons, the earliest example is an icon of the late twelfth to thirteenth century at Sinai (Soteriou 1956, fig. 167), in which the saint is depicted standing in the centre, surrounded by twenty scenes relating to his life, miracles, and martyrdom. The cycle of the Life of St George enjoyed relatively wide dissemination thereafter, thirty-seven iconographical cycles having been recorded from between the tenth and the fourteenth century (Mark-Weiner 1977).

On the basis of its technical and stylistic features, as also the data gleaned from the portrayal of the donors, the icon may be dated to the sixteenth century. More specifically, the inscription accompanying the male donor indicates that the icon was the gift of a ruling prince of Wallachia named Peter and his family. We know of five ruling Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia in the sixteenth century named Peter (Hurmuzaki 1909, pp. 335-8), one of whom, Peter the Good (1554-8), is known to have had links with the Monastery of St Paul. Smyrnakis reports that the construction of the tower in the south-east corner of the monastery began in the reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512-21) and was completed in the reign of Peter (1554). So it could well have been Peter the Good, who contributed to the completion of the tower, who donated this icon to the Monastery of St Paul. However, the epigraphical data in fact point to Peter the Lamé, whose wife was named Maria and whose son was named Vlad, like the figures in the icon. Peter the Lamé of Wallachia was three



2.77



times voivode in the last quarter of the sixteenth century – in 1574-8, 1578-9, and 1582-91 – and the icon may reasonably be dated to this period.

This icon of St George, to whom the old katholikon (1447) was dedicated, seems to have been one of the despotic icons on the iconostasis in the katholikon in the mid-sixteenth century, together with two others of like size, which survive in the monastery and depict Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin Hodegetria. All three, together with others from the iconostasis, which were painted by the same artist and no longer survive, were the gift of Peter, ruling Prince of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.

**2.78 Double-zone icon**  
above: The *Epitaphios*  
below: The Forty Martyrs  
Xeropotamou Monastery

1563

Wood, egg tempera, 60 x 38 cm  
Cretan School



The two scenes are depicted within a low, integral frame, the interior of which is surrounded by a relief motif in the form of braided rope. It is the rope motif that divides the icon into two parts of unequal height. In the upper section is the *Epitaphios*; in the lower the Forty Martyrs are depicted under an ogee arch formed by the same rope motif.

On a pale pink tomb slab lies the dead Christ, alone and naked, save for a loincloth. At either end of the slab is a pair of praying angels holding *hexapteryga*. This type of *Epitaphios*, which alludes to the gold-embroidered type of liturgical-eucharistic *Epitaphios* (Millet 1947, pl. CLXXVI. 2), is a creation of the Palaeologan painting tradition, which lived on in the post-Byzantine period in works of the Cretan and other schools (Chatzidakis 1985, nos. 88, 106, pls. 141, 146).

In the lower section of the icon are the Forty Martyrs, condemned to spend the night on the frozen lake in Sebasteia. On the left is the martyr who could no longer endure the torment and entered the warm bath, while the Roman soldier



keeping watch over them prepares to take his place. Over the martyrs' heads are the forty gold crowns of their martyrdom. In the apex of the relief arch, Christ Emmanuel makes a gesture of blessing with both hands. In the corner compartments between the relief borders, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel are depicted in flight against a starry sky.

The Forty Martyrs compose an archaic format of tranquil figures, without the dramatic incident of the swooning old man. Similar features are seen in icons of the Cretan School at the end of the sixteenth century (Chatzidakis 1962, no. 82, pl. 56. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 82, pl. 137).

A dedicatory inscription survives at the bottom of the icon: 'The supplication of the servant of the Lord [K.K.] Year 7071 (1563)'.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

E.N.T.



## 2.79 The Presentation of the Virgin, 1575 Chelandari Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 120 x 92.5 cm

In accordance with the Apocryphal Protoevangelion of James, the Virgin is depicted as a three-year-old child being taken to the temple and presented to the high priest, accompanied by her parents, Joachim and Anne, and the daughters of Zion carrying their tapers.

The figures which compose the scene are grouped before the canopied altar and the entrance to the sanctuary. On the left, before the door of the sanctuary is Zacharias, receiving Mary. She precedes her parents, who are followed by the daughters of Zion. At the upper left edge, on a stepped base, which is roofed with a canopy and symbolises the holy of holies, sits the Virgin. She, the 'living ark', according to the Apocryphal Gospel and the hymnology of the Orthodox Church, is represented being fed by an angel.

The figures are depicted before an impressive and complex architectural backdrop, on the wall of which are two monochrome roundels containing profile busts. These are taken from the Palaeologan painting tradition, which harked back to Greek

and Roman art. Dense and tight, the composition adopts an iconographical format that developed in the middle Byzantine period. In this Chelandari variant it makes a comeback through the art of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, which continued Palaeologan models (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 60, pp. 104-5. Vocotopoulos 1990, no. 13, pp. 27-8, fig. 17. Drandakis 1990, p. 127, fig. 81. Eikones 1993, no. 204).

According to the Serbian inscription on the bottom part of the frame (ΠΡΕΩΣΒΙΑΣΧΕΝΝΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΠΕΚΚΟΜΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΖΗΤΟΥ), this icon, one of the most important works from the Ottoman period surviving in Chelandari Monastery, was the gift of Antonios, Serbian Archbishop of Pec, in 1575.

The icon was painted in the second half of the sixteenth century by an anonymous Greek artist who reproduced iconographical formats and artistic manners that had been introduced to Mount Athos by the Cretan painter Theophanis (Millet 1927, pl. 130.2). This unknown painter's hand is also recognisable in other icons on Athos.

**Bibliography:** Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 150, fig. 121.

E.N.T.





**2.80 Painted doors**  
16th c., last quarter  
Iviron Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 2.33 x 0.80 cm (each door)

Each of these painted doors, which now flank the refectory conch in Iviron Monastery, is divided horizontally into two equal rectangular sections. In the upper section of the left door is the Virgin from the waist up, turning three-quarters to the right, holding in her left hand an open inscribed scroll, and putting out her right in a gesture of supplication for the salvation of humankind towards Christ, who is portrayed in the upper section of the right door. Christ is depicted from the waist up in a frontal pose, holding a closed Gospel and lifting his right hand in blessing. He wears an aubergine tunic with a clavus and a dark green himation. On the gold ground is the inscription: 'Jesus Christ the Philanthrope'. The Virgin wears an aubergine maphorion bordered and fringed with gold. On the gold ground is the inscription: 'Mother of God the Hope of Christians'. The inscription on her scroll is an appeal to Christ for the salvation of humankind (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 285, p. 91).

In the lower sections of the doors, within painted arches supported on columns, are two members of the secular aristocracy. On the left door is a young man from the knees up, turning three-quarters to the right, his head lifted, and his right hand stretched forth in a gesture of supplication. On the right, a middle-aged man with a short thick rounded beard and long hair curling at the edges faces left in an supplicatory manner. Both men are dressed in luxurious court attire, the younger one in particular wearing a red garment with sleeves, belted at the waist, decorated with gold-woven two-headed eagles.

According to Smyrnakis, the doors are from the katholikon, date to 1680, and depict the monastery's founder, Thornik the Iberian (Georgian), on the right and Emperor Basil II 'the Bulgar-slayer' on the left (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 471). Millet, Pargoire, and Petit suggest that the figures represent the Georgian ruler Asotan and his son Jesse; they also propose that the doors are from the Chapel of the Panagia Portaïtissa, which was founded by Asotan (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 470), and therefore date to 1683, the year the chapel was built (Millet -



Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 285, p. 91).

Xyngopoulos identifies the figures as Michnea II, Voivode of Wallachia (1577-83 and 1585-91) and his son Radu (1611-23), on the basis of the information that Radu's mother sent him to Iviron Monastery to learn Greek, the monks subsequently despatching him to complete his studies in Venice (Xyngopoulos 1975, pp. 647-9). Xyngopoulos' view is strengthened by the fact that Michnea and Radu are represented as sponsors of the decoration of the katholikon in a separate panel on the south wall of the nave, accompanied by the Hegumen of Iviron Gabriel and the Iberian painter Markos (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 232, p. 71). It is therefore very likely that the same sponsors of the katholikon are represented on the painted doors in the Iviron refectory, and that the doors themselves are the work of Markos.

This theory is further supported by the dating of the doors, which artistic criteria place in the late sixteenth century. The whole group of figures is the work of a painter who applies artistic manners of the Cretan School to his own personal style.

From a technical point of view, the faces of Christ and the Virgin are rendered with narrow areas of olive-green shading and broad areas of warm wheaten flesh, on which the linear highlights are rendered in a dry, though accomplished, calligraphic style. The rendering of the clothing too, particularly that of the Virgin, with the broad schematic folds which are not a feature of the painting of the Cretan School, shows that the painter is adapting artistic manners from Byzantine and western art to his own personal style.

The same technique is recognisable in the faces of the princes, which are obviously portraits. One is struck by the realistic portrayal of the older man's face and the freshness of the younger man's ripe flesh, his noble face rendered with exceptional finesse and skill.

It should be noted that the facial type of the younger figure, with his long wavy hair, suggests that the painter is imitating figures from the western aristocracy; and this strengthens the view that it is indeed Michnea's son Radu, who,

as we know, studied in Venice, and whose appearance would naturally have been influenced by the Venetian environment.

**Bibliography:** Xyngopoulos 1975, pp. 647-9, fig. 1.

E.N.T.







**2.81 St George on horseback** 16th c.  
 Skete of St Anne  
 Wood, egg tempera, 34.5 x 28 cm

The popular saint is shown mounted and facing right, using his long lance to spear the dragon, which is lying on the ground, through the mouth. With his left hand he holds the reins of his blue-grey horse, which is rearing up and trampling the dragon's tail with its hind legs.

Below the horse's raised forelegs stands the princess, and on the animal's rump sits the small slave rescued by the saint. Two mountains rise in the background and in the top right corner the Hand of God appears from a quadrant of the heavens to bless the saint.

This icon follows the iconographic type of the mounted saint used by Orthodox painters throughout the period of Turkish rule. This convention is known to have been created in Crete by fifteenth-century painters using Palaeologan icons as models (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 23).

The icon is exceptionally well done.

The detail in the harness and in the saint's corslet, with its mass of gold striations incorporated

into the design, and also the matching vermillion of the saint's cloak, the princess' robe and the dragon's wings, are all reminiscent of works attributed to fifteenth-century Cretan painters and especially to Angelos (Vocotopoulos 1987, p. 411. Vassilaki 1990, p.80), who seems to have specialised in dragon-slaying mounted saints (Vassilaki 1989, p.210).

Although this icon shows western influence in the harness and decoration of the corslet, the Byzantine artistic tradition represented by the rendering of the saint's head, the rugged landscape and the hand of God made this work acceptable to the strict monastic community of the *skete*.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

## **2.82 Christ High Priest and saints** 16th and 18th c.

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 148 x 100.5 x 3.5 cm

This is the great icon of Christ from the Protaton's iconostasis, which together with John the Baptist (no. 2.86), St Panteleimon (no. 2.85), the Dormition of the Virgin (no. 2.83), St Stephen, St Nicholas and St John the Theologian (no. 2.84) and St Athanasios the Athonite, St Spyridon and St Peter of Alexandria (no. 2.96) adorned the 1611 iconostasis (see no. 8.4a-b) until the middle of this century, when they were removed together with the iconostasis to reveal the original marble templon that was still *in situ* (Millet 1927, pl. 52). It can be seen that the icon of the Virgin is missing from this list, being replaced by the icon of the Dormition (no. 2.83), doubtless due to the Protaton's being dedicated to this feast. With one exception the above icons were probably painted in 1542 together with the Great Deesis (no. 2.47-2.53) (Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 327. Papachryssanthou 1992, p. 394) for another iconostasis constructed in 1542. When the 1542 iconostasis was replaced in 1611, according to the custom of the time (Tavlaakis 1996(2)), the openings were adjusted to receive the earlier large icons, and the remaining gap at one end







was covered with a narrow icon (no. 2.96) with three saints arranged vertically. At the same time the seven icons depicting the Great Deesis were hung behind the screen for safekeeping (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 29).

All five icons have the same height (148 cm), a fact which confirms that they were originally a set for the 1542 iconostasis, though later overpainting had until recently concealed the excellence and age of these important examples of Cretan painting. We may feel fairly confident that this work is by Theophanis the Cretan, to whom is also attributed the Great Deesis on the same screen (Chatzidakis 1969-70, p. 327. For a different view, see catalogue entries nos. 2.47-2.53). This view supports the suggestion that Theophanis move from the Great Lavra to Karyes in 1543 was connected with his work (Chatzidakis 1963, p. 216).

The subject matter of the icon is divided into two parts, the centre, where Christ is portrayed as King of Kings and High Priest, and the border, which contains twenty-six half-length figures of saints, set close together down the sides (10 and 10) and more openly spaced along the top and bottom (3 and 3). Christ, in high priest's vestments, is shown frontally and full-length, seated on a high-backed throne. His right hand is raised in blessing, while in His left He holds an open book with the phrases from the Divine Liturgy: 'Take, eat...' and 'Drink ye all of it...'. Two cushions, one red and one green, with delicate foliate ornamentation have been placed on the throne for the Saviour to sit upon, and a third cushion, also red, serves as a footstool. The face and hands have been overpainted.

Christ as High Priest appears in iconography after the Fall of Constantinople (1453), roughly as in this icon, starting from a model created in Crete in the fifteenth century (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 15). The first part of the text in the open book is usually different ('My kingdom is not of this world'), while the mitre, episcopal vestments and splendid throne are common elements. This icon is iconographically closely related to that by Michael Damaskinos in the second half of the sixteenth century (Vocotopoulos 1990, no. 22, pl. 23), even though details in the decoration of the throne, the footstool and the episcopal vestments

are reminiscent of the katholikon of the Stavronikita Monastery, which was painted by Theophanis in 1545/46, and particularly reminds us of the portrayal of St Nicholas with the founder Ieremias, and also the scenes showing the Ecumenical Councils (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), pls. 10-1, and on p.8).

The figures of the saints in the border are the originals, not having been overpainted. Along the top are the three Hierarchs and along the bottom Sts George, Demetrios and Christopher. Down the sides are the twelve Apostles and the martyrs Kyrikos, Jacob the Persian, Menas and Theophilos on the left and Sergios, Bacchus, Nicholas the Younger and Eustathios on the right. The inscriptions accompanying Sts George and Demetrios are to be found in a fuller form in the refectory of the Dionysiou Monastery (Millet 1927, pl. 210.1).

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, pp.697-8.

I.T.

## 2.83 The Koimesis 16th and 18th c. Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 148 x 109.5 cm

The crowded scene of the Koimesis is an admirably balanced composition, diversified with numerous minor departures from strict symmetry, and with figures displaying a variety of poses, movements, and gestures.

In the foreground is the deathbed, with the Virgin positioned on it with her head towards the right, which is the opposite of her pose in most representations of this subject.

St Peter at her feet with his censer is unknown in other examples, though this positioning is mentioned in Dionysios of Fournas's *Painter's Manual* (Dionysios of Fournas 1909, p. 144). The position usually occupied by St Paul, opposite Peter, is here taken by another apostle, probably John, while Paul must be one of the two apostles who are standing bowed behind the Virgin's bed, in similar positions and poses to the corresponding figures in the fresco of the Koimesis in the Protaton (Millet 1927, pl. 30). Around the Virgin arrayed towards the background are the rest of the apostles,





the women, and the three hierarchs who are usually represented in the Koimesis (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, p. 144).

The background of the composition is occupied by the dark blue colour and varied shapes of an area of starry sky, in which are depicted: Christ, behind the deathbed, dressed in gold, holding the Virgin's soul, and surrounded by angels and cherubs; the Assumption of the Theotokos, as she hands her girdle to St Thomas; and, in the upper part of the icon, angels opening the gates of heaven, with others, rendered in monochromy,

descending to receive her soul. A similar conception of the configuration of the sky is seen in an eighteenth-century icon in Simonopetra Monastery (Kissas 1991, fig. 121).

Outside the area of sky, on the gold ground of the icon, the apostles are depicted in clouds borne by angels, coming 'from far and wide' to attend the Virgin's funeral. At the edges of the composition, behind the crowded figures, are two small buildings, with two female figures at the windows. On either side of the sky is an inscription in red lettering: 'The Koimesis of the



All-Holy Theotokos'. The apostles on their clouds are also identified by red initials.

Despite its unusual features, the composition reflects the general iconographical schema seen in sixteenth-century Athonite wall paintings (Millet 1927, pls. 132, 163, 197.2, 216), with a few details taken from earlier works (Millet 1927, pl. 30). The painter clearly alludes to Cretan works not only in the iconography, but also in the organisation of the composition and in the rendering of the noble figures.

However, the stylised rendering of the garments and the flaccid modelling of some of the faces indicate that the work was retouched in the eighteenth century, and this has been confirmed by an on-the-spot investigation. The fact that the icon comes from the Protaton iconostasis of 1611, to which other icons in the exhibition also belong (see, for instance, nos. 2.82, 2.84-2.86, 2.96), which are likewise dated to the sixteenth century but have been overpainted later, suggests that this Koimesis icon belongs to the same group.

The correlation of these icons with the Great Deesis icons in the Protaton, which have been attributed to Theophanis (Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp. 326ff.) and also to Zorzi (see nos. 2.47-2.53), makes it likely that the Koimesis was painted by one of these two artists. However, at this stage, and until the later overpainting is cleaned off, the matter remains unresolved.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.84** Sts Stephen, Nicholas,  
and John the Theologian  
16th and 18th c.

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 148 x 128 x 3.5 cm

This very wide icon is probably from the series of icons used in the 1542 iconostasis (see no. 2.82). The full-length figures of the saints have been overpainted, though without disturbing the original overall design. St Stephen the First Martyr is shown on the left, facing forward and with a tonsured head, holding a



2.84



2.85



martyr's cross and a censer in his right hand, and a container for incense in his left. In the centre stands St Nicholas in bishop's vestments, holding a closed book. On the right is St John the Theologian turned three-quarters to the right, holding a half-open book. The gold background and the inscriptions do not seem to have been overpainted, but until the overpainting has been removed from the figures no observations can be made on the technique of the original work.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.85 St Panteleimon 16th and 18th c. Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 148 x 63.5 x 3 cm



2.86

This is a very fine work in which the face and hands have been re-painted. The healer saint is portrayed frontally and full-length, holding a medical instrument and vessel in his hands. He stands with his legs apart and is clothed in luxurious bejewelled garments. Especially impressive is the fire-red cloak, buckled high on the chest, which falls in undulating folds towards the rear. It is adorned outside with black trefoils and inside with delicate gold tendrils.

Similar designs in black cover the gold edging both of the long green *tunic* and the cloak, in the case of the latter only on one side. Such devices can also be found in the *katholikon* of the Stavronikita Monastery (1546) in the figures of warrior and healer saints (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), pls. 146-50).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.86 St John the Baptist 16th and 18th c. Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 148 x 89 x 3.4 cm

The hermit saint is portrayed winged like an angel, facing left towards Christ giving a blessing from within a quadrant of heaven. In his left hand he holds an open scroll with the text: 'See what they suffer, Lord, who censure sins', an obvious reference to his mission, which led to his martyrdom. The same hand holds a staff topped by a cross, while his right is raised in a gesture of speech to Christ. By his feet lies his severed head and the axe in the trunk of a low tree. Rocky outcrops fill the landscape.

Despite the overpainting (exposed parts of the Baptist's body, the himation covering the goat-skin), the iconographic type is clear and is the one which is repeated throughout the Turkish period with only minor variations (Vocotopoulos 1990, p. 78). The artist's skill both as a draughtsman and as a painter is evident in the figure of Christ and the severed head of the Baptist.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.





**2.87 Sts Pachomios and David of Thessaloniki** 16th-17th c.  
Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera  
45.5 x 31.5 cm

The two holy hermits depicted, both figures of Orthodox monasticism, are Pachomios, who lived in the desert of the Thebaid during the fourth century and was the instigator of the cenobitic way of life, and David, who was a monk in Thessaloniki in the sixth century and successfully requested of Justinian that the *hyparchy* be restored from the first Justiniane to Thessaloniki (Deledemos 1979, pp. 10-3, 26-9).

The two monks are portrayed standing against a gold background, their feet resting on a greenish ground. At the left, Pachomios, turning slightly to the right, wears a monks habit in shades of pinkish-brown and a hood hanging around his neck. He raises his left hand with the palm open, and in his right hand holds a scroll with the following

inscription, partly damaged by a vertical crack in the painted surface: 'A man cannot become a monk unless he first gives up his possessions.'

At his right stands the frontal figure of David wearing similar garments in shades of green, though without the hood; he has long hair and the characteristic beard reaching down to his feet (Dionysios of Fournia 1909, p. 165). The scroll he holds bears the inscription: 'Approach the house of the Lord God and pray to find remission of evil and ...'

The names of the saints are inscribed in red letters towards the top of the icon, and on the frame, which is worked in the same piece of wood, a later, half-erased inscription with David's name can be made out above his head.

These two saints, who are directly connected with the monastic community on Mount Athos by virtue of being monks, and especially Pachomios, are frequently encountered in Catholic wall-paintings, particularly in the Refectories of Monasteries, in decorative zones devoted to saints-monks.

Pachomios is usually depicted together with the angel who delivered to him the rules for monastic life. He is portrayed without the angel, as in the present icon, in the Refectories of the Great Lavra (Millet 1927, pl. 147.1) and of Stavronikita Monastery (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), p. 74).

The earliest known depiction of David is found in a relief in Thessaloniki, dating from about 900, and he also occurs in the iconography of the fourteenth century onwards; he is depicted either full-length and standing, or seated in a tree in which, according to his Life, he stayed for three years (Xyngopoulos 1941-52, pp. 143-57. Deledemos 1979, pp. 6-8, 30-4). The present icon follows the former type, as found in the Protaton (Millet 1927, pl. 45.1. Xyngopoulos 1941-52, fig. 3) and later, in the sixteenth century, in the Refectories of the Great Lavra and Dionysiou Monastery (Millet 1927, pls 146.1, 213.3).

The association of the two saints with the sixteenth-century wall-paintings mentioned above may help to date the icon to the end of this century, when account is taken of a certain stylization and dryness in the treatment. It was



probably executed by a painter who, to meet some commission, singled out the two hermits from the vast number of saints-monks adorning the monasteries of Mount Athos and rendered them in the manner and art of the Cretan School.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.88 St Gregory Palamas** late 16th c.  
Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 42 x 28 cm

Gregory Palamas was Archbishop of Thessaloniki from 1347 to 1359 and was active in the broader area of Macedonia. Almost immediately after his death and his canonisation in 1368, he entered the iconography of the Orthodox Church, and a number of representations of him, painted in the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, have been located in Northern Greece (Tsigaridas 1986 (2), pp. 263ff. Tsigaridas 1996 (3), pp. 280ff., fig. 74).

In this icon he is represented frontally from the waist up, with short hair and a long bifurcated beard, in accordance with one of the two iconographic types that were established for him in the second half of the fourteenth century (Tsigaridas 1986 (2), pp. 271ff.). He wears episcopal vestments – omophorion and phelonion – decorated with crosses, in the angles of which are abbreviations signifying 'Jesus Christ Conquers'. His right hand is lifted in blessing, his left grasps a closed, richly bound Gospel. His name is written in red lettering on the gold ground: 'St Gregory Palamas'. The gold ground has been retouched and the second part of his name re-written.

The figure of the saint is outlined in black and the exposed areas are modelled with soft brown underpainting and small amounts of pinkish-ochre for the flesh, while the volumes are emphasised with sparse white highlights.

The icon is in the tradition of the Cretan School and of the major ensembles of sixteenth-century frescoes on Mount Athos. Stylistic features, however, such as the flatness of volumes



and the lack of inner power, relate it more closely with works of the second half of the sixteenth century (Baltoyanni 1986, nos. 37, 39-40), which seems a reasonable dating for this particular icon.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.89 Sts John the Baptist and Nicholas**  
17th c., 1st quarter  
Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 29 x 26.5 cm

The two saints are portrayed frontal and standing against a gold background, the ground on which they stand being a bluish green. Their names are written in red Cyrillic lettering, and the inscriptions on the Baptist's scroll and St Nicholas' book are also in Slavonic.

St John on the left, wearing a dark bluish-green goatskin and a brown himation, is represented



in a type known from the Palaeologan period which repeatedly occurs in the works of Cretan painters (Chatzidakis 1985, nos. 18, 35), the closest parallel being the figure of the Baptist in the border of an icon by Andreas Ritzos in Tokyo (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 201).

St Nicholas, in a crimson phelonion and bluish-green sticharion, extends both arms, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding an open Gospel in his left. A similar iconography found in both early and later works (Garidis 1989, figs. 93, 120. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 163), is also employed in an icon of St Nicholas of 1605 from Sykia, Chalkidiki, which is believed to be an Athonite work (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 150).

This icon with the conventionalised figures of the two saints and the linear, dry modelling of faces and clothing can be dated to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It must, however, be ascribed to a painter who copied Cretan models in his own folk style.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.



## 2.90 Tree of Jesse Protaton

early 17th c.

Wood, egg tempera, 77.5 x 57.4 x 2.5 cm

This is an exceptionally fine work depicting the Tree of Jesse (see no. 3.4), that is the genealogical tree of Christ and hence also of the Virgin. Jesse the Righteous is shown reclining in the centre at the base of the icon, and from his body springs a trunk with branches corresponding to the various patriarchs. Apart from the two principal figures in the centre of the composition - Jesse at the bottom and the Virgin holding the Child at the top - twenty-four figures of prophets are portrayed in a vertical arrangement of four columns. Two hovering angels crown the Virgin, who in contrast with the other figures wears, like Christ, a silver halo. An interesting feature of the icon is the fluttering scrolls held by the prophets and angels, with prophecies pertaining to the Virgin. The names of the twelve prophets on the left are included in their scrolls, while those of the twelve on the right are written in red beside each figure. The painter has distinguished the prophet-kings by their royal robes, crown and sceptre, and ordinary prophets by a simple mitre on the head.

This presentation of the subject goes back to Byzantine times (Taylor 1980-1, p. 128), and although it is a multi-figural composition, which needs a great deal of space to be worked out properly, and requires considerable skill in execution, it was nevertheless commonly included in the iconographic scheme of major monuments during the Turkish period (refectory of the Lavra, katholikon of Docheiariou and others). In the case of the Protaton icon the number of figures is certainly limited compared to that in the monumental works, as can be seen from the surviving examples. The technique, with the pink paint of the faces over limited dark-coloured underpainting, the soft drapery of the robes and the fluidity of movement in the figures, together with the fine detail in the portraits and the decoration, comprises an exceptional work of the early seventeenth century, probably by the painters working at that time on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 697.

I.T.









**2.91 The Lamentation** 16th-17th c.  
Docheiariou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 100 x 37 cm

Iconographically this icon is arranged horizontally in two zones, below is the Lamentation or 'Epitaphios Threnos', and above the bust of a winged angel, holding a closed book with hands covered by his

himation. The gold ground has been restricted by a (later?) coat of dark brown paint in an attempt to emphasize both the distance and the connection between the two themes. The Lamentation scene contains several figures, and the dramatic moment is rendered in the form that became fixed in the fourteenth century and was standardized in Cretan painting of the sixteenth century (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 21). The dead Christ lies on the tombstone, and the Virgin, seated left, embraces his head. Behind her stand the myrrh-bearers in various poses, gesticulating wildly. To the right John stoops to kiss Christ's left hand, Joseph appears to be holding the winding-sheet, and behind him Nicodemus throws up his hands in despair. In the background is a rocky landscape with a short section of the walls of Jerusalem, and the scene is completed by an oversized cross with the initials INRI across the top (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, p. 109). Icons with a double theme were not uncommon in Byzantine or post-Byzantine art (Vassilaki 1990, p. 77). What is especially interesting here, however, is the presence of the angel above the Lamentation, an element found in the subject matter of thirteenth-fourteenth century embroidered *Epitaphioi*, in which the angels symbolize the participation of the heavens in the sorrow of men (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 21). The uncial, large M beside the angel's head was originally thought to represent the name of the archangel Michael. After cleaning, however, the letter Θ was revealed, which leads us to the symbols of the Evangelists, where the angel corresponds to Matthew (Ματθαῖος). This subject was undoubtedly transferred here from the symbols of the Evangelists that appear on the arms of the large cross crowning the iconostasis after the fifteenth and especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Kazanaki-Lappa 1991, p. 223). These subjects originated in the West, and arrived in Western Greece by way of Dalmatia (Exhibition XAE 1984-5, p. 36). This is confirmed by the Latin inscription on top of the cross at a time (late 16th-early 17th c.) when the Greek inscription INBI was more usual (e.g. Chapel of St John the Theologian in the Monastery of Dionysiou; Millet 1927, pl. 214).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.





**2.92 St Anthony**  
Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 40.3 x 29.2 x 1.5 cm

This is the first of a series of four icons by the same early seventeenth-century painter (see also nos. 2.93-2.95). All the works have features in common, as regards both the technique and the style in which the figures are rendered. The iconographic scheme is such that the saint's figure occupies the entire breadth of the icon at the base. The arms and shoulders form an isosceles triangle that with almost geometrical precision reaches its apex at top centre, thus focusing attention on the saint's face. The flesh is modelled in brown half-tones with a few white brush-strokes for the highlights. The drapery is flat and the folds are rendered with straight lines and angles, creating a remarkably harsh impression and a lack of depth in the saint's body. The style of the wallpaintings in the monastery's later refectory is similar (1603; Millet 1927, pl. 211.1-3) and it is quite possible that this series of four icons was



2.93

executed by the same painters at the beginning of the seventeenth century when they were doing the wallpaintings for the monastery's chapels (Gabriel D. 1959, pp. 54, 121).

The founder of the monastic life (d. 356) is portrayed half-length, holding an open scroll and supporting his right hand on his monastic staff. The strange shape of the rather large cross hanging by a cord at his chest (the upper arm is the same length as the lower) is repeated on his hood. His belt is also rendered in an unusual fashion; it is buckled at the front and its free end is bent over and hangs down behind his staff.

This iconographic type of the saint shown half-length is known to have originated in a Palaeologan model, and is repeated with minor variations throughout the sixteenth century (Eikones 1993, p. 562). The model for the present icon, however, must be sought in the type of the full-length saint as in the icon by Andreas Paviar (late 15th-early 16th c.), which also has the monastic staff, the cross on chest and hood, and other points in common (Vocotopoulos 1995, p. 157). It is clear that the saint's characteristic



gesture, in which he holds an open scroll with both hands in the icon by Michael Damaskinos in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, has been transferred by the Dionysiou painter to the figure of St John Klimax in the same series (see no. 2.95).

**Bibliography:** Eikones Dionysiou.

I.T.

### 2.93 Theodosios the Cenobiarch 17th c. Dionysiou Monastery

Painting on wood

Closely related, iconographically and in style, to the icon of St Anthony is this one of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch from the same series of icons in Dionysiou Monastery (d. 11.1.529 aged 115. LCI, 8 (1976), p. 454). The pectoral cross, the belt and the embossed foliate ornamentation of the haloes are common to both saints. The only differences from the other icons in this series are the closed scroll and the gesture of blessing with the hand in front of the chest, which recalls rather the blessing gesture associated with Christ.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.94 St Euthymios the Great 17th c. Dionysiou Monastery

Painting on wood

An impressive figure with an excessively long beard that runs off the bottom of the icon, this representation of the saint follows the iconographic type known to us from the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II (LCI, 6 (1974), pp. 201-3). With his left hand he holds an open scroll, rather unnaturally, while his right hand is raised in blessing. Of note is the colouring of the monastic habit, dark olive-green for the cloak and light green for the hood, which is fastened around his throat. The text on the scroll: 'Whoever desires



2.94



2.95



to quench the flames of passion, let him eat his daily meal mournfully and mix his drink with his tears' is not the usual one (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, p. 162. Tsigaridas 1978, p. 190).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.95 St John Klimax**  
Dionysiou Monastery

17th c.

Wood, egg tempera

The author of the Klimax, or Heavenly Ladder, and hegumen of the St Catherine's Monastery on Sinai (d. 30.6.649) is depicted, like the other saints in this series, half-length and holding an open scroll with both hands in front of his chest: 'Make every effort to restrain yourself concerning your stomach, as whoever eats gluttonously or greatly desires food and drink will be overcome by a madness worse even than that of the Maenads'. He is shown with a long beard and short hair, and wears a monk's habit of a dark green cassock and dark brown cloak rendered with a few lighter brush-strokes to delineate the folds.

The artist has taken special care with the face and the exposed parts of the hands. The volumes are modelled with brown half-tones and the highlights picked out with sparse white brush-strokes. The hair and beard have been rendered in the same manner (LCI, 7 [1974], pp. 140-4).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.96 Three saints**  
arranged vertically  
Protaton

1611

Wood, egg tempera, 155.5 x 32.5 cm

This long, narrow icon with its carved border was made at the time the 1611 iconostasis was erected in the Protaton (see no. 8.4a-b), in order to fill the space left when the five great icons from the earlier (1542) screen were placed in the new iconostasis (see no. 2.82).





The subject matter of the icon is three saints arranged vertically, an unusual device for works destined for the iconostases of Athonite churches. At the bottom is St Athanasios the Athonite holding an open scroll, in the middle St Spyridon in bishop's vestments and the usual covering for his head, and at the top the vision of St Peter of Alexandria. In all three cases the painting is mediocre, as with the other icons of the 1611 iconostasis. Shades of brown have been used for the faces and other exposed parts, with gentle gradations to render the darker and lighter areas. A few white brush-strokes pick out the highlights. The drapery is flat, no attempt having been made to give volume to the bodies. The folds are harsh, with straight lines and angles, and there is also some distortion, as in the case of St Athanasios' hands.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.



## 2.97 The Lamentation St Paul's Monastery

1616

Wood, egg tempera, 32.5 x 25.5 cm

The theme of the Lamentation or *Threnos*, as it developed in the Palaeologan period and crystallised in a vast number of icons of the Cretan School, is rendered in a compact form here.

The focal point is the dead Christ lying on a stone slab, with his mother, seated on a low stool, embracing his shoulders. At his feet, Joseph prepares to wrap him in the shroud, while John stands bowed with sorrow behind the slab. In the background are the myrrh-bearers, their gestures and faces expressing their grief; and behind them, to the right, Nicodemus leans on the ladder. In the foreground of the scene are the basket of tools and the vessel of myrrh. Behind, on the gold ground of the icon, rises the cross with the crown of thorns. Above the arms survives the half-obliterated inscription: 'The Epitaphios Threnos'; and to the left of Nicodemus the abbreviated form of Christ's name.

The composition is dominated by reddish and golden yellow hues, together with a dark greenish-

blue. The faces are modelled with dark brown underpainting and pinkish-yellow flesh, the expressions of grief accentuated by deep triangular shadows under the eyes and furrows over the eyebrows.

The dotted ornamentation of the haloes and the gold geometrical vegetal decoration of the integral frame on an alternately red and dark greenish-blue ground are regarded as features of Athonite technique in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chatzidakis 1972 (4), p. 123. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 163).

These technical characteristics, together with the anti-classical feeling that imbues the figures and distinguishes the composition from similar works by the Cretan School, as also the rather hard, stylised modelling, which recalls the 1615 wall-painting of the Lamentation in the Chapel of St John the Theologian in Dionysiou Monastery (Millet 1927, pl. 13.2), all suggest that this is an Athonite work of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This dating is confirmed by an inscription on the back of the icon, consisting of the names 'Mihajle' and 'Dimian' in Cyrillic script and, below, the date: ζϞϞδ' (7124 = 1616).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.





### 2.98 Deesis and Saints in four bands

Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 45.9 x 37.5 cm

An unusual small icon depicting a multitude of figures, with Russian inscriptions, donated by the Metropolitan Arsenios, formerly of Ellassona according to the inscription on the back 'I, the humble Arsenios, Archbishop of Suzdal in Great Russia, and formerly of Ellassona, sent this holy icon to St Anne's from Great Russia. O Virgin Praised by all, Mother of the Word of God. Angels, Apostles, Prophets, Hierarch-Martyrs, Martyrs and Saints intercede with the Lord for me the humble and supposed high priest Arsenios [7129 = 1621].' The central section with its four bands is surrounded by a border with figures in imitation of silver-revetted Byzantine icons.

The Hospitality of Abraham occupies the centre of the upper border, with Abraham and Sarah right and left respectively, but outside the closed composition of the Holy Trinity, where they are usually included (Charalambous-Mouriki

1962-3, pls. 34-5). Two cherubs in different colours and two archangels enhance the central scene of the Hospitality.

It is of course not by chance that the Deesis is placed in the highest of the four bands, just under the Hospitality. The correspondence between the frontal Christ and the middle angel, and between the Virgin, Baptist and angels and the other persons in the Hospitality, directly links the Old Testament figures with the world of the New Testament, starting with Christ himself and extending to the Apostles ranged to the right and left in the same band.

In the other three bands the saints are depicted frontally, with their names over their heads. The side borders contain unnamed saints, and the subject matter of the icon is completed with five busts of saints along the lower border.

This iconographic arrangement in bands derives from the illustration of the menologia, or church calendars (Vocotopoulos 1991, p. 78) and is found in other Athonite icons of the same period, usually representing menologia. Twelve such icons-menologia, unpublished, are preserved in the Monastery of St Paul. The donor Arsenios, known from other donations of icons to the monasteries of Mount Athos (Vocotopoulos 1991-2, p. 169), certainly commissioned this icon from a Moscow workshop, as stated on the accompanying inscription. This workshop, however, was well acquainted with both the tradition of the Byzantine menologia and the types of the fifteenth-century Cretan School, as can be seen from the Andreas Ritzos icon in Tokyo (Vassilaki 1990, pp. 80-1), which has the same subject matter in the border.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.99 Virgin and Child (The Joy of All)

1632

Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 43 x 34.5 x 4 cm

The Virgin 'MP ΘΥ Η ΠΑΝΤ(ΩΝ) ΧΑΡΑ' (The joy of All, in the type of the Virgin Glykophilousa





(Baltoyanni 1994, pp. 17-21) is shown half-length facing left, with her head slightly inclined towards the Christ Child, who has lifted his face to touch his Mother's left cheek. Christ holds an unopened scroll in both hands. The Virgin wears a red maphorion and Christ a dark-green *tunic* and over this a brick-coloured himation with dense gold striations, which leaves his left leg exposed up to the thigh, a typical feature of this iconographic type.

The exposed parts of the two bodies are rendered with dark brown underpainting, with a few white brush-strokes for the highlights. The artist clearly wanted to produce an elaborately decorative work, as can be seen not only from the drapery but also from the Virgin's halo and the wide border of the icon. At the base of the icon is the inscription: ΔΕΗCIC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΔΙΟΝΙCΙΟΥ Μ(Ο)Ν(Α)Χ(ΟΥ). ΕΤΟΥC ΖΡΜ, ΑΧΑΒ. ('Prayer of the servant of God, the monk Dionysios. In the year 7140 [from the Creation of the world], 1632'). According to Smyrnakis the icon 'was placed on the *triskelion* (icon stand) during the reading of the Salutations to the Virgin each Friday during Lent.'

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 697 (1633). Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 30 (1633).

I.T.

## 2.100 St Demetrios

ca. mid-17th c.

Iviron Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 47 x 32.8 cm

The saint, in full battle array, is seated on a cylindrical red cushion on a backless throne, his feet resting on a footstool. Both the throne and the footstool are painted an orange-red with greyish-white brushstrokes, and the predominant red and gold of the saint's attire go well with the dark green and light blue of his cloak and breastplate. His halo is rendered with dotted ornaments. The floor imitates veined green-blue marble and the ground of the icon is gold.

In two medallions, one on either side of the saint's head, are gold monograms on a red ground ornamented with gold. They form his name, 'Saint' in one and 'Demetrios' in the other; and below the medallions is the title 'The Great Duke', which is found in the iconography of St Demetrios from the fifteenth century onwards, being connected with a dream of Gregory Palamas (Xyngopoulos 1957 (2), pp. 122ff.)





The integral frame is painted gold with dotted ornaments and a red border, and the dedicatory inscription runs along the bottom: 'Supplication of the servant of God Anthimos, monk'.

To the same painter are ascribed three more icons belonging to Iviron Monastery: Christ the Impartial Judge; the Virgin, Lady of the Angels; and the Single Combat of Nestor and Lyaeus. All are from the Kathisma of St Demetrios and are obviously dedicated by the same monk.

This St Demetrios type, which has its origins in Palaeologan works, is seen in almost identical form in an icon of the mid-sixteenth century from Mykonos (Xyngopoulos 1970, pl. IV). However, such stylistic features as the chromatic treatment of the composition, with red and gold predominating and contrasting with the limited use of dark, cold colours, the soft, painterly modelling of the figure, and the well-worked gold ground are also seen in other Athonite icons (see no. 2.101), and place this icon of St Demetrios within the Athonite painting tradition of the mid-seventeenth century. The dotted decoration of the halo and the style of the medallions are also features of the Athonite tradition (Chatzidakis 1972 (4), p. 123).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.101 The Koimesis**  
Koutloumousiou Monastery

1657

Wood, egg tempera, 81.5 x 57 cm

Apart from the Koimesis, the composition also includes the Assumption of the Virgin, St Thomas receiving her girdle, and the Apostles on clouds borne by angels, each accompanied by his initials.

The inscription on the gold field in the upper corners of the icon runs: 'The Koimesis of the Mother of God'; and between the open gates of heaven and the angels' wings, half-obliterated lettering forms the inscription: '[The Assumption] of the Mother of God'.

Both the general iconographical schema and the combination of the two compositions follow

the customary format established in the post-Byzantine period.

More rarely seen is the depiction of St Paul, with his hand raised in an oratorical gesture and a scroll containing a fragment from the *encomia* (praising) of the Mother of God: 'Hail, Mother of Life and of myself.' Unusual too are Jephoniah with his hands severed before the Virgin's bed and a second Jew. Similar details, with variations, are seen in an icon from Chania, Crete, in icons by Poulakis (Rigopoulos 1979, pp. 49-52), in an icon from Kos (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 149), and in a sixteenth-century icon from Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos (see no. 2.75).

The dominant colours are bright red and golden yellow with some dark blue. The modelling is soft, without linear stylisation, and the underpainting of the faces is done in dark brown with comparatively little highlighting of the volumes. The haloes are decorated with dotted ornaments.





This icon shares a number of features with the icon of St Demetrios from Iviron Monastery and may be ascribed to an Athonite workshop of the mid-seventeenth century. The date, at least, is confirmed by an inscription on the back, where, apart from the year ζΡΞΕ (7165 = 1657), there is a red cross with the apotropaic 'Jesus Christ Conquers' between the arms, and the acronymic inscriptions:

‘Θ ΤΗΣ ΕΚ/ΚΛΗΣΙ/ΑΣ ΘΘΘ’ (Th. of the Church of Th.Th.Th).

‘XXXX’ (Christ Grants Grace to Christians)

‘EEEE’ (Helen Found Support in Mercy).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

## 2.102 Christ Pantokrator

17th c., 2nd half

St Paul's Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 43.4 x 28 cm

Christ is depicted from the waist up on a gold



ground, wearing a deep red tunic with a clavus and a dark blue himation. He gives a blessing with one hand and holds a closed Gospel in the other. On the arms of the cross on his halo are the Greek letters for 'I am the Being', and above his shoulders: 'The Pantokrator'. In the upper corners of the icon two red medallions with gold ornamentation and lettering contain the abbreviated forms of the name of Christ.

Christ's face is shaped with brown underpainting, pink flesh, and dense white striation around the eyes and on the brow. Very stylised furrows over arched eyebrows emphasise the severity of his expression. This Christ type, which is known from the Palaeologan period, is continued in a number of Cretan icons (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 94). However, a certain aridity, coupled with the stylised modelling link it more closely with seventeenth-century works (Karakatsani 1980, p. 34, fig. 23. Baltoyanni 1986, no. 119, pl. 51).

This dating (more specifically the second half of the seventeenth century) is further supported by the ornamentation of the Gospel, the geometrical vegetal decoration and alternating colours on the frame, and the ornamentation of the medallions. The two latter features are characteristics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Athonite painting (Chatzidakis 1972 (4), p. 123. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 163), to which this icon too must be ascribed.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

## 2.103 Sts Anthony and Paul of Thebes

17th c., 2nd half

Xeropotamou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 21 x 24 cm

This unusual iconographical subject concerns St Anthony's visit to St Paul, who was living in 'the most profound wilderness' in a cave (Nikodemos A. 1982, pp. 74-5). The incident is described in iconographical terms in the *Painter's Manual* (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, pp. 188-9) and is rendered in two scenes: St Antony's journey on foot through the desert, guided by a lion; and



his meeting with St Paul and their embrace.

Our icon shows only the second scene, with the two meeting, though not embracing. Anthony in a monk's habit and Paul in a garment made of rushes sit in front of a cave and look towards the right, where a raven in a tree holds a piece of bread in its beak, in accordance with the description in the *Hermeneia*. Anthony's lion guide is at his feet. A deer and a rabbit on the right are also part of the naturalistically rendered paradisaical landscape which fills in the composition around the rock of the cave. On the gold ground in the upper part of the icon is the inscription: 'St Anthony with Paul of Thebes'.

This is an interesting work both for the rarity of the iconographical subject and for its artistic quality, which couples the Byzantine tradition with western elements in the rendering of the landscape and the figures.

It is probably the work of a Cretan painter or a copy from a Cretan original in the second half of the seventeenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.104 St Nicholas  
St Paul's Monastery**

late 17th c.

Wood, egg tempera, 62.5 x 39.5 cm

St Nicholas is portrayed from the waist up on a gold background. He wears a reddish phelonion with highly stylised geometrical folds, and a greyish-blue omophorion with gold and red crosses. One hand is raised in blessing, the other holds a closed Gospel. His face is modelled with







preserved, but the style is more anticlassical. This, together with the extreme stylisation, the dry modelling, and the decoration of the crosses on the omophorion, places it among the Athonite works of the late seventeenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

## 2.105 The Seven Maccabees 17th c. Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 31 x 24.2 cm

An icon of very unusual iconography and content. The Holy Maccabees, known mainly from their representation in illuminated manuscripts (Galavaris 1969, p. 109) are portrayed here in two columns created by the busts of the saints in medallions. Between these two columns, in smaller circles, is the icon's inscription: 'The Holy Seven Maccabees', and next to each bust is the saint's name. The gold background between the medallions is covered by floral ornamentation.

dark underpainting and light brown areas of flesh, and highly stylised wrinkles emphasise the individual volumes. His halo is decorated with dense dotted ornaments, a typical feature of many Athonite icons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chatzidakis 1972 (4), p. 123).

Above the saint's shoulders, on a smaller scale, Christ and the Virgin Mary offer him the insignia of his prelatical rank, the Gospel and the omophorion. This motif is frequently seen on icons of St Nicholas from the Byzantine period and has to do with a dream the saint had while in prison, after he had been dethroned by Constantine the Great during the First Ecumenical Council (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 1). The representation is placed within a well-carved wooden frame, formed by two spiral columns supporting an arch.

This iconographical type of St Nicholas is seen in many Cretan icons (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, nos. 122-3). In the St Paul's icon the hieratical austerity of the figure is







2.106

The names of the saints correspond to those in the third list in the *Painter's Manual* (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, pp. 161, 272, 297). Both the seven young saints and the elder Eleazar hold rolled-up scrolls rather than martyr's crosses, as is usual in some cases. The figures are rendered in various poses and with different inclinations of the head, robed in tunic and cloak fastened across the breast, and wear martyr's crowns on their heads.

The painter was clearly a capable draughtsman with a feel for colour, as can be seen both in the figures' clothing and in the floral decoration of the background. Without doubt the artist was well-versed in manuscript art, from which he drew both the subject and the decoration between the medallions (Hutter 1977, pp. 163, 178. Galavaris 1969, pls. XXXVII, LIV).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.106 Great Deesis and All Saints 17th c. Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 191 x 18.5 cm

This is an extremely long and narrow icon with the Great Deesis in the centre flanked on both sides by the representation of All Saints. All the figures are half-length and facing the centre, only Christ being portrayed frontally. Behind the Virgin come two archangels followed by the Apostle Peter, then the Apostle Paul, the patriarchs and prophets. On the other side, behind John the Baptist and again two archangels stand the group of hierarchs, headed by St John Chrysostom. After the hierarchs come monks and ascetics, the last figure on the right being that of St Mary of Egypt. On the extreme right is the Prophet Solomon with an open scroll with the words: 'The righteous

live forever, and their reward is with the Lord', and the composition is completed on the far left with the Prophet David.

The icon came originally from the iconostasis of the abandoned Kalyve of the Koimesis above the *kyriakon* of the Skete of St Anne. The icon's subject matter is also suited to this position above the iconostasis: the Deesis (*Trimorphon*) formed the nucleus round which angels and apostles were added to fill up the space for the Great Deesis above the iconostasis. This theme is found on Mount Athos at least from the sixteenth century, as attested by the unpublished sixteenth-century Great Deesis in the Monastery of St Paul. The Deesis, enriched with a multitude of apostles and saints, formed the central theme of the Last Judgement, with its hosts of saints known from Athonite icon painting (Oxford Dictionary 1991, p. 600). This icon, dating to the beginning of the seventeenth century, connects, through its shape and the inscription of the Great Deesis and Last Judgement-All Saints, themes that were common in Athonite churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 2.107 The Virgin Glykophilousa 1685 (The Lady of the Angels)

Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 26.5 x 20 cm

By the hand of Jeremiah

The Virgin is portrayed in the well-known type of the Glykophilousa (The Sweetly-Kissing-One), a type used in fifteenth century Cretan art and surviving throughout the Turkish period (Baltoyanni 1994, p. 17). The Christ Child sits in his mother's arms, as she holds him by his





2.107

thigh and back. Characteristic features of this type are Christ's bare left leg, the Virgin's mourning maphorion drawn tightly round her throat and the closed scroll tied with a purple ribbon that the Child holds with both hands.

The lower border carries the inscription: ΧΥΡ ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ 1685 (by the hand of Ieremias 1685). Although this name is known to us from the list of painters (Chatzidakis 1987, p. 320), the quality of this work, the careful use of colour and the completeness of the design suggest an earlier date at the beginning of the seventeenth century or even before, as can be seen from other examples of this type. In this case the date could be viewed with suspicion, as in the case of another painter with the same name and the date 1666 (Karakatsani 1980, p. 112).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

## 2.108 The Anastasis

1691

Koutloumousiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 29.4 x 19.8 cm



Christ uses both hands to draw Adam and Eve out of the grave, this central scene being flanked by two groups of kings and prophets. Against the background of a dark blue mandorla with red rays, Christ tramples the broken gates of Hades, who is portrayed bound in chains in the cave, with flames emerging from his maw. On the gold field is the inscription: 'The Anastasis'. Two rocks in the upper corners of the icon denote the landscape, with an angel paying homage on the left-hand side.

The iconographical format of this scene, with Christ in between Adam and Eve and holding them by the hand, is found mainly in fourteenth-century works. In Cretan works of the post-Byzantine period, the commonest arrangement has Adam and Eve on one side of the composition (Baltoyanni 1986, no. 93).

On the back of the icon is an Anastasis cross, painted red, and accompanied by the symbols of Christ's Passion, the spear and the sponge, and the inscription 'Jesus Christ Conquers'. In





2.109 Detail.

the upper part, there is a dedicatory inscription in black lettering, with the date: 'Supplication of the servant of the Lord [...]*keinos*, hieromonk, in the year of Our Lord 1691'.

The modelling of the figures with the dark underpainting and limited highlights, and the red and golden yellow contrasting with the dark greenish-blue are a late seventeenth-century continuation of a tradition in Athonite painting (cf. no. 2.101), though the rendering has become drier and more stylised and the figures have acquired a more vernacular style.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

### 2.109 The Virgin Galaktotrophousa (Giving-Suck), 1702

Simonopetra Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 57 x 38 cm

The Virgin is portrayed enthroned in full-length with her feet resting on a rectangular footstool. Clothed in robes more suited to an angel, with her left breast she gives suck to the Child, who is seated on her left thigh.

The iconographic type of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa, which already occurs in the sixth century (LCI, 3 (1971), p. 158), is known



common in Byzantine times.

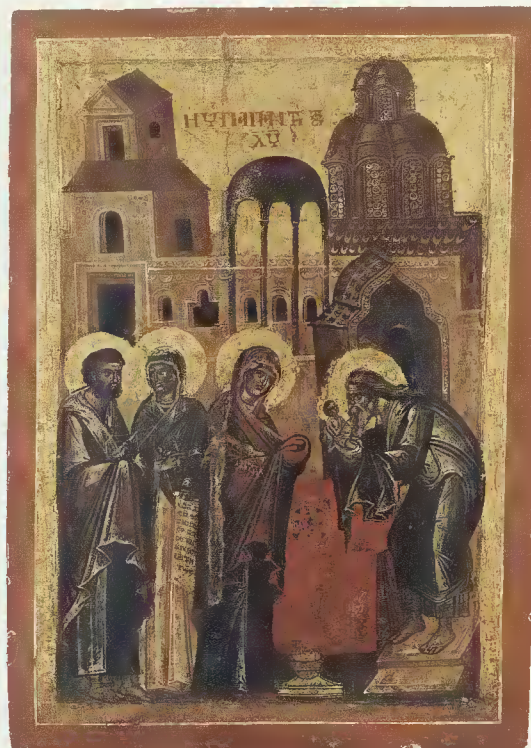
In the centre St John is portrayed winged and in full-length in a rugged landscape. Beside his left foot is the vessel containing his head, and on the other side is the dedicatory inscription (1696): 'Supplication of the servant of God the most reverend learned and holy hegumen Anastasios. In the year 1696 by the hand of Theodoros' (Chatzidakis 1987, p. 304).

Nine scenes from the Baptist's Life are shown, in no particular order of content. In the top left corner is the Annunciation to Zacharias, in the top right the Meeting of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and between them the Baptism of Christ, quite out of chronological sequence with the other two. Much of the lower part of the icon is devoted to the Beheading of the Baptist, which in combination with Herod's feast creates a broad scene with a host of figures. Two other themes play an important role in this fine icon. The first is that of the young Baptist being led into the wilderness by an angel, an event drawn from the Apocryphal gospels and clearly personally chosen by the artist to emphasise the striving for higher things under divine guidance involved in the ascetic life. The other theme is related to the death of the Forerunner, that is his burial by his disciples and the first and second discovery of his head. These three scenes, familiar from monumental art and also from Byzantine icons and manuscripts (LCI, 7 [1974], pp. 164-90. Chatzidakis 1988, pp. 91-2), have been placed on the left of the icon as a group, their unity stressed by the exact repetition of the vessel with the head in all three episodes.

The icon comes from the Byzantine Church of the Prodomos in the area of the vineyards of the Monastery of Docheiariou. Until recently it was kept in the Church of Hagioi Pantes and Onouphrios, and was mentioned by Smyrnakis at the beginning of this century. The donor, Anastasios, appears in another inscription as the sponsor for the restoration (1695) of the church from which this icon comes (Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 569-71).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.



### 2.112 The Presentation in the Temple 18th c., 1st half

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 68 x 47.5 cm

On the right, Simeon bends low, holding the infant Christ. Before him stands the Virgin – with the inscription 'Mother of God' above her head – and behind her the prophetess Anna carrying an open scroll inscribed with the words: 'This small babe hath made fast heaven and earth.' Behind her is Joseph with his offering of two pigeons in a cage. Between Simeon and the Virgin appear the altar and its ciborium, and the gold background of the composition is filled in with tall buildings. Between these is an inscription in red lettering: 'The Presentation of Christ'.

The representation reproduces an iconographical format known from Cretan wall paintings on Mount Athos (Millet 1927, pls. 119.5, 222.3), with features, such as the pose and the figure of Simeon and Joseph, that occur in works of the so-called Macedonian School (Millet 1927, pl. 10.3).





wears robes of exactly the same colour – as well as warm red flesh tones and a tendency to complement the theme with prominent architectural elements. Apart from the two Paleologan structures to left and right in the background, a distinctive feature is the double-domed ciborium deriving from sixteenth-century Cretan works, with Christ's throne placed among its columns.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.114 The Three Youths  
in the Fiery Furnace**  
Protaton

18th c.

Wood, egg tempera, 27.5 x 20 cm

A small devotional icon showing the rarely depicted Old Testament theme of the Three youths in the fiery furnace and Daniel in the

The icon was probably painted in the first half of the eighteenth century in an Athonite workshop which, as was the custom then, particularly on Mount Athos, based its work on earlier models (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 246ff. Tsigaridas 1994 (1), pp. 315ff.).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.113 The Mid-Pentecost** 18th c., 1st half  
Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 30.4 x 23.5 cm

This icon of the Mid-Pentecost, or Christ among the Doctors (Tourta 1991, pp. 87-8) is executed in the same artistic manner as that of Christ Pantokrator (1737) and comes from the same *skete*. The work could be attributed to an Athonite workshop of the first half of the eighteenth century. Apart from the attempt to model the volume of the figures according to the models of the brilliant art of the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Athonite monuments, the two icons also share a predominance of dark colours – in both cases Christ





lion's den (Daniel 3: 6). The greater part of the icon is taken up by the unnaturally tall brick furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, from the widened opening of which rise flames and the figures of the three youths of Babylon, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, according to the accompanying inscriptions. Behind Azariah stands an angel with spread wings, holding crowns.

In the lower part of the icon stands the soldier stoking the fire for the furnace, and in a separate scene the Prophet Habakkuk, transported by an angel, brings nourishment to Daniel during his night of trial in the lion's den.

Both these subjects were popular in Christian art from the earliest times (LCI, 1 (1968), pp. 469-73 and LCI, 2 (1970), pp. 464-66]. In the examples found in the Athonite wallpaintings, in the katholikon of Vatopedi (1312), the katholikon of the Great Lavra (1535) and in Molyvokklesia (1536), the figures of the angel and the three youths dominate, and the furnace is a low structure without a soldier to tend the fire. The *Painter's Manual* (Dionysios of Fourna 1909, pp. 69-71) recommends that these two themes be depicted separately. The dark underpainting used in modelling the flesh, the figure of the soldier with his pointed moustache, the asymmetric proportions and the continuous foliate ornamentation of the border can attribute the icon to an eighteenth-century Athonite workshop.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.115 Epistyle of an iconostasis with: angels; the Assumption of St John the Theologian; and the Birth of St John the Baptist**  
18th c., 1st half  
Ivion Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 102.5 x 19 cm

The three scenes are separated by carved columns decorated with a twining tendril, and the ends of the epistyle are defined by two carved spiral half-columns.

The first scene shows two confronted angels



hovering on a gold ground, holding a crown between them. The absence of an explanatory inscription, coupled with the similarity between these and the angels in the next scene, the Assumption of St John the Theologian, suggests that the two scenes are connected.

The seldom seen iconographical subject of the Assumption of St John the Theologian, which has its source in an apocryphal text (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 129. Chatzidakis 1985, no. 64), shows the saint being buried by two of his disciples in the lower part of the composition, with an inscription in red lettering along the upper edge of the grave: 'The Koimesis of the Theologian'.

Two stylised, though softly rendered, hills flank the landscape of the scene, the treatment of which is quite different from that of earlier known examples.

In the upper part, the Theologian is portrayed on a gold ground in a circular glory held by two angels, and a second inscription explains: 'The Assumption of John the Theologian'.

In the next compartment, with the Birth of St John the Forerunner, Elizabeth is sitting up in a bed with a red cover and looking towards the baby's cradle at the bottom right, where a maidservant keeps watch, spinning the while. Elizabeth herself is being attended to by three maidservants, who are standing behind a table with a variety of utensils on it. To the left of the scene sits Zacharias, writing the child's name on a tablet: 'John'. Simple buildings form the backdrop to the scene, and on the gold ground is the



inscription: 'The Birth of John the Forerunner'.

With its unsophisticated iconography of familiar subjects, its fondness for red and gold, the soft, but fairly stylised and conventional, modelling, and the popularised figures, this icon continues the tradition of seventeenth-century Athonite works, some of which are presented in this catalogue. It may be dated to the first half of the eighteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.116 Crucifixion from the epistyle of an iconostasis, 18th c., 1st half**  
Ivion Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 30 x 23.7 cm

In the centre of the composition, rendered in perspective, rises the cross with Christ upon it. On his halo are the Greek letters for 'I am the Being'; on the arms of the cross the abbreviation of the name of Christ; and on the tabula IBIOT. His side, hands, and feet are bleeding, the blood from his feet flowing towards the skull of Adam. On the left is a group of women supporting the swooning Virgin, whose pose is similar to that in the Crucifixion in Vatopedi Monastery (Millet 1927, pl. 83. 2) and in an icon of the second half of the fourteenth century from the Monastery of St Paul, which is displayed in the exhibition (no. 2.30). On the right stands John, bowed with

grief, and behind him the centurion making the familiar gesture indicative of his confession of faith, the soldier with the sponge, and two other figures.

The varying levels of the buildings, which complete the composition, bring to mind the icon of the Crucifixion from Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, pl. 6), though their form is markedly different here. In the upper part of the icon, on a gold ground, are the cosmic symbols of the sun and the moon, and to the left, in red lettering, the inscription: 'The Crucifixion'.

The soft modelling of the faces, with its bright, plastic flesh tones softened with green touches, the rendering of the clothing with its highlighted surfaces, the iconographical details, and the facial types all hark back to fourteenth-century works. However, the differences in the rendering of the architectural and the natural landscape, a certain insipidness in the faces, the decorative tendency manifested by the gold outlines of the clothes, and the different overall ethos place the work in the first half of the eighteenth century in an artistic climate, particularly widespread on Mount Athos, that revived Palaeologan models, notably those of the so-called Macedonian School (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 246ff. Tsigaridas 1994 (1), pp. 315ff.).

This icon, together with eleven others in the same style, comes from the Dodekaorton of the iconostasis epistyle in the church of the Panagia Portaitissa Kathisma and in an interesting example of a specific trend in the eighteenth-century painting.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.





2.116



## 2.117 The Lamentation Skete of St Anne

18th c.

Wood, egg tempera, 27 x 21.2 cm

The Lamentation scene in this icon has few figures, in contrast to the icon no. 2.91 in the Monastery of Docheiariou. The dead Christ lies on top of a sarcophagus, on a winding sheet held by two archangels. The two winged Archangels Μ(Michael) and Γ(Gabriel), left and right, at Christ's head and feet respectively, are bending slightly over the body. A distinctive feature is the horizontal bar of the cross behind the tomb, which almost reaches the heads of the archangels, thus emphasising the breadth of the icon. Lastly, the ground is blue-green with a few flowering plants.

The archangels have taken the place occupied in other cases by the Virgin and Joseph or the Virgin and St John the Theologian (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 94), of historical significance in the

first case and liturgical-eucharistic in the second. This ahistorical treatment of the subject and the assignment of central roles to the archangels is to some extent familiar from ecclesiastic embroidery (Vei-Chatzidaki 1953, p. 28). However, in this case we could say that the icon followed the iconographic model of the burial of St John the Baptist or St Catherine by the archangels.

In his treatment of colour the artist employed the contrast between the archangels' diaconal robes, fire red for Gabriel and dark green for Michael. The same approach is used for the blue-green ground, contrasted with the dark brown sarcophagus and cross. The basic flesh tone is dark green, with the highlights limited both on the body of Christ and the archangels. In general the linear rendering is avoided, and the colours used are typical of early eighteenth-century painting on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.







**2.118 St Makarios the Roman** 18th c.  
Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 23 x 19 cm

Donors usually commission an icon of the saint whose name they bear, but in the case of this icon of St Makarios the Roman the donor, according to the inscription at the bottom, was the Hieromonk Nektarios 'Supplication of the servant of God Nektarios, hieromonk'.

This small icon depicts the hermit saint seated on a rock at the entrance to a cave, with his hands on the heads of two lions crouching at his feet left and right. The scene accurately represents the story of the saint as described in his Life in

the *Synaxarium* (October 23). This treatment of the subject, reminiscent of the story of St Gerasimos of Jordan, is not, however, found on Mount Athos – at least in the large iconographic ensembles.

In the refectories of Mount Athos (the Great Lavra, Docheiariou, Vatopedi) the saint is always portrayed standing, full-length, beside the other great ascetic saints, Peter the Athonite and Onouphrios. The iconographic and stylistic treatment of the subject, the olive green underpainting, the limited highlights in the flesh modelling and the geometrical rendering of the rocks attribute the work to an eighteenth-century Athonite workshop.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.



**2.119 The Prophet Elijah** ca. mid-18th c.  
Nea Skete

Wood, egg tempera, 28 x 21.5 cm

The prophet is depicted in the desert sitting in front of a cave formed by two rocks, which frame the composition. He wears a yellowish tunic and a red goatskin and turns his head to the right towards the raven bringing him manna. In red lettering on the gold ground of the icon is the inscription: 'The Prophet Elijah'.

This iconographical type was established in Palaeologan art, continued with slight variations in the post-Byzantine period, and was particularly popular with the Cretan painters (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 29).

The iconographical schema is in the Cretan tradition, but the rendering of the rocky landscape and the figure of the prophet, with his harsh linear features and stylised beard and hair, are characteristics of eighteenth-century works

(Karakatsani 1980, nos. 184, 196, 313). This icon of the Prophet Elijah must be chronologically quite close to the icon of Sts Anthony, Euthymios and Sabbas from the Nea Skete (no. 2.125), which is dated to 1766.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.120 Sts Stephen and Paul**  
of Xeropotamou, ca. mid-18th c.  
Nea Skete

Wood, egg tempera, 66 x 48 cm

The two saints in full-length and frontal stand against a gold field, their feet resting on a dark blue ground. In the upper part of the icon, Christ in bust in the semicircle of heaven blesses them with both hands.

St Stephen, the first Christian martyr, is on the left, wearing a deacon's vestments and holding





a censer in one hand and a Gospel in the other. St Paul on the right is beardless, in accordance with the tradition (Papachrysanthou 1992, p. 189 n. 15), and wears a monastic habit, holding a cross in one hand and a closed scroll in the other. Their haloes, like the frame of the icon, are filled in with dotted ornamentation, a typical feature of Athonite technique (Chatzidakis 1972 (4), p. 123).

The saints' names are inscribed in red lettering: 'St Stephen' and 'St Paul of Xeropotamou'. The icon was painted in an Athonite workshop in the eighteenth century and adheres closely to the tradition, although the facial features of the two figures have become stereotyped, dry, and stylised.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

## 2.121 Christ Enthroned 1737 Skete of St Anne

Wood, egg tempera, 40.1 x 27.4 cm

This icon is now in the *kyriakon*, or central church, of the *skete*, but originally came from the Kalyve of the Prodomos of Little St Anne's, also known as the Kalyve of Father Gerasimos Mikrogianannitis.

Christ in the type of Pantokrator is portrayed frontally, seated on a spacious throne with his feet resting on a footstool. His left hand supports an open Gospel on his thigh 'I am the bread of life...', while his right hand gives the blessing. The throne, done with great attention to detail, is rendered entirely in gold, thus emphasizing the bulk of the figure of Christ, which with its dark colours dominates the icon. The lower border carries the inscription: ΔΕΗCIC TOY ΔΟΥΛΟΥ TOY Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ TOY Κ(ΑΙ) ΝΕΟΥ ΚΤΙΤΟΡΟΣ: ΑΨΑΖ (Supplication of the servant of God Makarios, monk and new founder: 1737). The icon raises two main points. The first is its iconographic comprehensiveness and mastery of style, elements which while deriving from eighteenth-century revival of Palaeologan types (Tsigaridas 1994 (1), p. 366), nevertheless possess a personal touch and fullness of expression. The second point has to do with the inscription,



according to which the icon was donated by the monk Makarios, who is referred to as founder, thus dating the Skete of Little St Anne before the early eighteenth century (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 413).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

## 2.122 St John the Baptist 1747 Xeropotamou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 54.5 x 32.5 cm

The Baptist is portrayed from the waist up with wings, according to an iconographical type established by the Cretan painters of the fifteenth century. He wears an orange-red sheepskin and an olive-green himation with gold highlights, gives a blessing with his right hand, and holds in his left a basin containing his own severed head. The modelling of the face is painterly and soft, with wrinkles that are more decorative than realistic. On the olive-green ground is an inscription with his name – 'St John the Forerunner' – and below his right arm the date 1747. This robust





figure with its obvious allusions to earlier models nonetheless moves away from the Byzantine approach to painting and reveals the characteristics that would be continued by the painters of the nineteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.



### 2.123 St Modestos

1751

Koutloumousiou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 30.4 x 23.7 cm

The saint is portrayed from the waist up, wearing a ruddy phenolion and a greyish-white omophorion decorated with crosses. He is giving a blessing with one hand and holding in the other a closed Gospel ornamented with dots. The outline of his halo is decorated in a like manner.

The field of the bottom half of the icon is greenish, while in the upper half it is gold and inscribed with the saint's name: 'St Modestos'.

The integral frame, decorated with gold vegetal motifs on a dark green ground, attests an Athonite technique (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 163).

On the back of the icon is a cross with the letters representing the phrase 'Jesus Christ Conquers', and below it the inscription: 'Whosoever shall alienate it [i.e. remove the icon] shall have the curse of the Transfiguration. 1751, month of March. Commissioned by Barnabas, Prehegumen.'

The robust figure of the saint brings to mind Macedonian works of the fourteenth century, models of which were often used by eighteenth-century painters on Mount Athos (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 246ff.). However, the soft, sweet modelling and the stylised wrinkles put a certain distance between this figure and similar works of the early eighteenth century, thus confirming its dating to the middle of the century, when the trends which prevailed in a number of nineteenth-century works were beginning to appear.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

### 2.124 The Monastery of Hagios Seraphim ca. mid-18th c.

Xeropotamou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 33 x 54.3 cm

In a softly rendered, but stylised landscape of hills, trees, and plants, the enclosure of the Monastery of Hagios Seraphim is depicted with the katholikon in the centre. A number of other buildings scattered about the composition are





identified by inscriptions in red lettering, of which only those in the upper left ('The Mill') and the upper centre ('Calvary') are legible. St Seraphim is twice portrayed with the Virgin in the lower part of the composition. In the foreground, he offers her a model of a church, and between the two figures is the inscription: 'Here the Virgin appeared to the saint, whereupon he built the monastery.' To the right, in the middle ground, they appear again, separated by the inscription: 'Here the Virgin commands the saint to build the monastery.' The dedicatory inscription is in the middle of the right-hand side of the icon: '+ This Monastery of St Seraphim was painted on Mount Athos with the contribution and at the expense of the most holy of monks, the priest, Master Genadios', which confirms the existence of Athonite painters' ateliers in the post-Byzantine period (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 247ff.). This sort of attempt at an iconographical narration of an event other than an established religious subject in a naively and conventionally organised space is also seen in older folk-style works (Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 61). However, it became more common in the eighteenth century in works of folk art, probably under the influence of the developing art form of engraving. The

influence of engravings is apparent in the rendering of the landscape and the topography in the composition of this icon, which may be dated to the mid-eighteenth century (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 246-7. Pazaras 1995 (2), pp. 54-5).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.125 Sts Anthony,  
Euthymios, and Sabbas  
Nea Skete**

1766

Wood, egg tempera, 29.3 x 21.5 cm

The three saints are portrayed in full-length frontal poses, wearing monastic garb. Anthony also wears his hood, while the other two are bare-headed. Their haloes are outlined with dotted ornamentation. Each holds an open scroll in his left hand; with his right hand, Euthymios makes a gesture of blessing, Sabbas holds a cross, and Anthony rests his on a staff. Anthony's scroll has probably been rewritten, and bears the inscription: 'I do not fear God, but I love him.' The inscriptions on the other two scrolls are half





(Millet 1945, pls. 6-7. Vocotopoulos 1990, p. 155). The upper part of the icon is occupied by Christ in a circular glory in the centre, together with the choirs of the just. The Preparation of the Throne lies above the glory, with the prophets David and Solomon kneeling with the open scrolls. Below is paradise, shown as an idyllic landscape with trees and flowers, and the Ancestors of Christ Abraham, Isaac and Jacob seated on thrones. Between them the thief, clothed only in a loincloth, holds the cross.

The subject is common in Athonite icons, particularly of the minor foundations, such as *sketae* and cells, where the All Saints icon is usually included on the iconostasis with the icons of Christ, the Virgin, and St John the Baptist. Similar works have been located in the Monasteries of St Paul, Koutlounousiou, Karakalou and Stavronikita (Millet 1945, pl. 7. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, no. 51).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

obliterated and illegible.

The saints' names are written in white on the upper section of the frame, followed by the epithet of each one in red lettering on the gold ground: 'St Anthony the Great', 'St Euthymios the Great', 'St Sabbas the Blessed'. The year 1766 is inscribed in the lower part of the composition.

The icon was probably painted in an Athonite workshop which followed the tradition of Cretan painting (Chatzidakis 1986 (1), fig. 209) in the eighteenth century, a period when art had acquired something of the nature of a handicraft (Chatzidakis 1975 (2), pp. 246ff.).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

## 2.126 All Saints Nea Skete, kyriakon

1770

Wood, egg tempera, 52 x 32 cm

The icon depicts the Synaxis of All Saints, a theme that forms part of the Last Judgement and had already been established by the fifteenth century





## 2.127 The First Ecumenical Council

1768, Nea Skete

Wood, egg tempera, 34.6 x 26.5 cm

The subject of this icon is identical to that of icon no. 2.128 in the Protaton. It is an iconographic type that renders in a specific way the Church Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council and the Emperor Constantine the Great, and appears to have been developed on Mount Athos from the sixteenth century onwards. Although this icon carries no date, its style and technique suggest that it is roughly contemporary with the identical work in the Protaton, that is from the second half of the eighteenth century. Despite small differences in the treatment of the subject (e.g. the number of figures) the iconographic type remained unaltered throughout the post-Byzantine period, from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.



I.T.

## 2.128 The First Ecumenical Council

1770, Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 31 x 23.7 cm

By the hand of Metrophanis, monk

The icon depicts the Church Fathers who took part in 'The Holy and Ecumenical First Council' and an open scroll in the foreground with part of the Symbol of Faith. In the centre stands Constantine the Great, who participated in the Council's work. Behind him can be distinguished the figures of the Sts Nicholas, Spyridon and others. The text is interrupted at the phrase '... and in one Lord Jesus Christ', while farther down, essentially on the lower border, are the date and artist's signature: ΧΕΙΡ ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ 1770 (By the hand of Metrophanis, monk 1770).

The iconographic scheme followed is the usual Athonite one, which, on the basis of the extant examples, seems to have been created on Mount Athos. The model for this scheme, with its frontal



standing saints, is the All Saints' icon, as we know it from manuscript illumination and monumental art (Walter 1991-2, p. 216). The scroll unfurled in front of the figures goes back



at least to the early sixteenth century in manuscript miniatures (Vatopedi Cod. no. 483; Thesauroid 1991, pp. 248-9, figs. 27-8), although even in Byzantine times occur representations of Ecumenical Councils with the Church Fathers standing and holding open scrolls (Orlandos 1970, pp. 243-53, pl. 24).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

crowning the Virgin, and hold open scrolls with well-known verses from the Akathistos Hymn: 'Rejoice that you are the seat of the King' and 'Rejoice that you bear the One that bears up the world'. Silver haloes, probably contemporary with the icon, adorn the two principal figures.

The artist has made a great effort to render the details of the ornamentation, especially of the garments. Particularly noteworthy are the



**2.129 The Virgin Paraklesis**  
Pantokrator Monastery

1783

Wood, egg tempera, 65 x 51 cm  
Michael of Thessaloniki

A superb work of art, dated 1783, by a named painter, Michael of Thessaloniki. The Virgin, 'The Mother of God, the Suppliant', is portrayed half-length with Christ seated on her left arm. Two flying angels shown among clouds are

golden hem of the Virgin's maphorion and Christ's gauzy tunic.

Along the lower border is an open scroll with the dedicatory inscription of the donor, the Hieromonk Arsenios, consisting of an archaic epigramme to the Virgin and the name of the artist from Thessaloniki: 'Leader of the land of the brave, good Mother of the King of All, save me who is lost – 1783 Thessaloniki – the skill (supplied) by Michael and the cost (borne) by Arsenios, hieromonk.' The restrained use of



bright colours, the traditional type of the Virgin and Child and the usual silver haloes, which must have been attached from the beginning, did much to reduce the western appearance of the work and permit its acceptance as an Orthodox icon.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

**2.130 St Nicholas** 1799  
Koutloumousiou Monastery  
Wood, egg tempera, 30 x 23 cm

The saint is depicted from the waist up, his right hand raised in blessing, a richly bound Gospel in his left.

He wears a red phelonion decorated with gold flora motifs and an omophorion adorned with crosses and flowers. The saint is flanked, on a smaller scale, by Christ and the Virgin, sitting on clouds and offering him the episcopal insignia (see the icon of St Nicholas from the Monastery

of St Paul, no. 2.104). Their haloes have a metal revetment and above them are written the abbreviations: 'Jesus Christ' and 'Mother of God'. The saint's name is inscribed in gold and red medallions on a dark blue ground: 'St Nicholas'.

In a single line along the bottom of the icon, there is a dedicatory inscription and the date: 'Year 1799, month of April, 27th. Supplication of the servants of the Lord Christophoros and Philotheos the monks and Parthenions, hieromonk.'

Although the saint is depicted according to the established iconography, the rendering is far removed from austere Byzantine art. Insipid, expressionless faces and a strong decorative tendency point to the trends that were to prevail in the religious painting of the nineteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

L.T.

**2.131 Choir of Athonite Fathers** 18th c.  
Protaton

Wood, egg tempera, 133 x 97 x 8 cm



This icon, impressive both in size and iconographic treatment, must have been painted on Mount Athos in the second half of the eighteenth century. The centre is occupied by the figure of the Virgin within a glory, and around her in a similar oval arrangement are two circuits of the most important figures of Athonite monasticism. Each figure is shown half-length in a medallion, and an attempt has been made to render personal facial characteristics. Four prophets (Daniel, Zachariah, Isaiah and David), holding open scrolls, occupy the four corners of the icon, while at top centre Christ appears among clouds to give his blessing. The Athonite Fathers are depicted in such a way as to present the work and role played by each. Thus, founders hold models of churches, and those who had been bishops and patriarchs are dressed in the vestments appropriate to their rank. Below Christ is St Peter the Athonite, and next to him in the following order are Sts Maximos of Kausokalyvia, Damaskinos (?) of Kausokalyvia, Gregory of Gregoriou, Kallistos, Patriarch of Constantinople, Nephon of Dionysiou, Athanasios of Esphigmenou,





Sabbas of Chelandari, Theodosios of Philotheou, Simon of Simonopetra, an illegible saint and St Nephon of Kausokalyvia. The outer circuit portrays: to the right of Christ, St Gregory of Byzantium, followed by Sts Pachomios, Akakios of Kausokalyvia, Theophanis of Docheiariou, George of Iviron, Athanasios the Athonite, Gennadios of Vatopedi, Symeon of Chelandari, Paul of Xeropotamou, Neophytos of Docheiariou, Dionysios of Dionysiou, Nikodemos of Kausokalyvia, Romanos of Kausokalyvia and Nektarios of Karyes.

Iconographically, this composition derives from the Tree of Jesse (see nos. 3.4, 2.90) as can be seen from the flowers and foliage surrounding each medallion. Similar compositions exist as wood-carvings, for example the seventeenth-

century carved wooden pectoral in the Benaki Museum (no.14112, Tree of Jesse), and also as paintings, as in the 1668 icon showing the generations of the Fathers of the Russian Church with the Virgin of Vladimir in the middle (Smirnova 1989, pls. 199-200). The idea of bringing all the Athonite Fathers together in one icon belongs to St Nikodemos the Athonite, who at the end of the eighteenth century noted in the Service for the Athonite Fathers, which he composed himself: 'It seemed right that...[the Athonite Fathers] should be celebrated in one feast and recorded in one icon as brothers in spirit and of one form and one will...' (Synaxaristis 1950, p. 300).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.



**2.132 Sts Akakios, Ignatios and Euthymios**

**1818**

Skete of St John the Baptist, Iviron Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 74 x 55 cm

Dositheos, monk, from Peć, Serbia

The three neomartyrs, in the centre of the icon, are depicted as youths, beardless, and wearing monk's dress. Akakios holds an icon of the Anastasis and a branch of a 'palm-tree', Ignatios has an icon of Christ and a cross of martyrdom, and Euthymios a palm branch and a cross of martyrdom. Above their shoulders are their names, in Greek, while the names and dedicatory inscriptions on the silver haloes are in Serbian. The silver halo of Akakios is assigned to Euthymios and that of Euthymios to Akakios.

The depiction of the neomartyrs is surrounded by twenty-four panels containing scenes from their martyrdoms or inscriptions. The Holy Trinity is portrayed in the top zone as an aged father, a dove and Christ with a cross and an open gospel book, in which can be read: 'He who confesses before men, him too will I confess.' The Holy Trinity is flanked by smaller panels with the Virgin and St John the Baptist, in an attitude welcoming the neomartyrs to heaven. St John holds an open scroll with a Slavonic inscription.

In the five panels aligned vertically at the left are scenes from the martyrdom of St Akakios. Each of these is elucidated by inscriptions in both Greek and Slavonic (as with all the inscriptions in the icon), the Greek ones being as follows: 'St Akakios speaking openly in the court of the prince' - 'presented to the prince' - 'tormented in prison' - 'receives the holy bread' - 'is beheaded'.

Akakios came from 'Neochorion near Thessaloniki', was born during the 1790s, and converted to Islam at the age of nine. When he was 18 he returned to the Christian fold and became a monk in the Skete of Iviron, as an acolyte of the spiritual father Nikephoros. Inspired by the example of Euthymios and Ignatios who had been martyred before him and were also acolytes of Nikephoros, and appropriately guided by the aged monk Akakios, he went to Constantinople accompanied by his fellow-monk

Gregorios the Peloponnesian, confessed in Christ and was beheaded on 1st May 1816. Gregorios was given his relic in a coffin that had been specially prepared, took it to the Holy Mountain and buried it in the church of Euthymios and Ignatios (Synaxaristis 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 493-508).

The sixth panel at the left, which has the inscription 'the three holy neomartyrs are transported to the Holy Mountain by their companion Gregorios', contains a summary depiction of the transportation of the relics of the martyrs, though in fact Akakios's remains travelled separately.

On the six panels at the right are depicted scenes from the martyrdom of Euthymios, with the following inscriptions in Greek: 'Euthymios sees the cross and the Mother of God' - 'writes letters to his brothers' (on the letters can be read 'to my father Dositheos, to Onouphrios, Akakios, Iakovos, Kallinikos) - 'shows the cross and palm branches in the presence of the ruler' - 'is flogged in prison' - 'tears the green and slaps the ruler's





face' - 'St Euthymios has his head cut off'.

Efthymios was born in Dimitsana in the Peloponnese in the second half of the eighteenth century, lived with his father, a merchant, in Wallachia, and converted to Islam during the Russo-Turkish war. He soon repented and, after much travelling, came to the Holy Mountain where he met the Patriarch Gregorios V, who was in exile there. He again travelled, both within Mount Athos and outside it, before he eventually settled in the Iviron Skete as acolyte of the spiritual father Nikephoros, along with four other monks who also came from Dimitsana. In the skete he also associated with the aged monk Akakios, who strengthened his resolve in his struggle to become a martyr. He became a monk and, having prepared himself spiritually, went to Constantinople, accompanied by his fellow-monk Gregorios, who was to receive his relic after his martyrdom. On Palm Sunday (22 March) he wrote letters to his five spiritual friends, attended mass, and, carrying palm branches, went to the rulers, confessed in Christ, was tortured and beheaded on the same day. Gregorios took the relic and buried it provisionally on the island of Proti (Synaxaristis 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 356-85, which gives the texts of the letters).

The nine panels at the bottom of the icon are arranged in groups of three in three zones, the upper two of which depict scenes from the martyrdom of Ignatios, with the following inscriptions in Greek: 'St Ignatios, in prayer, is crowned by the Mother of God' - 'is presented to the ruler' - 'is flogged in prison' - 'is buried' - 'is hanged' - 'heals the paralysed man' - 'returns the purse'. Ignatios was born at Palaia Zagora in modern Bulgaria in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was bilingual in Bulgarian and Greek. He was obliged by the Serbian-Russian wars to move to Wallachia, where he met Euthymios, who was later martyred. After many adventures and travels he came to the Holy Mountain, where he finally settled in the cell of Nikephoros in the Iviron Skete. Under the instruction of the aged Akakios, and accompanied by the familiar figure of Gregorios, he went to Constantinople, confessed in Christ, was tortured and met a martyr's death by hanging on 8 October 1814. Gregorios received

his relic and, on his voyage to Mount Athos, also collected the relic of Euthymios from the island of Proti. The two martyrs were buried in the Iviron Skete in a church built in their honour (Synaxaristis 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 86-94).

The three panels at the bottom contain three inscriptions, with the following in the central panel: 'having painted this venerable icon at the expense of hierodiascon lord Manassis from Gambrovo, having changed his name to Onouphrios, was himself martyred on Chios in the year 1818, January 4: and he was placed in this venerable martyrdom of the same three saints.' Onouphrios was also bilingual and a member of the group around Nikephoros, and was led to his martyrdom at the age of 32 by the familiar figure of Gregorios (Synaxaristis 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 215-27). In the bottom left panel is the inscription: 'by the hand of Dositheos, monk, from Peć in Serbia', and the bottom right panel contains the same inscription in Slavonic, with the addition of the date 1818. The present icon is one of the most important heirlooms of modern Orthodoxy; it honours a group of 'brother' monks who were pupils of the same elder, Akakios, and were accompanied to their martyrdom by the same monk, Gregorios. The icon was made only a year and a half after the martyrdom of the third of the group, and was commissioned by a fellow-monk who was himself martyred while the icon was being painted. The icon may be said to form part of the organized movement to create neomartyrs on Mount Athos at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in which the Patriarch Gregorios V, who himself later met a martyr's death, seems to have been involved.

The choice of the painter Dositheos does not seem to have been a coincidence; he was a bilingual Serb, and the commission was placed by Onouphrios, who was also bilingual. The inscriptions in both languages make it clear that the aim was to send out the message to the two basic linguistic communities in the Balkans and arrest the swelling tide of conversions to Islam. Dositheos probably learned to paint on Mount Athos, for he follows the style of Nikephoros of Agrapha and his group.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.A.P.



### 2.133 St Konstantinos of Hydra

13 November 1837

Skete of St John the Baptist, Iviron Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 52.5 x 38.5 cm

Anthimos of Hydra, monk

The neomartyr, with his youthful appearance and dressed in a monk's robe, is depicted full-length in the centre of the icon, holding in his right hand the cross of martyrdom, which rests against his right shoulder. Behind him can be seen the walled, densely-built city of Rhodes, in which he was martyred, from which soar six imposing minarets, a clear indication of the Moslem presence. The city is built some distance from the nearby harbour, which is full of ships; a road starts from the harbour and ends at the gate of the castle. Behind the city stretches a hilly region with a village and windmills, beyond which is a mountainous landscape. At the top right of the icon are thick clouds with brilliant beams of light amongst them, an indication of Paradise, into which the martyr



of Christ has been received. In the left corner is a baroque border with the inscription 'the Holy N(eomartyr) Konstantinos' and below it, outside the border, as though there were not enough room inside it: 'from the island of Hydra'. Beneath the saint's feet, in a single line, can be read: '1837: November 13 / built by the hand of the monk Anthimos of Hydra.' Konstantinos was born on Hydra in the middle of the eighteenth century and went to Rhodes at the age of 18 years, converting to Islam shortly afterwards. He later repented, left Rhodes and went to Constantinople from where, at the recommendation of the Patriarch Gregorios V, he travelled to the Holy Mountain and stayed at Iviron Monastery for five months. There he established a relationship with the spiritual father of the Iviron Skete, the hieromonk Sergios; we may note that this skete had already produced several neomartyrs. From Iviron Monastery Konstantinos returned to Rhodes, confessed his faith in Christ, was tortured and drowned on 14 November 1800. Shortly afterwards, his body was taken to his birthplace on Hydra by his mother (Synaxaristis 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 144-57).

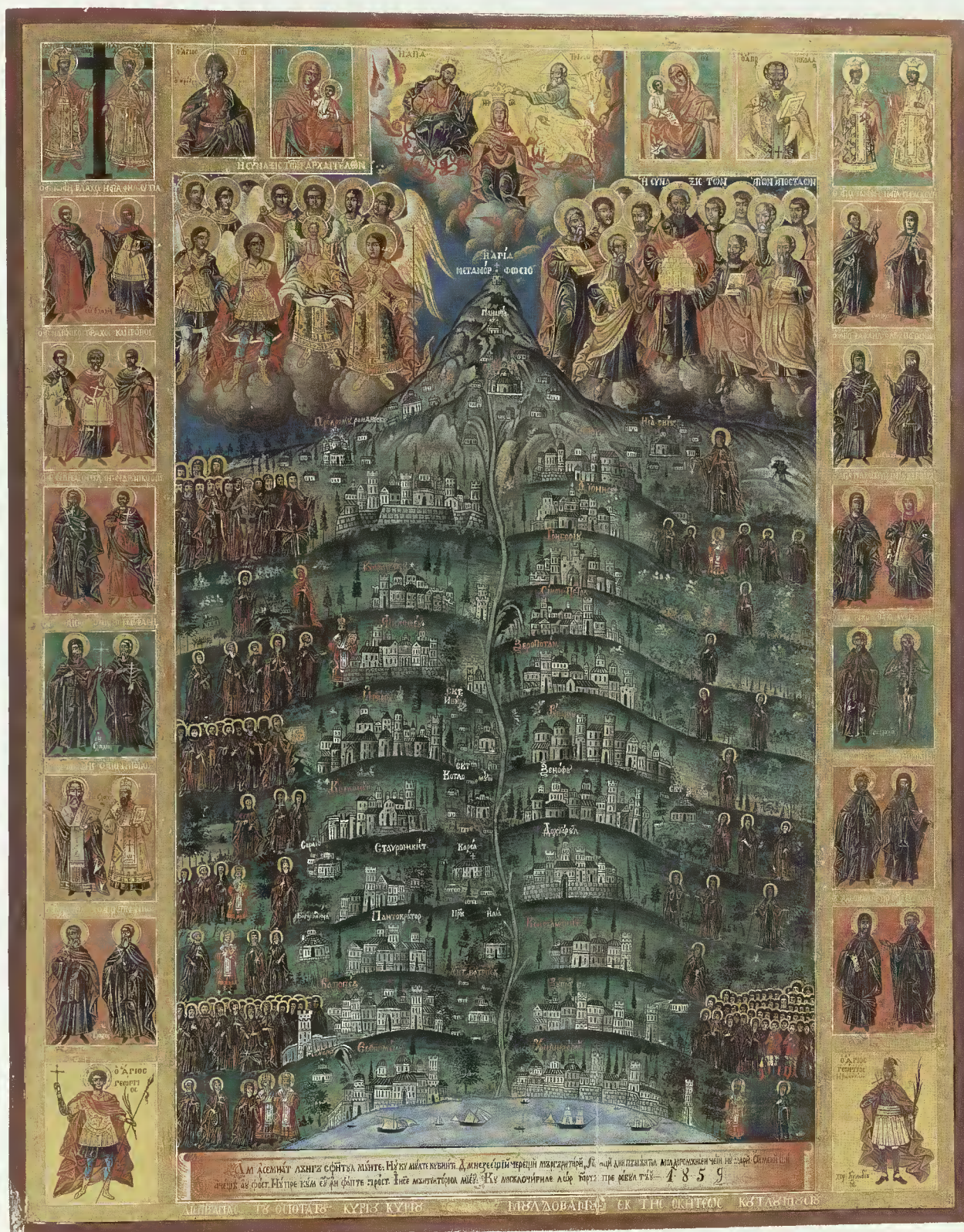
The presence of the icon in the Iviron Skete is probably not unconnected with the relationship between the martyr and Sergios, the spiritual father there. The saint's fellow islander, the painter Anthimos, was probably acquainted with the engraving of the saint executed in 1829 (see no. 4.14); he seems to have been inspired by this for the martyr's dress, though he sets the figure in Rhodes, the scene of his martyrdom. The two portrayals may be said to complement each other, therefore, with the engraving alluding to the saint's place of birth and worship, and the icon to the place he was martyred.

The barely literate painter completed painting the icon on the eve of the saint's feast day, which may suggest that the work was a commission for the coming festival. From an artistic point of view, this icon lies outside the prevailing trends of the time associated with the workshops of Mount Athos, of Ioasaph and the Galatsianoï. It is manifest that Anthimos did not learn to paint in these but probably served his apprenticeship in a South Greek workshop.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.A.P.







**2.134 General view of Mount Athos, 1859  
the foundations,  
apostles, archangels,  
monks and saints**

Romanian Skete of St John the Baptist

Wood, egg tempera  
98 x 76 cm

In the centre is a schematic rendering of the two sides of Mount Athos, divided by a stream that rises just below the peak. On the slopes and the coast are summary representations of the twenty monasteries and the major *sketae* and *kellia*, in the form of fortresses. Along the right and left edges of the icon are the founders of the monasteries, Athonite saints, ascetics and hierarchs, mainly depicted in groups, but some individually. On the sea below are sailing vessels and small boats. The area of the sky is occupied by the Virgin and the Holy Trinity in the middle, with the choirs of archangels and apostles on the left and right respectively.

This central theme is surrounded on three sides - above, right and left - by small panels containing figures of saints in groups of two or three. Along the top are Sts Constantine and Helen, St John the Baptist, the Virgin Hodegetria, the Virgin Gorgoepikoos, St Nicholas, St Theodosios and St Pulcheria. The two vertical sections are occupied mainly by Romanian saints - 'from Wallachia', according to the inscriptions. On the left are St John of Wallachia and St Philautia; Sts Andronikos, Tarachos and Probos; Andrew and Andronikos; Païsios and Metrophanis; John and Gregory, Daniel and Epiphanius. On the right are four pairs of unidentifiable saints, with Sts Demetrios and Nikodemos and Innocent and Euthymios below them. The last two panels are occupied by St George the Great Martyr on the left and St George of Ioannina on the right.

The inscriptions identifying the buildings are in Romanian, in Cyrillic script; those accompanying the saints are in Greek, as is the painter's signature: 'By the hand of Gennadios the monk'.

On an open scroll at the bottom is the dedicatory inscription, with the year 1859. Most

of the inscription is in Romanian, in Cyrillic script, the end of it being in Greek:

Am însemnat lângă Sfântul Munte: Nu cu multe cuvinte. Dumnezeuști ceresti margaritare. Roditi din pamintul Moldoroumâniei cei nu mari. Oameni și acestia au fost. Nu precum eu în fapte prost. Iisuse Mîntuitorul meu: Cu mijloacirile lor iarta per roboul tau. 1859.

ΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΑCΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΠΙΟΥ  
ΚΥΡΠΙΟΥ [ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚ] ΜΟΥΛΛΟΒΑΝΟΥΑ ΕΚ  
ΤΗC ΚΗΤΗC ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥCΙΟΥ.

Freely translated, this reads:

'I have depicted beside Mount Athos, not with many words, divine pearls which grew from the land of little Modloromania. These (the saints depicted) were human beings, too, but not like my humble self. Jesus my Saviour, with the intercession of these saints, forgive your servant. 1859.

During the stewardship of Kyr [Andronic] Muldovanul of the *skete* of Koutloumousiou.'

The name Andronikos in the Greek part of the inscription has been obliterated, but may be restored from the acrostic in the main part. This may have something to do with the controversy which arose regarding the status of the *skete* in the second half of the nineteenth century (Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 421ff.).

The main motif in this icon is usually seen in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century copperplate engravings (Papastratos 1990, pp. 385ff. See also nos.4.1-4.2 of this catalogue), though it is also found in monumental painting, as in the *kyriakon* of this same Roman *skete* (1866).

As regards its manner and technique, this work by Gennadios, who is known to have painted other icons on Mount Athos, displays a folk style typical of Athonite painting between the end of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, before elements of western (particularly Nazarene) art penetrated Athos (Cf. Georgiadou-Kountoura 1984, pp. 22ff.).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

T.N.P.





2.135 St Paul of Xeropotamou  
Xeropotamou Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 43 x 32 cm  
By the hand of B., hieromonk

1870

The saint is depicted in the traditional way (Papachrysanthou 1992, p. 189 n. 155) as a full-length, standing, beardless figure, dressed in a monk's habit and holding a cross in one hand



and in the other a scroll, bearing a text.

The saint gazes heavenward, where the Virgin appears, on a smaller scale, amid clouds and golden rays, with Christ in her arms and little western-style angels fluttering about her feet and to the left of her. On the saint's left is the inscription 'St Paul of Xeropotamou and founder of the two monasteries'.

St Paul is credited with founding Xeropotamou and St Paul's Monastery (Papachrysanthou 1992, pp. 182ff.), both of which are represented, quite accurately, in the interesting landscape of this composition. Xeropotamou is on the right and St Paul's on the left, each identified by name, with the massive bulk of Mount Athos behind St Paul's. Between the two foundations are some smaller buildings, and in the lower right-hand corner is the boathouse, with the sea and some caoques.

Trees and soft rolling hills provide a sense of depth. A similar approach to the treatment of the landscape, chiefly as regards the reproduction of the monastery from an engraving, is seen in an icon of St Eudokimos in Vatopedi Monastery, painted in 1842 (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), A, fig. 78, B, pp. 414-5).

The handling of colour is particularly interesting here: shades of olive-green are used for the landscape, into which the grey-blue buildings, with touches of red and yellow, subtly blend. The sky above, in the red hues of the setting sun, followed by the dark blue of night, contrasts with the bright golden corner where the Virgin appears, dressed in red and gold.

Below, on the painted gold frame, is the white lettering of the one-line dedicatory inscription: 'Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῶν δούλων σου Παύλου Ἱερομονάχου καὶ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ Μα[ρίας] αωο' (1870) χεῖρ B. 'Ἱερομ(ονάχου)' (Remember, Lord, thy servants hieromonk Pavlos and his parents Ioannis and Maria, 1870, by the hand of B., hieromonk).

Western elements and a western style of painting, coupled with the influence of engravings, compose a good representative work of the nineteenth century. Its thematic repertory and dedicatory inscription attest an Athonite painter,

whose humility has kept his full name from us.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

## 2.136 Menologion icon 19th c. (Panagion)

Simonopetra Monastery

Wood, egg tempera, 158 x 139 cm

This exceptionally large Russian menologion with its profusion of figures contains the twelve months in one composition, and also a central group covering the Dodekaorton and other scenes, the four Evangelists and seventy different types of the Virgin. Tradition has it that this icon was presented by the Tsar Nicholas II to monks from Simonopetra who had travelled to Russia for 'Alms-begging'. The Evangelists are portrayed at the four corners of the icon, and the half-length types of the Virgin create a continuous border running round the central theme, the menologion. The months run from January to December, starting from the top left corner. The first five months of the year cover the upper part of the icon, and the last five months the lower part, while a narrower band in the middle contains June and July, and twenty-three scenes from the Dodekaorton set between them.

Russian monthly menologia in the form of portable icons made their appearance on Mount Athos in the seventeenth century. A full set of the twelve months is preserved at the Monastery of Vatopedi and five individual months at the Monastery of St Paul. Their distinctive features are the arrangement in bands, which was also a feature of Byzantine menologia (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos. 16-17), and the menologion scenes between the full-length saints.

Due to the great number of figures the work has something of the character of a miniature, and it is clear that at least two painters have worked on it and all the subjects are distinct, complete, and fully detailed (L' imagine dello Spirito 1996, no. 32).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.







### 3 ANTHIVOLA



#### 3.1 St Athanasios the Athonite 16th c. Simonopetra Monastery

Grisaille on paper, 29 x 16.3 cm

The bust of the saint is depicted, to be precise just the head and beard, and a few lines to suggest his left shoulder. The paper is damaged on the right side, especially in the middle. There are two minuscule inscriptions in black ink, one at the top 'St Athanasios' and one at the level of the saint's neck on the right in two lines, with essentially the same content 'St Athanasios the Athonite'.

The saint is portrayed with short hair and a full flowing beard that falls in open curls to his chest. The head is too large for the shoulder that has been sketched in (later?). It was clearly the artist's intention to do a study of a saint's portrait, not necessarily that of St Athanasios in particular, in order to be used as a model for a mid-sixteenth-century icon.

The artist began with a rough outline on the paper, then he used a layer of yellow hue. A kind of underpainting was then applied in a pink tint, and the work was completed with black, grey and white lines, thus creating an icon with limited chromatic treatment.

The execution is of high quality, attesting to the artist's ability to produce the expressive force of a saint's physiognomy even in a sketch of an icon. The black and white curved lines of varying thickness and length suggest a connection between this sketch and the sixteenth century fresco compositions on Mount Athos, and especially these in the Great Lavra (1535), Dionysiou (1547) and Molyvokklesia (1536) (Millet 1927, pls. 145-8, 158, 212-14).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.



### 3.2 The Washing of the Feet Dionysiou Monastery

Grisaille on paper,  
31.5 x 22 cm

16th c.

This is a very fine work of art from the early sixteenth century. Even without the rich colours of the model or the final painting, the control of line and attention to detail attest to the creative ability of the artist. The theme is the Washing of the Feet, a scene taken from the Dodekaorton, which takes place in a domed structure. The paper has been damaged around the edge, and in the middle by a horizontal crease. The painter used ochre on which he successfully rendered all the details of his subject with limited use of black – mostly in the outlines – and white in various tones.

Christ stands on the left, his right hand raised didactically and his left resting on the rim of the basin. A towel is tied around his waist as described in the Gospel of John (13:4) and he is leaning slightly forward with his left leg bent. On a bench in front of Christ sits Peter, whose legs, one in the water and one out, are exposed to the knee, and who has brought his right hand to his head. The other disciples are portrayed in a group behind Peter, with the exception of Judas, who is seated apart, in front of the bench, conversing with the devil.

The theme is completed with the building which the artist clearly executed with great care: two columns in the foreground support an arched opening, and two canopies supported by columns and a dome with a double opening adorn the flat roof. Two curtains hang from the arch and are draped over elaborate supports at the springers.

The Washing of the Feet appears, with variation of detail, in both the monumental painting and the icons and manuscripts of the Byzantine period (Millet 1960<sup>2</sup>, p. 312). Christ is usually shown drying Peter's feet (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1983, pp. 72-3), but there are also examples in which Christ is teaching while Peter has one or both feet in the water (Millet 1960<sup>2</sup>, pp. 316-17. Vocotopoulos 1995, pp. 193-4). In

this grisaille, Christ is shown for the first time, to the best of my knowledge, resting his left hand in the rim of the basin. Also unusual is Judas conversing with the devil in this scene. The earliest examples in monumental art date from the second half of the sixteenth century, though earlier examples can be found in



illuminated manuscripts (Tourta 1991, p. 99).

The precise rendering of all the details in this work leaves no room for doubt that it is not an artist's *anthivolon* or working drawing, as in the case of the Revelation scene or the Tree of Jesse from the same monastery (Vassilaki 1995, p. 41). It is clear that here the artist wished to present a complete sample of his work either to gain a commission or for his own use, as in the case of the grisaille of the head of St Athanasios the Athonite (no. 3.1)

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.





### 3.3 Scene from the Revelation 17th c. Dionysiou Monastery

Drawing on paper, 42 x 30.2 cm

This sketch illustrates the ninth chapter of Revelation (verses 1-11), according to which 'And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven to earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, ...'

In the centre of the picture is a circular wall representing the bottomless pit, and round this move the figures described in the passage from

Revelation. At the top an angel flies through clouds blowing a trumpet, while farther down are the locusts, the smoke with the star (Dionysios of Fourni 1909, p. 132) and the living and the dead. The locusts are rendered with female faces 'and on their heads were as it were crowns of gold... and they had hair as the hair of women... and they had tails like scorpions, and there were stings in their tails ...'

This scene, known from Athonite wallpaintings of the Revelation in both the Monastery of Dionysiou and the Monastery of Docheiariou (Tavlaakis 1995, p. 21), follows the instructions in the *Painter's Manual* almost word for word. A distinctive feature of this *anthivolon* (painting cartoon) is that the figures on the right are for no apparent reason not drawn below the waist. This feature also exists in both the Dionysiou and the Docheiariou frescoes (Huber 1995, pp. 154-5, figs. 148-9), but there the reason is clear, the artist having run out of space. The repetition of this feature in the *anthivolon* leads to its direct association with the wallpaintings. It has been established that Byzantine artists did not illustrate the text of the Revelation, and the earliest representation painted for Greek Orthodox people cannot be dated earlier than the late sixteenth century (Chatzidakis 1995 (2), p. 16). This *anthivolon* from Dionysiou Monastery can probably be dated to the seventeenth century, contemporary that is with the earliest surviving Athonite representations of the Revelation. Its relation with the frescoes decorating the exterior of the monastery's refectory – a model-copy relation – is obvious in every detail. It may even have been a copy used by the monastery's own painters, as it was discovered, recently, among other *anthivola* that seem to have belonged to these artists.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.T.

### 3.4 The Tree of Jesse 17th c. Dionysiou Monastery

Drawing, black ink on paper, 71 x 23.5 cm

This is one of the largest *anthivola* known



(From Byzantium to El Greco 1987, pp. 54-6, 198-9 and Supplement to the Catalogue. Vassilaki 1995, p. 43 ff., with earlier bibliography on the *anthivola* published to date). It was discovered a few years ago by the monk Symeon of the Monastery of Dionysiou, folded into eight sections. It is worn round the edges, chiefly on the left and right sides. The design is in black ink on white paper backed with cloth for greater durability.

The subject of the drawing is the Tree of Jesse, in other words the generations of Jesus as given in Matthew (1:1-16), with the aim of emphasising the human nature of Christ and the doctrine of the Incarnation through the Mother of God (Taylor 1980-1, p. 143). Also shown are scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and along the bottom are the ancient Greek philosophers who in a sense foretold the coming of Christ. Most of the themes have been placed within the circles formed by the shoots that sprout from the main trunk.

The individual themes are arranged both horizontally and vertically. At the bottom, in the centre, lies the reclining figure of Jesse, of which the middle is missing, and above this are the figures of David, Solomon and four other patriarchs, culminating in the Virgin and Christ at the top. At the same level as Jesse can be seen the figures of the ancient Greek philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Sophocles and others, and on the left the Sibyl and King Ozias. Higher up are scenes such as the Anointing of David and Gideon's fleece of wool and from the New Testament the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Crucifixion and others.

Similar works of painting can be seen on Mount Athos in the refectory of the Great Lavra, the katholikon of the Monastery of Docheiariou and elsewhere (Millet 1927, pls. 151, 240, 263), from which the artist seems to have taken elements of this composition. Indeed, the Great Lavra wallpainting has many details in common with this drawing, for example the ancient Greeks at the bottom and the eight patriarchs above the recumbent Jesse. In contrast to the two grisaille works (no. 3.1, 3.2), this sketch is hastily drawn, the physical proportions are not always

correct, and the inscriptions are for the most part exhaustive, for example in the case of Sophocles, where the text is written outside the scroll 'there is a supreme God, simple in hypostasis, who has ordered both heaven and earth.' It is clearly the *anthivolon* that some seventeenth century painter would have had



with him in order to design a major work. It quite possibly comes from the archive, lost today, of *anthivola* used by the artists who in the seventeenth century lived in the Monastery of Dionysiou and painted its refectory and chapels (Gabriel D. 1959, pp. 54, 121).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

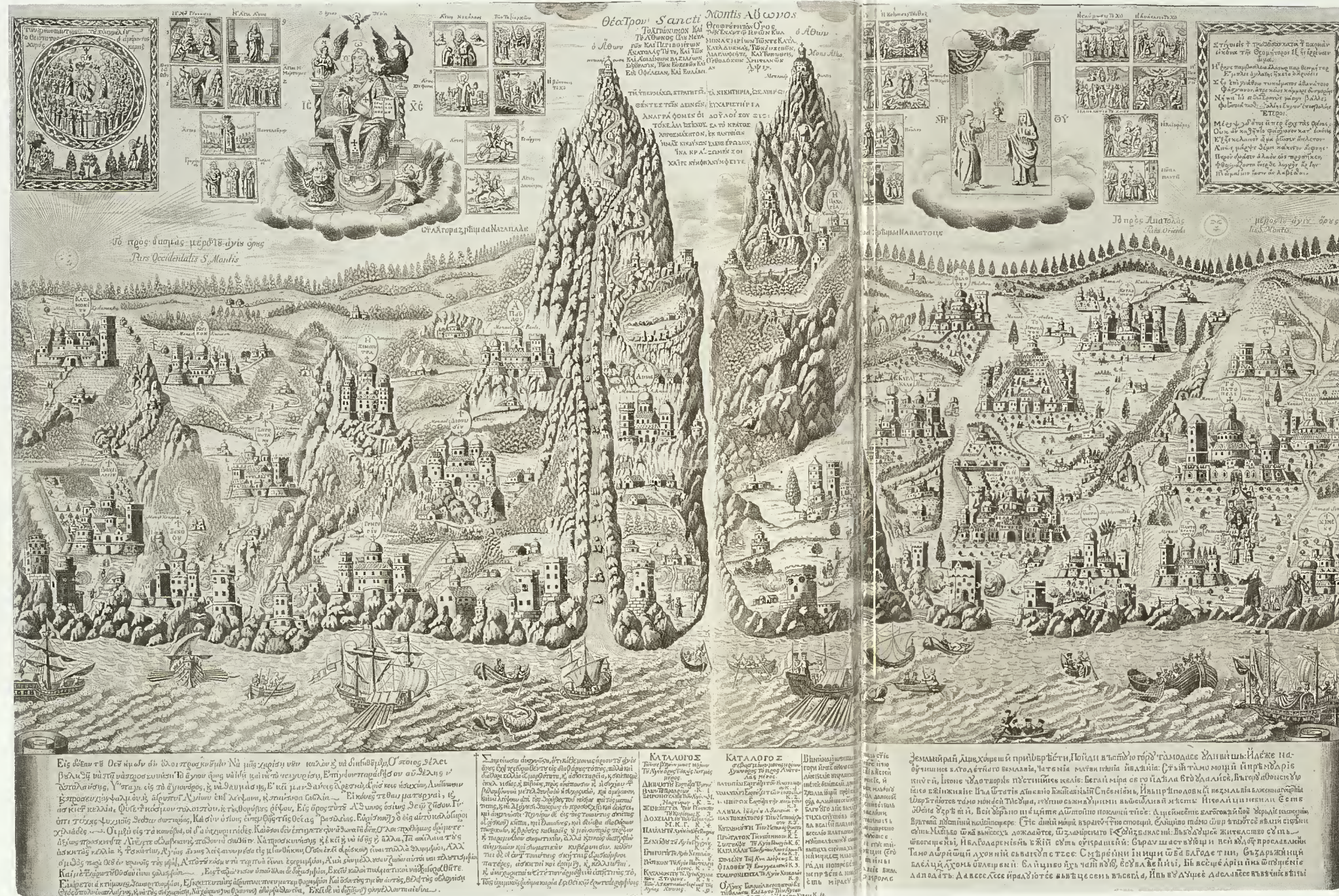
I.T.



# 4 PAPER ICONS

## 4.1 Panorama of Mount Athos 1713 Engraving. Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

Dimensions of copperplates:  
a: 68.7 x 54 cm, b: 68.7 x 54.2 cm  
Preserved in Vatopedi Monastery  
Engraved in Venice (?)  
Engraver: Unknown



The east and west sides of the Mount Athos peninsula are shown here joined end to end, giving Athos the appearance of two steep-sided mountains in contact with each other.

A precipitous ravine runs down the western slope of Athos to the sea. On the flanks of the mountain and on the coast, nestling among dense

clumps of trees or perched on rocky promontories, are the fortified complexes of the twenty monasteries, drawn with scant regard to accuracy but in roughly their correct locations. Also shown are the Protaton, the principal *sketae* and the arsenal towers with their cannons firing. Monks can be seen moving between the monasteries by mule and on foot, a religious procession descends from the Monastery of Vatopedi and just below this two monks drawn on a larger scale hold the icon of the Panagia Vatopedini or Esphagmeni (the Wounded Virgin), the Virgin being depicted holding the infant Christ on her right arm rather than on the more usual left. The ridges of the peninsula are crowned by long rows of trees. Boats with monks, and also larger ships, sail on the sea, and two imaginary sea-monsters are shown. The sky is filled with several miniature scenes, on the left the host of All Saints, next Christ Pantokrator and the Annunciation to the Virgin, surrounded respectively by twelve smaller icons of venerated saints from the Athonite monasteries and *sketae*, and on the right a rectangular frame with the inscription: 'Verses to the icon of the Mother of God that was injured in the cheek, from which blood flowed'.

The work is titled 'Theatron Sancti Montis Athonis' (Panorama of the Holy Mountain of Athos). 'The divinely protected Mount Athos of most holy name with all the holy and celebrated monasteries therein on the east and west coasts, engraved and printed to be seen by devout Orthodox Christians for their benefit and devotion, 1713'.

The lower part carries two texts from the *Proskynetarion for the Holy Mountain of Athos* by the philosopher-physician Ioannis Komnenos (Monastery of Synagovou, 1701), in Greek and Slavonic, and a list of Athonite monasteries in Greek. At both lower corners are short prayers to the saints and the Virgin, with spaces for the names of the pilgrims or donors. This exceptionally fine and painstaking engraving by an experienced hand uses western iconographic elements and exploits the rich tradition of engraving in the West in the immediately preceding centuries, thus giving a Renaissance feel to the representation of the Athonite landscape.

The first attempts to engrave panoramic views of Mount Athos were made in the sixteenth





century. The present work is one of the three earliest original engravings of this most popular Athonite subject, which was represented at least fourteen times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is a clear connection between the Vatopedi engraving and that by Alessandro della Via (Venice, early 18th c.), which can be characterised as the Iviron engraving (Papastratos 1990, no. 420). Komnenos' *Proskynetarion* was published earlier (1701, 1708) and contains an engraving on which these two were modelled.

**Bibliography:** Tavlakis 1996 (1), pp. 549-50 and fig. on pp. 18-9.

H.I.S.

#### 4.2 Panorama of Mount Athos 1770 (?) Obverse of a double-sided engraved copperplate Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

26.6 x 36.5 cm Engraved on Mount Athos  
Engraver: Unknown

This is a small-scale panorama of Mount Athos

engraved by an unsophisticated craftsman. The icon of the Virgin holding the Christ Child on her right arm stands between the two mountain peaks of Athos. A sun in the west and another in the east fill the two upper corners with their rays, and the mountain ridges are crowned with rows of cypress trees. The monasteries and *sketae* are very roughly drawn, with their names in bubbles above them. The usual religious procession descends from Vatopedi, and above the Great Lavra the miracle of the Virgin and St Athanasios is depicted. Between the monasteries there are crudely engraved areas of cultivated land. In the sea two imaginary monsters disport themselves between a galleon and fishing boats manned by monks. The inscriptions at the left are in Greek and Slavonic.

The work, engraved on the other side of the copperplate with the icon of the Virgin (paper icon no. 4.3) dated to 1770, copies earlier works engraved abroad with regard to the composition, but differs significantly in technique and style. Here the landscape lacks depth, the lines are crudely drawn and in general the style conforms to the folk character of the post-Byzantine icons of its time.





4.2

The two works on this double-sided copperplate may be the first ones engraved on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 425.

H.I.S.

### 4.3 The Virgin Hodegetria 1770

Reverse of a double-sided engraved copperplate  
Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

36.5 x 26.6 cm

Engraved on Mount Athos

Engraver: Unknown

The Virgin is depicted holding the Christ Child on her right arm, in the type of the Hodegetria. Christ has his right hand raised in blessing, while in the left he holds a closed scroll. The Virgin's halo is decorated with a triangular design. The border of the representation has a floral ornamentation, and in its lower left part the date 1770 is hardly discernible.

The work shows western influence; if its unknown creator was an Athonite, then this is





the earliest dated engraving produced on the Holy Mount. The oldest named Athonite engraver is the monk Parthenios from Ellassona, whose known works are dated between 1779 and 1782.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 108.

H.I.S.

#### 4.4 The Monastery of Vatopedi 1792 and 1802

**Engraving.** Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

**Dimensions of copperplate:** 55.5 x 79 cm

**Preserved in** Vatopedi Monastery

**Engraved in** Venice

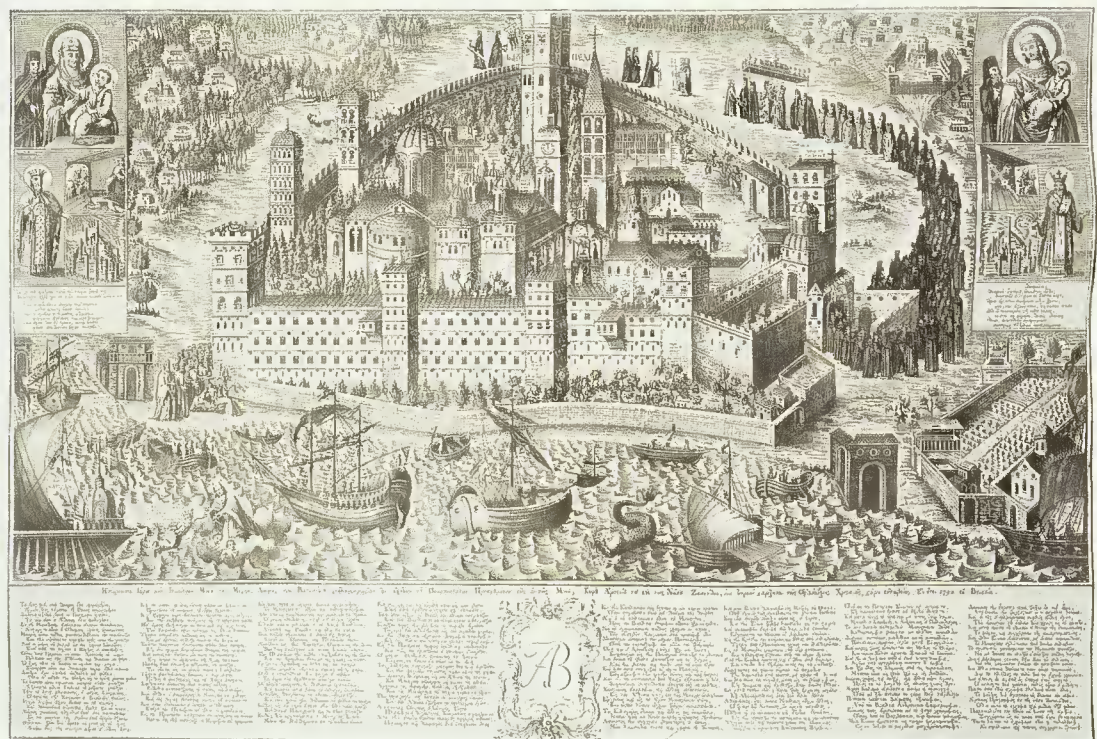
**Engraver:** Unknown

**Inscriptions:** Beneath the representation: 'The present Holy and Royal Monastery of the Great Lavra of Vatopedi was engraved in copper at the expense of the Reverend Hegumen of the monastery, Arsenios, from the island of Zakynthos, to be given without charge to Orthodox Christians as an act of piety. Venice 1792'. Along the lower edge: 'This engraving

which you see was commissioned by the above-mentioned. As, however, he died before paying the fee, the cost was met by the priest Prokopios Kartsiotis in memory of his parents Nicholas and Kalomoira 1802.'

The engraving shows the fortified complex of Vatopedi, with its circuit walls, storied ranges of *kellia*, katholikon, bell tower, clock tower, the various chapels and the phiale. A host of monks are issuing from the gate, following a religious procession moving above the monastery. To the left, near the beach, a group of soldiers stand by the sleeping Emperor Arcadios, who was saved from a shipwreck by the Virgin's intervention. The shipwreck itself is shown below, in the sea, which is crowded with large and small vessels around a sea-monster. Scattered round the monastery are *kellia*, chapels, and gardens.

The top corners are occupied by four small icons of the Virgin Esphagmeni, the Emperor Theodosios and St Sabbas of Chelandari. At the bottom of the picture, in a wide band runs in eight columns an extensive metrical narration of the history of Vatopedi, interrupted in the middle by the calligraphic initials AB of the well-





known Venetian printer Antonio Bortoli.

This is a finely drawn engraving in the western style, based on two earlier engravings printed in Vienna in 1744 and 1767. The work was printed in 1802, ten years after it was engraved, as the original donor, the Hegumen Arsenios, died before paying the fee, which was finally paid by the second donor Prokopios Kartsiotis.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 445. Provatakis 1993, no. 107. Tavlakis 1996 (1), pp. 549-51.

H.I.S.

strong walls with carefully isodomic stonework pierced by gun ports from which cannons project. Higher up are balconies, behind which the buildings inside the monastery can be seen. These include the imposing tower, the katholikon, the Chapel of St Nicholas and the bell tower with its clock, the refectory, the assembly room, and farther back the Chapel of All Saints, the Chapel of St John Chrysostom and the monks' *kellia*. Lower down to the left, above the gate, is a wall-painting of St John the Baptist, to



#### 4.5 The Monastery of Dionysiou 1754 Engraving

Dimensions of copperplate: 49 x 65.5 cm

Preserved in Dionysiou Monastery

Engraved in Venice

Engraver: Unknown

Inscription in the middle of the lower margin  
'in Venice in the year of Our Lord 1754'.

The fortified monastic complex rises above

whom the monastery is dedicated. A road leads down from the gate past the shrine and store to the arsenal, where a large sailing boat is being winched in by a monk. Around the monastery, interspersed among scattered trees, are the rest ancillary buildings: to the left the olive press, the stables, the cemetery, the pavilion and a stylised representation of the garden; and to the right, 'towards the sea, the new house' and above it another stylised garden and the Chapel of the Holy Apostles. The picture is completed



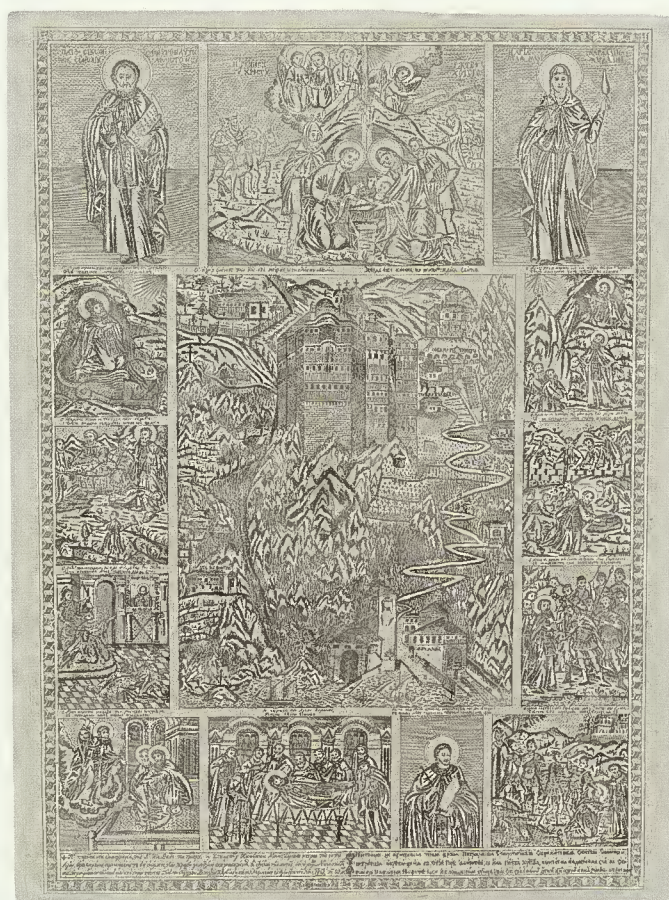
with an icon of St John the Baptist on the left and the title of the work in three languages, Greek, Latin and Slavonic.

The anonymous engraver has taken pains to create a balanced whole distinguished by the meticulous rendering of architectural detail. A new engraving of this subject was produced in 1780, differing only in the dedicatory inscriptions and the decorative border.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 468.

H.I.S.

**Inscriptions:** Lower left in Greek and Slavonic 'This new picture of the holy, venerable, imperial, patriarchal and stauropegial cenobitic Monastery of Simonos Petra on Mount Athos, dedicated to the Nativity of Christ, was commissioned by the monastery during the abbacy of the hieromonk Neophytos, in memory of its blessed benefactor John Ugljea, King of Serbia and all the 'Romanians', on the Holy Mountain of Athos, 20 May 1868.' On the decorative frame, bottom, 'Engraved by the hand of Ioannis Constantinos of Lesvos'.



#### 4.6 The Monastery of Simonopetra 20 May 1868 Engraving

Dimensions of copperplate: 78 x 57.3 cm  
Preserved in Simonopetra Monastery  
Engraved on Mount Athos  
Engraver: Ioannis (Kaldis) of Lesvos

The many-storied monastery dominates the central composition with its bulk, built as it is on top of a huge rock rooted in the sea. Around it are pictured the main features of the mountain landscape surrounding the monastery: the mill, the aquaduct, the coppersmith's workshop, the cemetery, the garden, the shrine, the arsenal, the Kellion of the Theologian, the saint's cave and



St Demetrios. The central composition is crowned by pictures of the founder St Simon, the Nativity of Christ, to which the katholikon is dedicated, and the monastery's second patron saint, Mary Magdalene. The other three sides are decorated with ten scenes from the life of St Simon.

The work is notable for precision of detail in the central representation, while the border scenes, though rather cluttering the whole, are simply drawn and faithfully depict events from the Life of the saint, thus helping the pilgrim to experience the history of the monastery with his own eyes.

This is the second of three engravings of Simonopetra, by the well-known engraver Ioannis Kaldis, to whom 22 engravings are attributed for the period 1858-78. A note in the Simonopetra accounts mentions that the engraving was done on a design by the painter Dionysios. In the following decades the accounts contain many references to successive commissions to Athonite printers for reprinting this engraving, as well as other paper icons, the copperplates of which belonged to the monastery. These records help us to understand the ways in which these engravings were produced and distributed.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1987, pp. 159-69. Papastratos 1990, no. 499. Ioustinos 1991, p. 245-6.

H.I.S.

#### 4.7 St Panteleimon and the Skete of St Panteleimon on Mount Athos Engraving. Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

Dimensions of copperplate: 39.5 x 30 cm  
Preserved in the Skete of St Panteleimon  
Engraved on Mount Athos  
Engraver: Theodosios, monk

Inscription: 'Drawing of the Holy Skete of St Panteleimon of the Monastery of Koutloumousiou on Mount Athos, which commissioned the engraving'. On the border, bottom left in Slavonic: 'Engraved by the monk Theodosios, iconographer, 1810'.

The engraving is divided horizontally into

two zones. In the upper zone St Panteleimon is shown full-length, holding the symbols of his martyrdom and medical art: cross, forceps and medicine chest. Left and right are four scenes from his life: a. 'the saint admonishing the king', b. 'the saint healing a blind man', c. 'the beheading of the saint', d. 'the saint raising a man from the dead'. The lower zone depicts the Skete of St Panteleimon, a dependency of the Monastery of Koutloumousiou, with its *kyriakon*, bell tower, cemetery church and the *kalyvae* of the *skete*. Lower left, in the churchyard of the *kyriakon* and next to the *skete*'s olive press, is represented a holy water rite.

The monk and engraver Theodosios Rossos is known to us through seven of his works, engraved on Mount Athos in the period between 1807 and 1818. He is a painstaking engraver who renders his subjects in a folk style.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 476. Provatakis 1993, no. 138.

H.I.S.







4.8 The Virgin *Axion estin*  
 Coloured engraving  
 Collection of Simonopetra Monastery  
 55 x 42 cm  
 Engraved on Mount Athos  
 Engraver: Unknown

1866

This is an Athonite version of the *Axion estin* icon in the Protaton of Karyes. The Virgin is shown half-length, with her head slightly inclined towards Christ Child, whom she supports with her left hand, while with her other she grasps his right hand, which holds a scroll with the inscription



'The spirit of the Lord God ...' (Isaih 61:1) in two languages. In the upper corners two angels attend the Virgin, holding open scrolls with the beginning of the *Axion estin* hymn, in Greek the one on the right and in Slavonic the other on the left. The border has a floral decoration round the corners. Along the bottom runs the inscription 'Before this Holy Icon the Archangel Gabriel chanted the *Axion estin*', and beneath this the same inscription in Slavonic with the date 1866.

The very fine engraving, with its delicate rendering of the facial features of Christ and the Virgin, the soft chiaroscuro and the detailed decoration of the crowns and the Virgin's mantle all place the unknown creator of this work among the most experienced craftsmen of Karyes.

This is the last dated work of a series of thirteen representations on this theme, the earliest of which is by the well-known painter and engraver Christophoros Zefar (1748). The large number of engravings is due to the fact that *Axion estin* is the palladium-icon of the Protaton in Karyes, and is venerated by almost all pilgrims visiting Mount Athos. The icon itself shows the Virgin in the type of Glykophilousa and bears the inscription 'Mother of God the Kareotissa' (of Karyes), whereas in its painted copies and in engravings the type of the Virgin of Kykkos is used, with the inscription 'Mother of God the Eleousa'.

**Bibliography:** Ioustinos 1982, p. 43. Papastratos 1990, no. 533.

H.I.S.

#### 4.9 St John the Baptist and the Skete of Iviron

19th c., first two decades

Partially coloured engraving

Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

37 x 27.5 cm

Engraved on Mount Athos

Engraver: Unknown

The Baptist is shown full-length and frontal, with large wings. He wears a goatskin and himation, his right hand is raised in a blessing and in his left

he holds a cross and scroll. He stands in a landscape between the *kyriakon* and the *kalyvae* of the Skete of Iviron, which is dedicated to him. The floral decoration of the border is interrupted in the lower left margin, probably to leave space for the engraver's name, which however is not recorded.

In the period 1804-20 at least 16 works were engraved in the Skete of Iviron by the hieromonk Parthenios of Zakynthos, including representations of the Skete of St Anne, the Skete of Kausokalyvia, and the Nea Skete. The similarities between this work and Parthenios' engravings strongly suggest that this engraving is also chased by his hand. Besides he also commissioned another engraving of the Baptist and the Skete of Iviron, which was made in Venice in 1793.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 459.

H.I.S.







**4.10 The Archangel Michael tormenting the soul of the rich man**  
Engraving

Dimensions of copperplate: 57.8 x 41 cm

Preserved in Simonopetra Monastery

Engraved on Mount Athos

Engraver: Euthymios, hierodeacon

Inscription: 'Commissioned by Philotheos, hieromonk:.. by the hand of Euthymios,

1858

hierodeacon:.. 1858:.' The representation is dominated by the Archangel Michael, with wide spread wings. Dressed in rich military attire and with his cloak streaming in the wind, he is poised to pierce with his sword the body of the avaricious rich man, who lies at death's door on a carpet on a tiled floor. The archangel has both feet firmly planted on him, and with his left hand holds the rich man's half-naked soul by the hair. The rich man's head rests on a pillow, above which a small demon holds a full purse and a scroll reading



'Thou art mine, O covetuous one'. A second demon stands between the archangel's legs spearing the rich man with a spear. In the background his family and servants look on in sorrow, and the facade of his luxurious house can be discerned. Above is the title of the work in Greek and Slavonic, and below, along the border, is a quote from the Gospel: 'And there I will store all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, soul, you have ample goods laid up for many years; take your ease, eat, drink and be merry. But God said to him "fool! This night your soul is required of you".'

The engraver, the hierodeacon Euthymios – hieromonk since 1859 – hailed from Mytileni and is known from fourteen of his works (1856-59). He was engraver of Karyes who frequently included elements of folk art in his compositions, that gave his work a personal touch.

At least seven other engravings done on the same iconographic model survive, of which two were chased in the same year (1858) as this one, also by engravers of Karyes, the monk Averkios and Ioannis Kaldis. The several engravings of this theme witness to the popularity it enjoyed among the faithful.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.I.S.

#### 4.11 The Saints of Athos mid-19th c. Engraving Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

**Dimensions:** 55.5 x 42 cm

**Engraved on Mount Athos**

**Engraver:** Unknown

A group of ten full-length saints are represented in the foreground, with St Sabbas in the middle as high priest. Behind them, in the second row, the central position is occupied by St Peter the Athonite, and a host of unnamed and scarcely visible saints brings up the rear. The saints are represented either frontal or facing towards the centre. Above them the Virgin, holding the Child, stands in a radiant glory on the summit of Mount Athos, interceding for the fathers of the Holy Mountain, which, as the scroll in her right hand

says, is her clergy: 'Son of God the Father, hear your mother's prayer for her Clergy'. On each side of the Virgin are two angels on clouds, holding open scrolls. The work is titled 'The Ascetic Saints of Mount Athos', in Greek at the top and Slavonic at the bottom. This is a meticulous chasing of a new iconographic type, which draws its elements on the Synaxis of the twelve apostles for the depiction of the Athonite fathers, and on the Transfiguration for the representation of the



Virgin. At the urging of the General Assembly of Mount Athos, around 1800, St Nikodemos the Athonite (1749-1809) composed the first common service for the saints of Athos, along with a fine encomium. At the same time a church in Karyes was dedicated to these saints and an icon was placed on the iconostasis of the Protaton in their honour. Nikodemos' service and encomium were published in Ermoupolis on the island of Syros in 1847, together with a folded lithograph of the saints that was used as the model for this engraving.

**Bibliography:** Davidov 1990, no. 68.

H.I.S.





#### 4.12 St Marina

Obverse of a double-sided  
engraved copperplate  
Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

35 x 24 cm

Engraved on Mount Athos

Engraver: Euthymios, hierodeacon

Inscriptions: Centred, upper border: 'X(E)IP E(Y)Θ(Y)MIOY I(E)P(O)Δ(IA)K(ON)OY' (By the hand of Euthymios, hierodeacon), and lower border: 1858.

St Marina firmly grasps an anthropomorphic monster by the hair, while her raised right hand holds a hammer with which she is preparing to strike the demon. The creature's terrible visage is shown from the side, with its great pointed tongue sticking out from among its razor-sharp teeth. It has horns, wings on its shoulders and

1858



talons for hands and feet, while its distorted limbs are strangely supplied with eyes. Behind the saint is an imposing stone building representing her prison, and from the top left corner of the picture the hand of God is extended in blessing.

Although the saint is shown in a realistic stance, with her body slightly bent and her robe fluttering in the wind, her serene, almost smiling face is inappropriate to the dramatic nature of the scene.

St Marina lived in the third century, was imprisoned young and then martyred for her faith. According to her Life, the episode depicted here occurred when a ferocious ogre entered her prison cell. God armed her with a hammer with which she slew the beast.

The subject occurs in two more works which follow the iconography of this engraving.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.I.S.





#### 4.13 St George

1858 (?)

Reverse of a double-sided

engraved copperplate

Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

35 x 24 cm

Engraved on Mount Athos

Engraver: Euthymios, hierodeacon

St George, mounted and wearing armour and a flowing cloak, is spearing a winged dragon lying on the ground. His steed, richly accoutred and with its tail tied in a knot, is galloping to the right. The saint seems calm, in contrast to the frightened eyes of his mount and the terrible appearance of the dragon. On the horse's rump sits a small slave with a wine jar, and on the right stands a princess in front of a palace, on the balcony of which is the king with the keys of the city, and behind him the queen. At the top of the icon the hand of God



appears in a semicircular glory.

The scene is based on the tradition that the saint saved the daughter of the pagan King Selvius from a dragon that would demand a human sacrifice to allow the people of the nearby city to draw water from the lake or spring it guarded. So grateful was the king that he and all the townsfolk converted to Christianity. The slave on the horse's rump comes from another tradition, that St George freed him at the moment when he was serving his Turkish master wine.

The work can be attributed to the Athonite craftsman Euthymios, since it is engraved on the reverse of the St Marina copperplate (paper icon no. 4.12) and shares with the latter the same technique and decoration. Of the 20 or so extant paper icons of St George, half show iconographic affinities to Euthymios' engraving.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.I.S.



#### 4.14 St Konstantinos of Hydra

27 July 1829

Engraved copperplate

Collection of Simonopetra Monastery

48.8 x 36.7 cm

Engraved in Hydra

Engraver: Agathangelos Triantaphyllou of Serres, hierodeacon

Inscription: 'This icon was commissioned by the most pious Gerasimos of Hydra: 1829 July: 27 in Hydra, engraved by the hand of Agathangelos of Serres, hierodeacon'.

The neomartyr, dressed in ecclesiastical vestments, stands full-length in the centre of the icon, holding a palm branch in his left hand and the martyr's cross in his right. Behind him the densely populated town of Hydra climbs up two hills. The large church at lower left with the tall bell tower is the Monastery of the Virgin, the present cathedral, and the monastery of Prophet Elijah can be seen high up on the mountain. On the sea are rowing boats and ships under full sail.



In the heavens, on the left among clouds, Christ, with a closed book in his hand, blesses the saint, while on the right an angel places the martyr's crown on Constantine's head. Between the two iconographic figures is the inscription: '[Icon] of the holy and glorious new martyr Constantine of the famous island of Hydra, who suffered death for Christ's sake on the island of Rhodes. Printed for the benefit of Orthodox Christians.'

The neomartyr Constantine was born on Hydra in the eighteenth century and at the age of eight went to Rhodes, where he became a Muslim. He later reverted to the Orthodox faith and became a monk in the Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos. He returned to Rhodes to preach the Word of God, and the Turkish authorities imprisoned him for apostasy. He was hanged on 14 November 1800.

This is a fine engraving in a folk style by the hierodeacon Agathangelos Triantaphyllou from Nigrita near the town of Serres, who later taught engraving at the School of Art (Polytechnic) at Athens (1843-56). Although his five known works include none specifically mentioned as being





done on Mount Athos, the time he spent there, before 1826, as a monk and engraver is clearly responsible for the purely Athonite style of the icon. The much simpler work engraved in a folk style in 1877 on Hydra by the hieromonk Gabriel of Skopelos is based on the same iconography.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 277.

H.I.S.

#### 4.15 St John the Baptist

16th c.

Woodcut block

Collection of Dionysiou Monastery

34 x 25 x 2 cm

Carved on Mount Athos

Woodcarver: Unknown

St John the Baptist is shown frontally and full-length, with large wings, clothed in a goatskin and himation. In his left hand he holds a staff surmounted by a cross and a scroll with the inscription 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Matthew 3:2). At the bottom of the icon can be seen the Baptist's head in a deep dish and a tree with an axe between its branches. At the top left and right of the saint's head is the inscription 'St John the Prodrome'.

The balanced and spare composition and sure draughtsmanship reveal the hand of an experienced craftsman. This woodcut is closely associated with the Monastery of Dionysiou, where the wooden block is kept, as the monastery is dedicated to the Forerunner. It dates to the sixteenth century, a time of prolific artistic activity in the monastery, when the katholikon and the refectory were decorated with frescoes.

This work, together with the unpublished woodcuts from the Great Lavra (late 15th c.?) and Chelandari (16th c.), is one of the oldest surviving woodcuts on Mount Athos. Compared to the extant woodcuts of Sinai (1655 and later), the Athonite woodcuts are not only of superior quality but also older, a fact that pushes back the earliest production of Orthodox paper icons to the end of the fifteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 269. Tavlakis 1996 (1), p. 671.

H.I.S.









## 5 ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

### *The Art of Illuminated Manuscripts on Mount Athos*

**D**espite the terrible losses of manuscripts suffered down the centuries, no other place on earth offers such a full and continuous record of the art of manuscript illumination as do the libraries on Mount Athos. Their importance to Orthodoxy and Western civilization is immense; they display the splendour of Mount Athos, the diversity of Christian thought and the evolution of Byzantine art. There is evidence of bibliographical activity on Mount Athos from the earliest days of its foundation. The manuscripts which have at various times been illuminated on Athos have an eclectic character, bearing as they do connections with the art of Constantinople as well as more ancient traditions. After the year 1300 the influence of the monumental art of Athos and Thessaloniki is evident. Numerous manuscripts, however, came to Mount Athos as donations of the faithful: the precious gifts of lords and emperors, the offerings of humble monks, priests and patriarchs who withdrew to the Mountain at various times, and also of devout pilgrims. This legacy has been piously preserved in the monasteries, *sketae* and *kellia*.

Immediately after the defeat of Iconoclasm a special edition of the psalter was brought out in Constantinople illuminated with miniatures in the margins (probably AD 843-7 or 857-65). The finest and richest copy of this edition is to be found at the Monastery of Pantokrator (Cod. 61). The miniatures depict scenes relating to the Iconoclastic controversy or display the correspondence between the Old and the New Testament. The representations stand out for the expressiveness of the figures, the dramatic compositions and their directness, a quality which was not to recur in Byzantine art.

Another luxurious edition of a psalter with full-page miniatures, a Constantinopolitan creation, is the eleventh-century Cod. 3 of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington (formerly Pantokrator Cod. 49). This stands out for its personifications, such as those of Night and the Dawn in the Prayer of Isaiah, which clearly preserved the classical style which had prevailed in Constantinople in the tenth century, during the Macedonian Renaissance. One of the most important examples of the classical revival in the art of the tenth century is the Four Gospels (*Tetraevangelon*) of the Monastery of Stavronikita (Cod. 43). The portraits of the Evangelists are copies of types which had been created at the beginning of the fourth century and which were derived from statues of ancient philosophers and dramatists placed at the *proscenia* of Roman theatres (see also Philotheou Cod. 33). This discovery is the result of one of the most exciting 'detective-style' investigations in the history of Byzantine art. There are also other types, such as the marvellous standing figures of the Evangelists in Cod. 1387 (247μ) of the Monastery of Iviron, from about the year 950. In the Four Gospels of the Monastery of Stavronikita, in the decoration of the canon tables, there appears a type of ornament which



was to become firmly established in Byzantine art. This type of rich illumination in general, in contrast with the simple decoration of the manuscripts produced on the Holy Mountain in the early years after its foundation, is an integral part of the Byzantine manuscript, rivalling the works fashioned in enamel or gold.

The rendering of the human form in the classical style, typical of the works of the Macedonian era, fades in the following centuries. Dematerialised faces prevail, markedly spiritual in expression, particularly in works of the eleventh century. The influence of the liturgy is profound, particularly on liturgical manuscripts, above all those of the Lectionary (*Evangelistarion* or *Evangelion*), the book which contains the daily Gospel readings appointed for the immovable and movable feasts of the Church, set out in accordance with the ecclesiastical calendar. The most important lectionaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries, sumptuous manuscripts, have been preserved on Athos. The following are worthy of mention here: Dionysiou Cod. 547μ, a lectionary of the third quarter of the eleventh century, the product of an imperial monastery in Constantinople, whose miniatures are true masterpieces; behind the clothing, which preserves the richness of tenth-century classical art, there are ascetic figures, which move in icon-like settings and express states of mind which were to occur two hundred years later in the work of Giotto; Iviron Cod. 1, with its monumental compositions; Panteleimon Cod. 2, one of the most important Athonite codices, with its liturgical peculiarities and artistic echoes of centres far removed from the capital; and the lectionary in the sacristy of the Great Lavra, which tradition associates with the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas, a friend of St Athanasios the Athonite. The three full-page miniatures of this manuscript are superb products of an imperial workshop (ca. 1120-30), with a dazzling wealth of ornamentation. The Nativity is one of the most beautiful examples of illumination of the Gospel lections for the eve and feast-day of Christmas.

The dematerialisation and ornamental tendency which mark the eleventh and twelfth centuries are also evident in other liturgical manuscripts of the period. In the menologia the Lives of the saints are usually short and illuminated with a portrait of the saint or a scene from his martyrdom (e.g. Docheiariou Cod. 5). Codex K122 of the Great Lavra, though not a menologion, contains the Life and testament of St Athanasios the Athonite, and has a full-page portrait of him, executed in watercolour on the Holy Mountain in the middle of the eleventh century. It is a spiritual image of the saint, which served as a model for subsequent portraits of him in manuscripts, icons and wall-paintings. Also unique is Cod. 14 of the Monastery of Esphigmenou, with its detailed illumination of the Lives of eight saints and one homily on the Nativity, whose miniatures evoke pastoral scenes and the world of Greek mythology. The same world is evoked by two of the most important copies of the liturgical edition of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (the sixteen homilies of his which are read out in church) which date from the same period (Dionysiou Cod. 61 and Panteleimon Cod. 6).

Apart from the patristic and liturgical texts, however, which make up the majority, there are other illustrated texts from the Byzantine era, such as the *De materia medica* (The Materials of Medicine), a botanical treatise by Dioscurides, a botanist of the first century AD, which has survived in many copies. The illumination of Cod. Ω75 of the Great Lavra, one of the most notable manuscripts on Mount Athos (11th-12th c.), follows an ancient tradition which in the tenth century was enriched with scenes of a classical character. Thus the realistic pictures of the plants acquired a human interest.

The last phase of Byzantium is also represented by works of unique value. Of the five copies of the Octateuch (the first eight books of the Old Testament) which have survived in the whole world, the thirteenth-century copy of Vatopedi Monastery is the most faithful rendering of an



ancient prototype which is now lost. The cinematographic presentation of the events and the role of colour in the composition are characteristic features of this manuscript, which was probably produced in Constantinople. In contrast with the narrative character of the Octateuch, the Book of Job, which was dearly loved by the faithful, has a contemplative character and its illumination is confined to scenes of discourses. The Great Lavra copy (Cod. B.100) stands out for its expressionistic style. In the thirteenth century extensive iconographic cycles may also be observed in the four Gospels (e.g. Iviron Cod. 5).

As early as the late twelfth century iconographic and stylistic changes begin to appear in the four Gospels and lectionaries. An important one is the revival of an old tradition according to which the Evangelist is accompanied either by a personification of Inspiration, his amanuensis or his symbol (e.g. Pantokrator Cod. 234 and Koutloumousiou Cod. 61). This representation was to continue in use later (e.g. Chelandari Cod. 13μ and Koutloumousiou Cod. 283, from before 1362, and Koutloumousiou Cod. 291 from the year 1576) and would become thematically linked with monumental art. Stylistically, however, the works from the last phase of Byzantium display an emotional agitation. For example, the Evangelists in Iviron Cod. 5, Philotheou Cod. 5 and Pantokrator Cod. 47 are bursting with a barely restrainable explosive energy. The spirit cannot be contained within earthly bodies. The conflict between body and spirit expresses man's restless desire to encounter God.

Amongst the books of an edifying character, such as *The Heavenly Ladder of John Klimax*, is the *Romance of Barlaam and Ioasaph*. Of the copies still in existence, the thirteenth-century Cod. 463 of Iviron Monastery is the earliest and the most richly illuminated. The artistic ingenuity of the composition and the liveliness of the narration give this work a special place in the history of Byzantine art.

In post-Byzantine times manuscripts, particularly of the liturgy, were produced in large quantities on Mount Athos. They impress by the wealth of their decoration and reveal artistic currents emanating from different areas of the Orthodox world, chiefly the Danubian principalities and Russia.

The cycle of copying and reading in which the monks were engaged was considerable. The reading of books, however, was also possible through their illuminations; the illustrations drew their substance from the inner life of the monks and through them this life was raised to a plane of spiritual contemplation which gradually led to union with the Divine. The manuscripts of Mount Athos give us a full picture of the spiritual role of illumination. The human form remains the main means of expression, created by the artist either by drawing on the legacy of Hellenism or through a process of dematerialisation or transcendence – an endeavour to express in paint the sanctification and deification of man, which will eventually bring about the transformation of the universe and the return of the lost paradise. Seen in this light, like Orthodoxy itself, the illuminated manuscripts of Mount Athos know no geographical bounds.

George Galavaris

**Bibliography:** Weitzmann 1935, 1. Thesauri 1973. Thesauri 1975. Galavaris 1978, pp. 91-103. Thesauri 1979. Kadas 1983, pp. 54-67. Thesauri 1991. Galavaris 1995 (1), pp. 91-103. Galavaris 1995 (2). Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1996, pp. 211-27. Weitzmann 1996, 2.



## 5.1 Psalter

Pantokrator Cod. 61

Parchment, 16.5 x 14.5 cm, ff. 226

9th c.

This manuscript is one of the best known and thoroughly studied codices of the Byzantine age. Its rich illumination, which dates to the iconoclast period, is of the greatest iconographic and stylistic interest. The manuscript contains the 150 Psalms of David and the nine Odes, but there are omissions, lacunae and reversals in the order of the text. It

in the composition of iconographical subjects. One of the scenes depicts the Synod of 815 with the Emperor Leo V and the Patriarch Theodotos. The Patriarch Nikephoros, who did not participate in the Synod, is shown outside the representation of the Synod.

The illumination belongs to the original ninth-century text, as can be seen from the majuscule inscriptions by the miniatures, from the later minuscule script covering certain figures (e.g. fol. 206, Myriam, Moses and Israel, and fol. 138r,



*The Arrest of David and Christ; Christ and Judaeans.*

is a palimpsest, with the present minuscule script written over an erased majuscule ninth century script. The original majuscule script has been retained from folio 206 on, in the titles of the Psalms and the miniature inscriptions. Only the back cover of the binding, consisting of a wooden board, has survived.

The codex contains ninety-seven miniatures, all done in the margins, depicting scenes from the Life of Christ, the Virgin and many saints, as well as events from the Old and New Testament and Church history. Many of the miniatures are in poor condition, but the better preserved ones enable us to evaluate the manuscript both stylistically and from the point of view of freedom

the Vision of St Eustathios) as well as from the miniatures related to original text (e.g. fol. 222r, the Three youths in the fiery furnace). The smallness of the figures did not permit a more detailed treatment. The artist chose a limited palette, and although they are simply sketched, their foreshortened bodies express movement and intense emotion, especially in the eyes.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 177 and passim. Lambros 1895, p. 99. Tikkanen 1895, p. 11 and passim. Weitzmann 1935, 1, p. 24 and passim. Dufrenne 1966, pp. 13-37. Huber 1969, pp. 148-66 and passim. Illuminated Manuscripts 1973, cat. 1, p. 54. Thesauri 1979, pp. 265-80 (with earlier bibliography), figs. 180-237. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 19, 215-6, 239, figs. 11-14.

Ch.M.-T.





5.2 detail.



**5.2 Four Gospels**  
**Dionysiou Cod. 588**  
Parchment, 23 x 18 cm, ff. 285

late 10th c.

This codex is illuminated with the full-page portraits of the four Evangelists: Matthew (fol. 14v), Mark (fol. 89v), Luke (fol. 139v) and John with Prochoros (fol. 225v). In the art of these miniatures the faces possess a plastic quality, a feature which became prominent since the mid-tenth century, while the draperies are somewhat geometric in form, which shows the gradual departure from classical prototypes. The manuscript is also illuminated with eight other full-page ornaments, which frame the canon tables (fols. 3v-7r), and sumptuous rectangular and band-shaped headpieces, together with an initial letter at the beginning of each of the four Gospels; the four-lobed opening within the headpiece of Matthew's Gospel (fol. 15r) and the open book in the same position

in that for John's Gospel (with the titles of the Gospels) show the artist's inventiveness. The text of the manuscript is written in reddish-brown miniscule script, with many titles in gold majuscule.

The overall quality of the manuscript and the representation of John with Prochoros, which first appears at about this time in Constantinople, together with the adornments in the headpieces (rosettes, undulating rinceau, and a geometrical approach in the design) indicate that the work comes from the capital of Byzantium. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with silver gilt sheets bearing representations of the Crucifixion on the front and the Anastasis on the back. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Euthymios 1957, p. 234. Thesauror 1973, pp. 447-8, figs. 278-89. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 225-6, figs. 57-9. Weitzmann 1996, 2, pp. 9, 85-6, figs. 278-89.

S.N.K.



*John the Evangelist with Prochoros and the opening page of his Gospel.*





*St Gregory the Theologian with the donor.*

### 5.3 The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian 11th-12th c.

Dionysiou Cod. 61

Parchment, 21 x 15.5 cm, ff. 180

This codex is considered to be one of the most beautiful manuscripts of the 'Homilies' of Gregory of Nazianzus (the Theologian), which are numerous. It is illuminated with fourteen miniatures, one



of which, at the beginning, is a full-page dedicatory portrait of its owner, a young nobleman or official receiving the codex from St Gregory, who is dressed in episcopal vestments (fol. 1v); in this miniature the flat decorative bodies of the figures are combined with vivid expressive faces, a synthesis which is unique in this type of manuscript. All the other miniatures are headpieces, i.e. they are placed, like headpieces, at the head of the text of each homily, from which derives the subject they represent. There are also initials with flora decoration and iconographical elements (human figures, animals, birds) related to the text, while some iconographical themes extend into the margin; an example of this is the small, rare representation of an artist painting the portrait of a saint, which lends the codex especial value. It contains, in an extremely small and well-executed script, the sixteen liturgical homilies of Gregory the Theologian, the last of which lacks its ending. In addition, the texts are acephalous on folios 92r, 116r and 159r, which means that three more miniatures are missing, as it is very likely that there were originally occupying the head of each respective homily. The overall quality of the manuscript, the fine colours of the miniatures and certain other iconographical features lead us to the conclusion that it was executed in Constantinople. The binding is of later date and consists of green leather on the spine and black cloth on the covers, without decoration. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 323. Lazarev 1967, p. 252 n. 35. Galavaris 1969, pp. 205-7, figs. 355-76. Thesouroi 1973, pp. 415-18, figs. 104-17. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 118-21, 123, 245, fig. 77. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 26, 238, figs. 122-3.

S.N.K.

#### 5.4 Four Gospels

11th c.

Ivion Cod. 56

Parchment, 20 x 15 cm, ff. 226

This codex contains representations of the four Evangelists in the order in which they normally appear in the four Gospels – Matthew (fol. 10v), Mark (between fols. 58-9), Luke (fol.



*Mark the Evangelist.*

90v) and John (between fols. 142-3) – as well as one of the Crucifixion (fol. 11v). The Evangelists are depicted seated, each in a different posture. All five representations are enclosed by a simple rectangular frame formed by a broad line with tiny ornaments at the corners (eyelets). The manuscript is also adorned with five headpieces, four of which are rectangular in shape and the fifth in the form of a band, and initials with flora decoration. It contains the four Gospels with the canon tables of Eusebios at the beginning, followed by various texts about the Evangelists, apostles, etc., the last of which is acephalous, while the Revelation of St John is inserted on folio 194r; all of the texts are in miniscule script. The binding is of later date and consists of cardboard covered with brown leather. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 6. Xyngopoulos 1932, p. 11, pls. 73-5. Aland 1963, p. 114. Lazarev 1967, p. 250 n. 35. Thesouroi 1975, p. 306, figs. 49-52.

S.N.K.



### 5.5 The Homilies of Gregory the Theologian Late 11th c.

Panteleimon Cod. 6

Parchment, 24.5 x 19.5 cm, ff. 294

This codex from St Panteleimon Monastery is one of the most important manuscripts of Gregory's Homilies and belongs to the same family as the similar manuscript in Jerusalem, Taphou 14. Its numerous miniatures are related to the text and are either in the form of headpieces, set within broad richly decorated frames, or marginal, where they usually occupy the length of a whole text column; some are smaller and appear at other points, either in the margins or within the text. Most of them are in perfect condition, while a few are incomplete or badly effaced (fols. 123r, 132r, 155v, 242v). The eleven pastoral and mythological scenes, in the Homily for the New Sunday, are extremely impressive, just as they are in other manuscripts of this group. The manuscript's decoration also includes many other headpieces and initials at the beginning of the homilies with flora motifs and various other representations, which show that the artist considered the text to be of great importance. Within its 294 folios, the codex contains the sixteen liturgical homilies of St Gregory the Theologian in miniscule script with red-gold titles; the last homily terminates just before the end. The carefully executed script, the richness of the decoration and the manuscript's exceptional quality in general suggest that this is the product of a Constantinopolitan scriptorium. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with brown leather decorated with pressed geometric ornaments. The codex is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 282. Weitzmann 1951, pp. 11, 13, 156, figs. 22, 38-9, 45, 58, 66, 68, 81, 83, 87, 93-4. Lazarev 1967, pp. 213, 261 n. 133, p. 349 n. 198. Huber 1969, pp. 123, 255-63, figs. 116-27. Galavaris 1969, pp. 13ff., 23, 45, 102, 126, 149, 180, 194, 209-12, figs. 137-77, 179-80. Weitzmann 1970<sup>2</sup>, pp. 146ff., 199, figs. 135-6, 142-3. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1972, p. 99. Thesauri 1975, pp. 354-61, figs. 296-322. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 26, 236-7, figs. 113-16.

S.N.K.

*Tantalus serving to the gods Pelops' limbs;  
worship of Egyptian gods.*





## 5.6 Psalter

1088

Vatopedi Cod. 761

Parchment and paper, 12 x 9.5 cm, ff. 236

In addition to the Psalter, this codex contains nine Odes, Prayers and the Easter tables. Six paper pages have been added after folio 230, with four pictures and a text with prayers. The single-column text, of twenty lines, is written in minuscule script with gold titles. The later, red leather binding has stamped portrayals of the Prophet David on the front and the Mother and Child on the back.

The notes in the manuscript (fols. 1v, 2v, 231r) are of later date. On folio 2v there is an allusion to the Emperor Constantine Monomachos (1042-55). The Psalter's principal, original illumination includes selected scenes from the Life of David, such as David playing the lyre while watching his flock (fol. 11r), David and the lion (fol. 11v), David being anointed king (fol. 12r), David and Goliath (fol. 12v), David beheading Goliath (fol. 13r), David returning victorious to Jerusalem (fol. 13v), the Coronation of David (fol. 14r) and David among the Psalmists (fol. 14v). There is also a representation of the Crossing

of the Red Sea, which illustrates the relevant text from Exodus (fol. 206v). The decoration is completed with headpieces and initials.

The pictures in the paper section are unframed, lack a background and are executed in a folk style. They portray the Virgin and Child between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (fol. 231v), John Chrysostom with Proclus (fol. 232r), Sts Gregory Palamas, Demetrios and David of Thessaloniki (fol. 232v) and the martyrdom of St Demetrios (fol. 233r).

The parchment section of the manuscript can be dated to 1088 from the Easter table, a date that accords with the style of execution of the figures. The colours are rich and bright, and the gold background brilliant, but the miniatures lack the inspiration that would ascribe them to a first-rate workshop or artist. Rather they are fine and careful work by a provincial workshop.

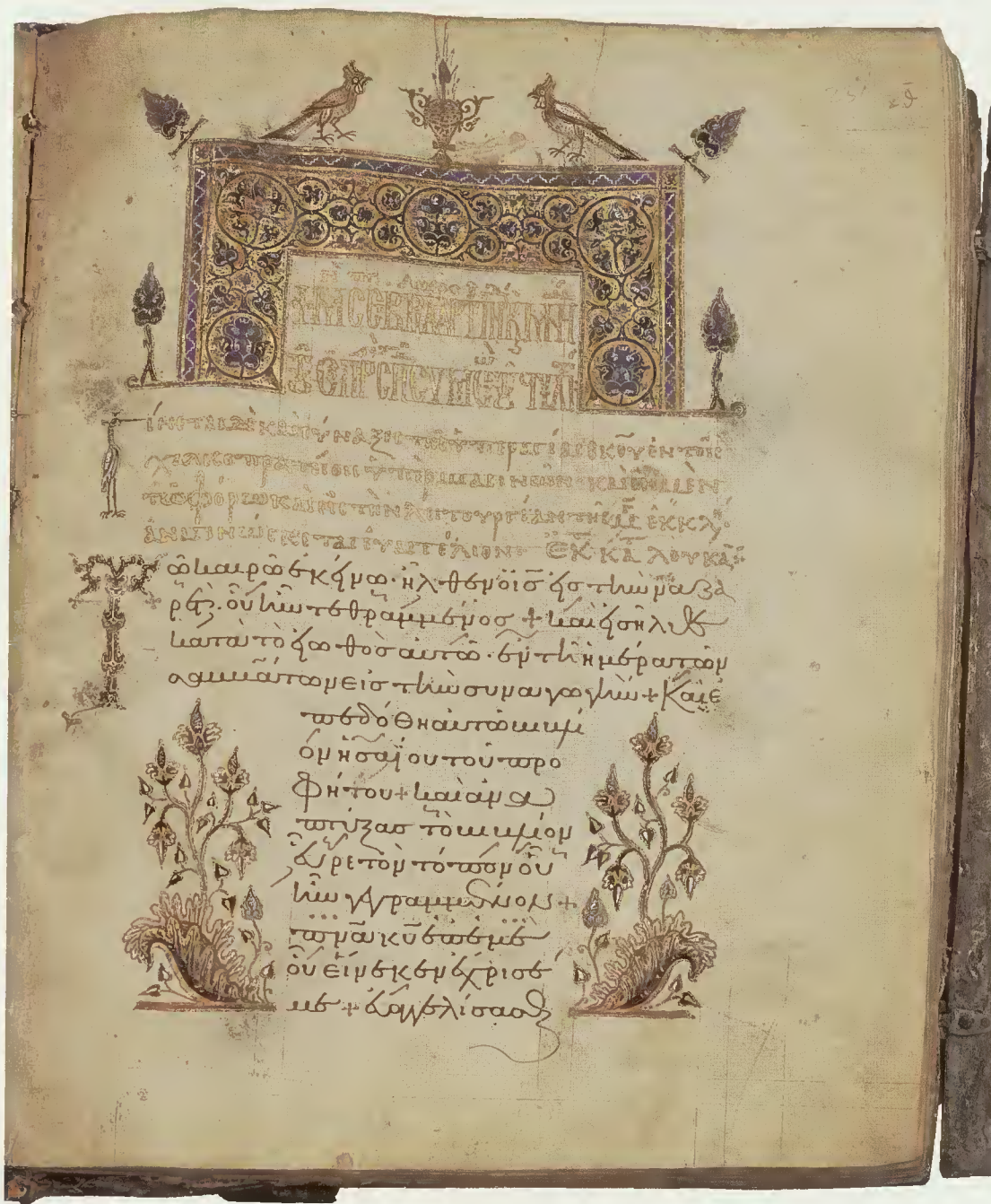
**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 174 and passim. Tikkanen 1895, p. 128 and passim. Eustratiadès - Arcadios 1924, p. 150. Weitzmann 1947, pp. 21ff. Weitzmann 1970<sup>2</sup>, pp. 179-80. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1974 (1), pp. 105-11. Cutler 1984, pp. 26-9. Thesauri 1991, p. 292 (with earlier bibliography), figs. 205-13. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 26, 232-3, pls. 94-7.

Ch.M.-T.



*David returning victorious to Jerusalem;  
the Coronation of David.*





Opening page of a menologion Gospel.

5.7 Lectionary late 11th-early 12th c.  
Iviron Cod. 1404  
Parchment, 32 x 25 cm, ff. 333

In terms of illumination, this manuscript contains only decoration, which appears on every leaf and includes Π-shaped or band-shaped

headpieces surmounted by lovely ornaments of fountains and birds, and diverse floral designs between the arms of the cross formed by the text. It contains the Gospel lections for the year in a carefully executed script, with the text laid out in the shape of a cross. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with silver gilt



sheets and metal mesh on the spine. On the covers there are representations of the Crucifixion, the Anastasis (Descent into Hell), the four Evangelists and Sts George, Demetrios, and Theodore Teron. The manuscript is in very good condition.

**Bibliography:** Thesauri 1975, p. 347, figs. 268-71. Kadas 1983, p. 55 n. 3, pl. 1a (with the indication n.n. [not numbered]).

S.N.K.

## 5.8 Lectionary

Protaton Cod. 11

Parchment, 33.5 x 24 cm, ff. 281

12th c.

This manuscript, which dates from the twelfth century, contains two full-page miniatures depicting the Evangelists in pairs: John with Matthew (fol. 1v) and Luke with Mark (fol. 165v). They are all portrayed seated in front of tall buildings with their bodies turned towards the centre of the composition, where their lecterns stand, each in a different posture. The illumination of this lectionary is particularly interesting for the stylistic rendering of the figures, while the portrayal of the Evangelists in pairs occurs in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, not only in manuscripts but also in monumental painting. The codex is also adorned with red headpieces of simple shape and numerous initials decorated with floral motifs.



*Luke and Mark the Evangelists.*



It contains the Gospel lections for the year laid out in two columns of text written in a carefully executed reddish-brown script with titles inscribed in gold. The binding consists of wood covered in brown leather bearing simple geometric figures. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 3. Lazarev 1967, p. 252 n. 51. Thesauror 1973, p. 389, figs. 1-4.

S.N.K

recent cover with silver gilt sheets carrying relief representations of the Crucifixion on the front and the Annunciation on the back.

The manuscript's ornamentation includes arches framing the Gospel canon tables, miniatures of the four Evangelists with their symbols, the other apostles and various saints. One of the miniatures depicts Michael Psellos with the Emperor Michael Dukas, illustrating Psellos's



*Mark the Evangelist with the personification of Inspiration.*

## 5.9 New Testament, Homilies, Miscellaneous

Pantokrator Cod. 234

Parchment, 16.5 x 15 cm, ff. 547

12th c.

This manuscript is known on Mount Athos as the Kalyvitis Gospel. It contains the entire New Testament and many other texts, such as apostolic decrees, various homilies (e.g. by Maximus the Confessor, Germanos of Constantinople, John of Damascus) and Novels of emperors, among them that of the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos. The binding consists of wooden boards covered with black leather, which shows in the spine below the more

text 'To Michael Dukas and on the meaning of faith' (fol. 254r). The miniatures are placed within the text on a gold background, either in an almost square frame or in a rectangular one stretching across the full width of the text. Although small, the figures are lively and expressive. This manuscript is typical of the twelfth century.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, pp. 175-6 and passim. Lambros 1895, p. 112. Aland 1963, p. 135. Lazarev 1967, p. 252 n. 51. Huber 1969, p. 78. Illuminated Manuscripts 1973, cat. 22, p. 106. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1974 (2), p. 375 n. 3. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 115, 230-2. Thesauror 1979, pp. 283-7, figs. 242-57. Galavaris 1979, pp. 63ff. Galavaris 1995 (1), pp. 96-7, fig. 9. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 27, 247, figs. 160-1.

Ch.M.-T.



**5.10 Olympiodoros' *Protheoria***  
 12th-13th c.  
 (Commentary on the Book of Job)  
 Vatopedi Cod. 590  
 Parchment, 28.5 x 20.5 cm, ff. 168

This manuscript contains the text of Job and its commentary by Olympiodoros, a deacon of

The order of the miniatures follows the text.

A limited palette is employed, with bright red predominating. The technique is simplified, without any colour gradation, especially in the costumes, which are rendered only with lines and large areas of colour. The faces are portrayed with the same simple technique. The figures are rather squat, but lively and full of expression.



*The devil resting; Job talking to God.*

Alexandria. The single column text is written in minuscule script with titles inscribed in red. The manuscript is in good condition; its binding, of later date, is leather, with pressed ornaments on both back and front.

The text includes forty-two unframed miniatures, many of them in poor condition. Selected scenes from the trials of Job, as God tested his faith, are illustrated in a narrative way. Job kept the faith, and God rewarded him with double the possessions he had originally owned.

The manuscript is interesting because it represents a provincial art that is aware of the achievements of its age, but lacks the prerequisites for the creation of a high quality work. The proportions of the figures and the rendering of the faces place the work between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

**Bibliography:** Eustratiadès - Arcadios 1924, p. 116. Papadaki-Oekland 1985-6, pp. 17-38. Huber 1986, pp. 242-9. Thesauri 1991, pp. 249-51, figs. 29-46.

Ch.M.-T.



### 5.11 Four Gospels

Dionysiou Cod. 4

13th c.

Parchment, 26 x 18 cm, ff. 36

This codex contains six full-page miniatures, which depict the following: Moses receiving the Law (fol. 4v), Hosioi Ammonios and Eusebios (fol. 5r), and the four Evangelists: Matthew (fol. 14v), Mark (fol. 112v), Luke (fol. 177v) and John (fol. 278v). The Evangelists are portrayed seated before their Gospels: Matthew is writing, Mark is thinking, Luke is dipping his pen into his ink-well, while John is bent over, listening in amazement to the voice from the semicircle of heaven. The codex is also decorated with twelve full-page ornaments at the beginning – two with Eusebios' letter and ten with the canon tables – as well as elaborate rectangular headpieces with rich fauna and flora decoration, and initials at the beginning of each Gospel; the figures of the Evangelists in the four initials, with the clothing wrapped tightly around the bodies, show the aesthetics of the art of this period and may derive from similar full-

page representations. The full-page Evangelist miniatures and the headpieces are set within classicizing frames, while the forms of flora decoration also hark to the past: foliate branches with calyxes and flower petals form eight-shaped designs. All these demonstrate the role of the ornament in the manuscripts of the Palaeologan art of this period and lend a decorative character to the composition. The codex contains the text of the four Gospels in sequence, written in a carefully executed miniscule script, with gold letters in the titles. The use of gold, the richness of the decoration of the canon tables and the headpieces, and the overall care taken in the technical execution of this manuscript are, as a rule, characteristics of the scriptoria of Constantinople. The binding is of wood with a badly worn silk cover. In other respects, the manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, pp. 185, 188, 222, 232, 289. Lambros 1895, p. 319. Hamann-MacLean 1967, pp. 233-4, pl. 23. Lazarev 1967, p. 193. Thesauri 1973, pp. 393-6, figs. 14-27. Gratziou 1982, p. 84 n. 179, p. 88 n. 197. Galavaris 1995 (2), p. 252, fig. 181. S.N.K.



Matthew the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.





*Mark the Evangelist.*

### 5.12 Four Gospels Dionysiou Cod. 38

12th c., 2nd half

Parchment, 14 x 10 cm, ff. 384

This manuscript with the four Gospels contains full-page miniatures with the four portraits of the Evangelists: Matthew (fol. 21v), Mark (fol. 126v), Luke (fol. 194v) and John (fol. 304v), seated in different postures against a plain gold background. It is one of the most typical manuscripts of the period, in which the illumination is combined with the so-called 'dynamic' style of monumental painting, which expressed a high spirituality and led to the strong emotions and dramatic intensity of the art of the following centuries. The influence of the

monumental painting of the late twelfth century is apparent in the 'manneristic' rendering of the draperies, which expresses both dynamism and inner restlessness. The codex also contains decorated full-page canon tables at the beginning and a rectangular headpiece with the corresponding initial letter at the head of each Gospel. It comprises the text of the four Gospels written in a reddish-brown minuscule script, with the titles and Eusebios' letter to Karpianos in red ink. The binding is of wood covered with a badly worn pink silk fabric. The codex is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 321. Lazarev 1967, p. 252 n. 51. Thesauroi 1973, pp. 411-2, figs. 88-95. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 28, 248, fig. 164.

S.N.K.



### 5.13 Four Gospels Xeropotamou Cod. 115

13th c.

Parchment, 27 x 20.5 cm, ff. 552

Of the portraits of the four Evangelists which usually adorn the four Gospels, this manuscript lacks that of Matthew at the beginning, whilst it



*Luke the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.*

preserves those of Mark (fol. 162v), Luke (fol. 260v) and John (fol. 419v); the portrait of Matthew appears to have been cut out at a later date together with the chapter table of his Gospel. The Evangelists are portrayed seated on cushioned seats, the first two in the scribal pose and the third in the contemplative one; the rendering of the Evangelists represents thirteenth-century illumination of a high artistic standard. The background is purely of gold, while the frame of each picture consists of a broad band with classicizing motifs. In its 552 folios, the codex comprises the text of the four Gospels in minuscule script; John's Gospel breaks off just before the end, which is missing. The titles are executed in red-gold majuscules. The binding consists of wood and brown leather, without fly-leaves. The condition of the codex could be described as fair.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 206. Thesauroi 1973, pp. 476-7, figs. 426-8.

S.N.K.

### 5.14 Psalter Stavronikita Cod. 46

13th c.

Parchment, 26 x 17.5 cm, ff. 435

The manuscript contains the 150 Psalms of David (fol. 4r) and the nine Odes (fol. 346r). The single-column text of fifteen lines per page is written in minuscule script in gold ink. A later note (fol. 434v) stresses that the psalter belongs to the Monastery of St Nicholas, called Stavronikita.

The decoration, though limited, is of a high standard, and the codex is one of the so-called aristocratic psalters. The manuscript is decorated with rectangular and band-shaped headpieces and initials, done in gold or decorated with a wealth of colourful floral ornaments. The sole full-page miniature, of the author of the Psalms, David, who is shown standing in a king's robe and with a stringed musical instrument in his hands, is especially fine work, as is the decorative border around him. The dominant colours are gold, blue and red. The position of the central figure, the proportions of the body and the rendering of the facial features closely resemble works of the mid and late thirteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 78. Buchthal 1972, p. 53. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1975, p. 155. Cutler 1984, p. 9. Thesauroi 1991, pp. 338-9, figs. 358-61. Galavaris 1995 (2), p. 257, fig. 205.

Ch.M.-T.



*The opening page of David's Psalms.*



**5.15 The Romance of Barlaam and Ioasaph**  
early 13th c.

Ivion Cod. 463

Parchment, 23 x 17 cm, ff. 135

This is an early copy, which lacks its ending, of the well-known edifying romance of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, and is considered to be the best of its kind and one of the finest illuminated manuscripts on Mount Athos. It has already been dated to the period of Latin rule, when the text seems to have been particularly popular with readers in

the West. This view is supported by the existence of the French translation alongside the Greek text. It is illuminated with eighty miniatures, the first of which is a full-page depiction of St John of Damascus, who is considered to be the author of the text (fol. 1v). The remaining miniatures are inserted in the text in long rectangular frames before the passages to which they refer. In all, some 200 continuous episodes are depicted, i.e. one to three in each miniature, and the illustrations fall into two categories: those which refer to the action of the heroes of the romance and illustrate the parables the monk Barlaam relates to Ioasaph;



*The king welcoming and discussing with Theudas, the seer.*



and those inspired by the Christian teaching incorporated in the text, which is based on myths associated with the childhood of the Buddha. The miniatures are in almost perfect condition, except for the last few, which are slightly effaced, and that on folio 126v, which is completely destroyed. In addition, above the title of the text at the beginning (fol. 2r) there is a decorative headpiece in the form of a capital Π accompanied by a small initial O with flora motifs. The later binding of this precious codex consists of cardboard covered with deep green leather. Overall, the manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 149. Der Nersessian 1937, pp. 23-5, pls. I-XXI. Weitzmann 1963, pp. 105-7. Xyngopoulos 1966, p. 77. Thesauri 1975, pp. 307-24, figs. 53-132. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 29, 252-3, figs. 182-4.

S.N.K.

### 5.16 Octateuch Vatopedi Cod. 602

13th c.

Parchment, 34 x 21.5 cm, ff. 469

The Vatopedi Octateuch is one of the most important manuscripts in Byzantine art, due to its wealth of illumination and high artistic quality of its miniatures. The single-column text is very neatly written in black ink in minuscule script, with red-gold titles and many initials. It contains six books from the Octateuch of the Old Testament, beginning with Leviticus, as the first two books, Genesis and Exodus, are missing. At the end are short Greek commentaries on the Hebrew texts, and information on Israel's periods of enslavement. The text is interrupted at folio 468v, and the manuscript has a later cardboard binding.

The manuscript has 162 miniatures depicting scenes and subjects from the book they illustrate. Some of the miniatures from Leviticus and Numbers have been removed, together with the text on the following page. The scenes, enclosed within a red border, are placed in or next to the text, in areas purposed for illumination. They comprise selections from the text rendered in a narrative manner, and alternate between daily life, warfare and religious life, providing a wealth



*Moses teaching the Israelites and delegating leadership to Joshua.*

of information and variety of handling artistic problems.

Some of the miniatures are restrained in composition, while others, and particularly those showing martial scenes, have a dynamism very similar to works of the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The variations in palette and composition indicate that several painters worked on this manuscript which is considered to be the product of an imperial workshop in Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 172 and passim. Eustratiadēs - Arcadios 1924, p. 118. Muñoz 1924, pp. 475-6, 480-1. Weitzmann 1935, 1, p. 103. Weitzmann 1948, pp. 7, 12, 16 and passim. Weitzmann 1963, pp. 21-7. Huber 1969, p. 70. Weitzmann 1970<sup>2</sup>, pp. 190-1. Huber 1973, pp. 33-40, figs. 1-164. Hahn 1979, p. 32 n. 14. Anderson 1982, p. 85 and passim. Thesauri 1991, pp. 253-86 (with a more complete bibliography), figs. 47-187. Lowden 1992, pp. 2ff., 29ff. with 18 figs. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 29, 245-56, figs. 191-8. Weitzmann 1996, 2, p. 47.

Ch.M.-T.



**5.17 Four Gospels**  
**Ivion Cod. 5**

13th c., 2nd half

Parchment, 22.5 x 17 cm, ff. 459

A fine manuscript of the four Gospels, which is particularly significant for the subject-matter of its illuminations and the style of its miniatures,

are well-known compositions from the Dedekaorton and the Passion of Christ, while the last three – Christ with hierarchs (fol. 456v), the Virgin and Ioannis (perhaps the donor; fol. 457r), and the Hospitality of Abraham (fol. 457v) – have no connection with the manuscript text.

The miniatures are in very good condition,



*Mark the Evangelist.*

and is considered to be one of the most important manuscripts on Mount Athos. It is adorned primarily with the full-page portraits of the four Evangelists: Mark (fol. 136v), Luke (fol. 218v), John (fol. 357v) and Matthew (fol. 458v), who possess faces of monumental character, bulky bodies with rich disturbed draperies and uncertain, unsteady attitudes and movements. In addition, there are thirty-three headpieces, most of which depict scenes from the Gospels. Some of these

except for that of the Evangelist Matthew, which in fact appears at the end of the manuscript instead of at the beginning where it normally lies, and the representations of the Nativity and Baptism of Christ, and the Raising of Lazarus, which are damaged.

In addition to these illuminations, the codex is adorned with three incomplete ornaments in the canon tables of Eusebios at the beginning and four rectangular headpieces before the Gospels embellished





Θῆ οὐδεὶς ἄνθρωπος  
τὸ ὁμογενὲς ὡς ὁ πατήρ

*The Anastasis.*

with geometric and flora designs. It contains the four Gospels written in a carefully executed miniscule script and two passages from the Epistles at the end (fols. 459r-460r) in another, later script. The binding is of wood covered with brown leather which is very worn, especially on the spine. The general condition of the codex is good.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, pp. 170, 186-8, 217-22, 289, pls. 22-4. Lambros 1900, p. 1. Xyngopoulos 1932, p. 7, pls. 12-57. Der Nersessian 1937, p. 126. Dölger -

Weigand 1943, pp. 198, 200, pls. 118-21. Villette 1957, pp. 102, 106, 108. Weitzmann 1961, pp. 227-8, 231, figs. 4, 16. Xyngopoulos 1962, pp. 68, 82, 88. Hamann-MacLean 1967, pp. 231, 233. Lazarev 1967, pp. 279-82, pls. 375-82. Papadopoulos 1968, p. 133 n. 63, fig. 6. Huber 1969, pp. 74, 224-8, 243-54, pls. 137-52. Belting 1970, pp. 35ff., 37, 40, 49, 60ff., 72, 83, pl. XVI, fig. 23. Belting 1971, pp. 154, 165-6. Weitzmann 1971, pp. 322-3, figs. 312-13. Illuminated Manuscripts 1973, ch. 5, pp. 41, 177, no. 50. Thesauri 1975, pp. 296-303, figs. 11-40. Papadaki-Oekland 1975-6, pp. 30, 37ff., figs. 20, 24, 30. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 84-7, 243-4, 246, figs. 53-4. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 28-9, 250-1, figs. 175-9.

S.N.K.



**5.18 Four Gospels**  
**Karakalou Cod. 31**

13th c.

Manuscripts 1973, cat. 50, p. 179 n. 1. Thesauri 1979, pp. 297-8, figs. 281-3.

Ch.M.-T.

Parchment, 18 x 14.5 cm, ff. 323

This manuscript contains the four Gospels in order prefaced by the canon tables. The single-column text of nineteen lines per page is carefully written in minuscule script, with red-gold titles. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with red velvet.

A later note on folio 323r mentions that the manuscript belongs to the Monastery of Karakalou, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

The manuscript is illuminated with rectangular or band-shaped headpieces and simple initials with foliate decoration within the text, and full-page pictures of the Evangelists before the opening page of their Gospels, Matthew (fol. 1v), Mark (fol. 92v), Luke (fol. 153v) and John (fol. 253v).

Although the types of the seated Evangelists retain elements of the twelfth-century art, the robes and faces are rendered in a more advanced style. In particular the bulky body of John, his face and drapery belong to the thirteenth century. Despite the high quality of execution, the illumination must be attributed to a good provincial workshop, which copied Constantinopolitan models without possessing, however, the capital's skill.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 132. Illuminated

**5.19 Four Gospels**  
**Karakalou Cod. 37**

13th c.

Parchment, 16 x 12 cm, ff. 209

This manuscript contains the four Gospels and a canon table at the end of each Gospel. The single-column text of twenty-seven lines per page is written in a fine minuscule script in black ink, with red-gold titles, and marginal notes. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with brown leather stamped with geometric and foliate designs. The back cover is decorated with the Anastasis.

The codex has four rectangular and square headpieces and as many initials with fauna and flora decoration. There are also representations of three of the Evangelists, Mark (fol. 61v), Luke (fol. 99v) and John (fol. 165v), while Matthew is missing. These miniatures are clearly products of a first-class workshop of the thirteenth century, since they display a wealth of colour, brilliance and sensitivity, tall, robust figures, freedom of movement and the artist's ability to render the ethos of the figures.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 132. Thesauri 1979, p. 298, figs. 284-5.

Ch.M.-T.



5.18 Luke the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.





5.19 Luke the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.

## 5.20 Four Gospels

Docheiariou Cod. 22

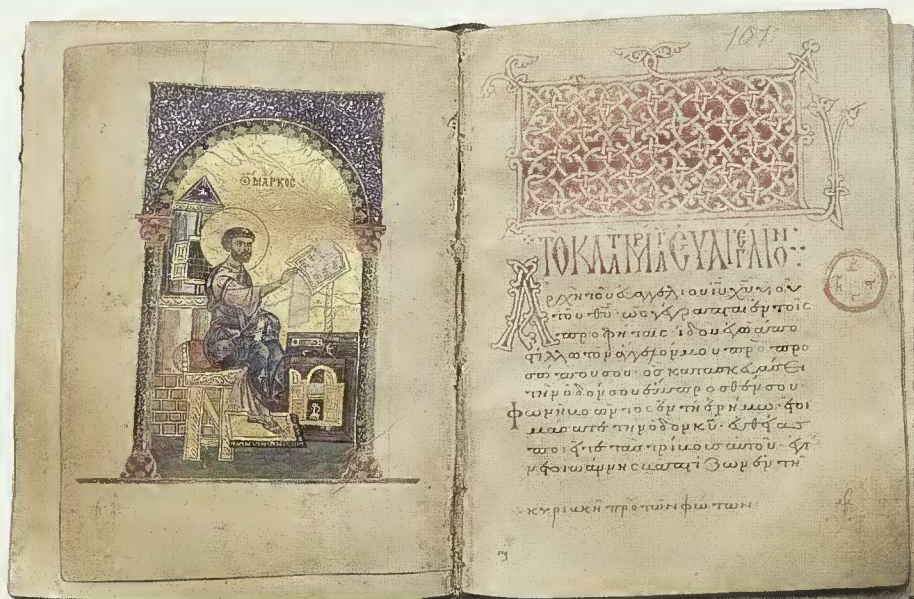
Parchment, 25 x 18 cm, ff. 235

This manuscript contains the four Gospels prefaced by the canon tables, and other texts. The single-column text of twenty-one lines per page is written in minuscule script, and has red titles and marginal notes. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with brown leather decorated with embossed geometric and foliate ornamentation.

13th c.

The manuscript is decorated with red rectangular headpieces and red initials with foliate ornamentation, contemporary with the script. The pictures of the three Evangelists, however, that precede their respective Gospels, Matthew (fol. 11v), Mark (fol. 100v) and Luke (fol. 159v) seem to have been taken from another, smaller and older, manuscript.

The Evangelists' physical proportions, their garments with the drapery full of motion, the stylisation of the hair and the rendering of facial details all suggest a connection with works of the thirteenth century, which, however, preserve elements



5.20 Mark the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.



of the Comnenian art of the late twelfth century.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 239 n. 2. Lambros 1895, p. 237. Aland 1963, p. 112. Lazarev 1967, p. 422 n. 113. Thesauri 1979, pp. 292-3, figs. 269-70.

Ch.M.-T.

## 5.21 Four Gospels Ivion Cod. 55

13th c.

Parchment, 20 x 14.5 cm, ff. 227

This codex is adorned with full-page miniatures of the four Evangelists: Matthew (fol. 5v), Mark (fol. 69v), Luke (fol. 111v) and John (fol. 177v), parts of which are now badly effaced, particularly the buildings depicted on the left in the background of the scenes.

The superb rendering of the figures indicates a workshop of high standard. The remaining decoration of the manuscript includes full-page arched-ornaments framing the canon tables of the Gospels, as well as elaborate, richly decorated rectangular headpieces and initials with fauna and flora motifs before each Gospel. The codex contains the Four Gospels together with the letter and canon tables of Eusebios at the beginning. The script is black, with red-gold letters on the first page of each Gospel. The binding, which is of later date, consists of cardboard and brown leather on the spine. The codex is in very good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 6. Xyngopoulos 1932, p. 10, pls. 58-71. Demus 1960, pp. 79-80. Aland 1963, p. 114. Lazarev 1967, p. 335 n. 57. Thesauri 1975, p. 305, figs. 46-8. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 251-2, fig. 180.

S.N.K.

## 5.22 Homilies of St John Chrysostom 1335

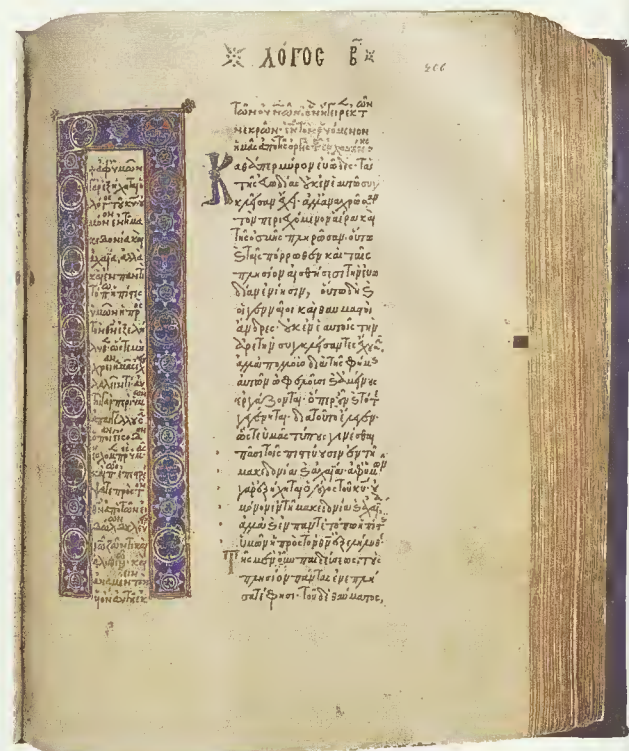
Vatopedi Cod. 327

Parchment, 37.5 x 26.5 cm, ff. 467

The text includes Homilies of St John Chrysostom on the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, and is prefixed by a table of contents (fols. 1-3) and a brief summary of each homily in red-gold lettering. The whole text is very neatly written in two columns of twenty-eight lines each. The binding is leather and more recent. This massive and sumptuous codex, a gift to the monastery from the Emperor John Cantacuzenos, has no



The opening page of the Gospel of Luke.



Headpiece with floral decoration.



miniatures but is beautifully illuminated with headpieces and colourful initials clearly executed by an accomplished artist. The large headpieces, placed to the left of the text, are elongated Π's supported on simple or twisted columns. The Π's are predominantly coloured deep blue, with floral and foliate motifs. The style of painting is similar to that in Vatopedi Cod. 328, which also contains Homilies of St John Chrysostom. The manuscript is precisely dated to 1335 and was written by the monk Ioasaph, a scribe at the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Eustratiadès - Arcadios 1924, p. 66. Spatharakis 1981, p. 61, fig. 445. Thesauri 1991, pp. 244-5, figs. 13-14.

Ch.M.-T.

### 5.23 Ptolemy's Geography 13th-14th c. Vatopedi Cod. 655

Parchment, 33.3/36 x 25/26.7 cm, ff. 296

This is one of the most interesting non-religious codices on Mount Athos. It contains the Geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus and the Geography of Strabo. There are forty-two maps of the three

continents, Europe, North Africa and Asia. The mountains, plains, rivers and seas are coloured and rendered in detail, and a wealth of place names is given.

**Bibliography:** Eustratiadès - Arcadios 1924, p. 131. Richard 1952, p. 34. Kadas 1996 (1), p. 554.

Ch.M.-T.

### 5.24 Lectionary late 13th-early 14th c. Chelandari Cod. 105

Parchment, 34 x 26 cm, ff. 188

This codex, although it does not possess any miniatures, is considered to be quite important, since it is written in a very carefully executed gold script. It is also decorated, containing two rectangular headpieces and embellished initials, amongst which predominate T (Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ = At that time...) and E (Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος = The Lord said...). The decoration of the headpieces consists mainly of rich flora ornaments and rare representations of animals or birds. The gold-inscribed text is laid out in two columns of eleven lines each, while the binding consists of two wooden boards with leather covers, which are



The Taprovani Island.



The opening page of the Gospel of John.



decorated with gilt representations of the Crucifixion (front) and the Virgin with Child (back); both are accompanied by the four Evangelists in the corners. This lectionary, which is now preserved in good condition in the monastery library, was formerly kept in the sacristy in the katholikon and was believed by some to be an autograph work of John Chrysostom.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, pp. 196, 237-8. Lambros 1895, p. 30. Aland 1963, p. 248. Harisiadis 1964, p. 122. Lazarev 1967, p. 422 n. 113. Thesauri 1975, p. 393, figs. 416-7.

S.N.K.

### 5.25 Four Gospels Koutloumousiou Cod. 283

Paper, 21.5 x 13.5 cm, ff. 257

This manuscript preserves portraits of three of the four Evangelists – Matthew (fol. 9v), Luke (fol. 124v) and John (fol. 199v) – while that of Mark is missing, together with a small section from the beginning of his Gospel (which begins at Mark 1:14). The Evangelists are portrayed

14th c.

seated on carved benches without cushions, two of them turning to the left and the other to the right. In addition, Matthew is accompanied by a figure infusing him with inspiration, while the other two Evangelists are depicted with a semicircle of heaven in the top left-hand corner (together, in John's case, with God's hand extended in blessing), emitting rays in their direction. The tension in the faces and movements of the figures, together with the somewhat ordinary colouring, indicate that this is a provincial manuscript of the fourteenth century. The beginning of each Gospel is also illuminated with a red headpiece comprising a variety of geometric and floral motifs. The codex contains the four Gospels in miniscule script. The binding is of wood covered with slightly worn brown leather decorated with geometric figures and impressions of a double-headed eagle within a small circle. The manuscript, which bears the date 1362 (fol. 254r), indicating that the codex was completed before this time, is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 308. Thesauri 1973, p. 460, figs. 345-7. Spatharakis 1981, p. 65, fig. 469. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1996, p. 215.

S.N.K.



Luke the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.





*The Crossing of the Red Sea.*

## 5.26 Psalter

Dionysiou Cod. 65

Parchment, 19.5 x 13 cm, ff. 244

On the basis of the Easter tables that it contains, which begin with the year 1313, this codex dates from the fourteenth century, while, according to a bibliographical note at the end, the scribe was Sabas from the Gulf of Nicomedia. It is illuminated with nine full-page miniatures, the first eight of which are all gathered together at the beginning of the manuscript, while the ninth lies at the end. They depict the following subjects: Jesus before the fig-tree (fol. 5r), St John the Baptist (fol. 5v),

1313

Christ in glory and a monk before the everlasting fire (fol. 11r), an angel receiving the soul of a monk with other angels leading souls into Hell (fol. 11v), a condemned sinner and a righteous man blessed by angels (fol. 12r), the Virgin and Child (fol. 12v), the Prophet Solomon (fol. 13r), the Prophet-king David (fol. 13v), and the Crossing of the Red Sea (fol. 202v). Of these, particularly interesting on account of their rarity are the depictions of the theme of death and the departure of the soul from the body. In addition, it is clear that the subject-matter of the illustrations is drawn not only from the text of the Psalter but also from the Old and the New Testament, as well as ecclesiastical history and tradition. This is, therefore,





Mark the Evangelist.



a 'polycyclic' manuscript, whose miniatures are the work of a competent artist who modelled his work on a similar eleventh- or twelfth-century psalter executed in Constantinople and added fourteenth-century elements. As for its contents, in addition to the 150 (or rather 151) psalms, it contains a variety of other texts. The binding is of brown leather, which is badly worn. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, pp. 235, 290. Lambros 1895, p. 324. Lazarev 1967, p. 422 n. 113. Stichel 1971, pp. 71-5, figs. 7-9. Thesauri 1973, pp. 419-21, figs. 118-28. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1975, pp. 131-71. Spatharakis 1975-6, pp. 173-7. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 49-51, 77, 83 n. 96, 244, fig. 18. Vocotopoulos 1994 (2), pp. 102-3, fig. 6.

S.N.K.

### 5.27 Lectionary 1337, 1360 Chelandari Cod. 9

Parchment, 33.5 x 25.5 cm, ff. 338

According to the notes on folios 336v and 337v, this manuscript was written by the monk Romanos in the year 1337, very probably at Chelandari, at the bidding of Hegumen Arsenios, and was decorated a few years later, in 1360, when Dorotheos was hegumen. It is illuminated with the full-page representations of the four Evangelists: John (fol. 3v), Matthew (fol. 51v), Luke (fol. 129v) and Mark (fol. 234v), the work of a competent painter of the mid-fourteenth century. They are depicted seated, each in a different posture beneath an arch and against a plain gold background. The decoration also includes headpieces of various shapes and initials with flora designs. Although the manuscript is Slavonic, the inscriptions in the miniatures and the texts (which appear to be of later date) in the open books of the Evangelists are in Greek. The script in the text is in black ink, while red ink is used for the titles and the rubrics in the margins. The codex contains the Gospel lections for the year and the eleven Gospel lections for Lauds. Its present binding dates from the sixteenth century and consists of wood covered with plain brown leather. The codex, which is known as the Evangelion of the monk Romanos, after the name of the scribe, is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 236, pl. 28. Radojčić 1955 (1), pp. 167-8, 191, figs. 12, 13. Djurić 1960, pp. 339-44, pls. XII, XIII, XV. Lazarev 1967, pp. 393, 432 n. 174. Radojčić 1969, p. 90. Belting 1970, pp. 3, 14, 51. Belting 1971, p. 156 n. 19. Thesauri 1975, pp. 394-5, figs. 418-9. Bogdanović 1978, p. 56, fig. 28. Spatharakis 1981, p. 65, fig. 468. Galavaris 1995 (1), pp. 99-100, fig. 10. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1996, pp. 213-4.

S.N.K.



### 5.28 Typikon 1346 Vatopedi Cod. 1199

Parchment, 20 x 14.5 cm, ff. 315

This codex essentially contains the formal directions for the Church services throughout the year, and additional texts. It is written in minuscule script in straw-coloured ink, with twenty-two lines of single-column text per page. The text length is reduced by one or more lines on the last folios and on pages with illustrations, in which two columns are used. On the last folios, containing the service for the blessing of the waters, the script is different and more carefully done. The binding, of later date, has a red leather spine and blue cloth on the cover.



The illustration of the codex begins (fol. 9v) with a picture of St John of Damascus and Sabas, who both wrote *typika*. The principal illustration, however, is to be found in the text containing the services for the whole year, starting with September, the first month of the Orthodox Church year. Interestingly, each month begins with a representation of its zodiacal sign, and a

be using as a fan.

This scheme of illustration is most unusual and is rarely found in manuscripts. The manuscript mentions that the text was written by Ioannis Argyros in the 6584th year from the Creation of the World (1346 AD), commissioned by Prokopios Chantzamis and donated to the Monastery of the Great Martyr Eugenios the



*March: A mounted warrior, the zodiacal sign of Aries.*

farming or other scene appropriate to the season. Thus September (Libra) shows the vintage, October (Scorpio) a hunting scene, November (Sagittarius) plowing and sowing, December (Capricorn) pruning, January (Aquarius) storing oil and wine in jars, February (Pisces) resting, March (Aries) a mounted warrior, April (Taurus) a youth holding a garland in his right hand and a lamb in his left, probably signifying Easter, May (Gemini) a youth with flowers, representing Spring, June (Cancer) again a young man with flowers, July (Leo) a harvest scene and August (Virgo) a young woman approaching a recumbent old man, holding a jar in one hand and in the other an unidentifiable object that she seems to

Wonder-Worker, probably at Trebizond (fols. 3r, 9v and 307r). There is a portrait of Eugenios of Trebizond at the end of the manuscript (fol. 315v). The illustration is completed with simple band-shaped headpieces and initials with flora decoration. The notes identify neither the artist nor the provenance of the manuscript; however, its illumination was very probably executed in Trebizond.

**Bibliography:** Strzygowski 1899 (1), pp. 243ff. Eustratiadès - Arcadios 1924, p. 202. Martin 1954, p. 55. Weitzmann 1963, pp. 109-11. Belting 1970, pp. 32, 49, 60. Stephan-Kaisi 1989, pp. 76-7. Thesauri 1991, pp. 322-4, figs. 313-24. Galavaris 1995 (2), pp. 30, 260, figs. 216-8. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1996, pp. 212-3.

Ch.M.-T.



### 5.29 Four Gospels 14th c., 3rd quarter Chelandari Cod. 13

Parchment, 29.5 x 22 cm, ff. 330

A sumptuous Slavonic codex, which, however, contains only four miniatures in the form of headpieces portraying the Evangelists Matthew (fol. 9r), Mark (fol. 98r), Luke (fol. 155r) and John with Prochoros (fol. 249r). In these representations the colour of the parchment itself serves as the background. The first three Evangelists are accompanied by a female figure, who, according to the relevant inscription, is Wisdom ('премудрость'), and the fourth by Prochoros. Judging by the execution, particularly the rendering of the faces of the figures and the draperies, the painter was a highly skilled miniaturist. Apart from the large rectangular headpieces, in which the Evangelists are enclosed within three different types of frame (round, square and four-lobed), the manuscript also preserves a band-shaped headpiece at the beginning, as well as initials, which are equal in number to the headpieces. According to a note (cryptogram) set within a square, this is the Four Gospels of the Serbian Patriarch Sabas and can be dated to the period 1354-75. It contains the four Gospels in sequence written in red ink at the beginning, with the marginal rubrics in red-gold ink; they are preceded by a foreword by Theophylaktos, Archbishop of Bulgaria. Its binding consists of two wooden boards covered with a polychrome silk material, which is badly worn, while the spine is of leather. The codex is in good condition.

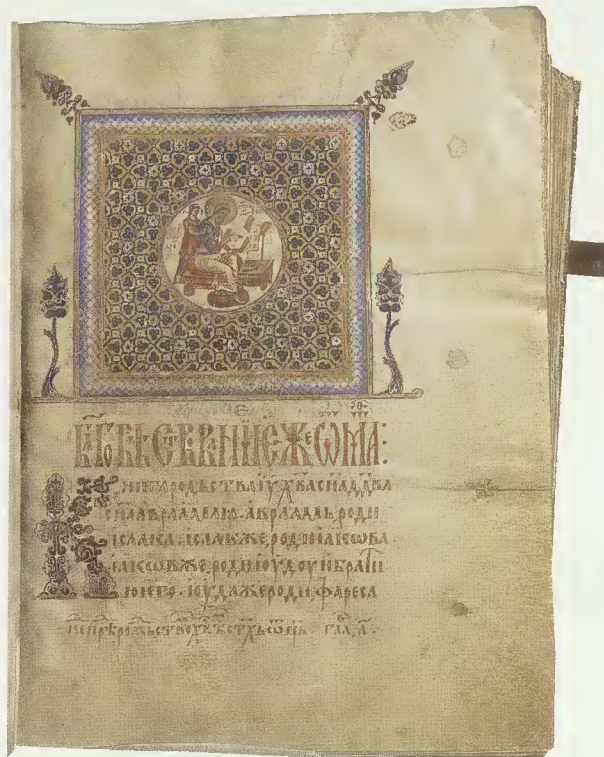
**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 234. Radojčić 1950, p. 31, pl. XII. Radojčić 1955 (1), pp. 167-8, 191, fig. 12. Djurić 1960, p. 344. Lazarev 1967, pp. 393, 432 n. 174. Radojčić 1969, p. 90, fig. 46. Harisiadis 1972, pp. 218-9, figs. 7-8. Thesauroi 1975, pp. 395-6, figs. 420-3. Bogdanović 1978, p. 57, fig. 44. Galavaris 1995 (1), p. 102, fig. 15.

S.N.K.

### 5.30 Akathistos Hymn 1645 Ivion Cod. 1626

Paper, 28.5 x 20.5 cm, ff. 45

As is usual with manuscripts of the Akathistos Hymn, this one is decorated with a large headpiece



*Matthew the Evangelist with the personification of Inspiration.*



*Full page ornament.*



at the beginning (fol. 1r) and the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet, each in the form of an initial introducing one of the 24 strophes or Salutations to the Virgin. The headpiece and initials are richly embellished, their decoration consisting mainly of flora designs, which are often combined with birds and dragons. The text of the service of the Akathistos Hymn is laid out in a very carefully executed script with red titles within rectangular gold frames, except on folios 42v-44r. The binding is of red leather with gilt floral ornaments. The manuscript is in good condition.

**Bibliography:** Thesauri 1975, pp. 341-3, figs. 209-33 (referred to as no. 1435μ).

S.N.K.

### 5.31 Four Gospels

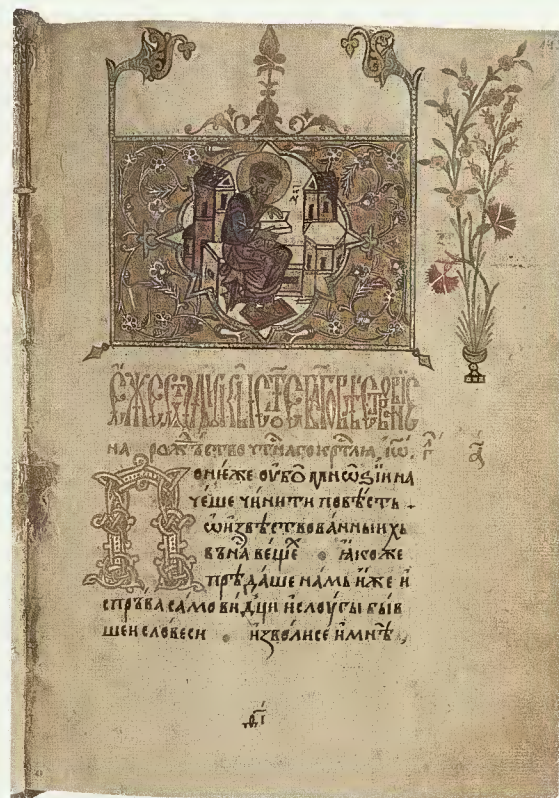
1569

Zographou Cod. 28M

Paper, 28 x 18.5 cm, ff. 317

This Slavonic manuscript contains the Four Gospels prefaced by the hypothesis and chapter titles and followed by the canon tables of Gospel lections for the whole year, the Menologion lections and the lections for Lauds. The script is minuscule in black ink, while red-gold ink is used for the titles and rubrics in the margins. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered in leather and decorated with pressed flora ornaments. In addition the front cover depicts the four Evangelists and the Crucifixion, and the back cover again the Evangelists, and the Anastasis. Notes in Slavonic, contemporary with the text or of later date, on folios 315v-317r, mention Ioannis Kratovski as the donor and the year the manuscript was written (1569).

In the manuscript each Gospel is preceded by the picture of its author: the Evangelists Matthew (fol. 6r), Mark (fol. 89r), Luke (fol. 145r) and John (fol. 234r) are shown in rectangular headpieces above the beginning of their text. The floral decoration of these headpieces is less sophisticated than that in contemporary Greek manuscripts. The initials are in one or two colours. The figures of the Evangelists, shown sitting and writing or reading their Gospels, are given an equally simple linear treatment. The lean,



*Luke the Evangelist.*

compressed figures, framed by buildings and enclosed in quaterfoils with a white background, betray limited artistic ability.

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), p. 260. Huber 1969, p. 2. Boschkov 1974, p. 223. Miklas 1977, p. 69. Kodov. - Rajkov - Kožuharov 1985, pp. 88-9. Thesauri 1991, pp. 329-30, figs. 333-4.

Ch.M.-T.

### 5.32 Lectionary

1629

Simonopetra (n.n.)

Paper, 35.5 x 24 cm, ff. 376

An important illuminated manuscript, chiefly because it dates from the post-Byzantine era and, what is more, the hieromonach Iakovos of Simonopetra collaborated in its writing and decoration. The illumination of this notable lectionary includes, as usual, the portraits of the four Evangelists: John (fol. Iv), Matthew (fol. 42v), Luke (fol. 80v), and Mark (fol. 126v). All of the miniatures are full-page and portray the figures of the Evangelists beneath a semicircular arch, against a gold or bluish blackground. The





5.32 John the Evangelist with Prochoros and the opening page of his Gospel.



5.33 The Church of the Nativity and other shrines of pilgrimage.



codex is also decorated with a total of seventy-one headpieces of varying sizes and shapes and 230 initials, mainly T and E, with rich flora designs. It contains the Gospel lections for the whole year. A rare and very interesting feature is the manuscript's metal binding, which was made a few years after the codex was written and depicts the cycle of the Revelation of St John, together with representations of the Anastasis (front) and Crucifixion (back). The manuscript is preserved in very good condition in the monastery's sacristy.

**Bibliography:** Stathis 1987, p. 132 n. 5, fig. 27. Chrysoschoidis 1991, p. 297, figs. 189-94. Zoumpouli 1995, pp. 299-303 (the manuscript is referred to as no. 140).

S.N.K.

### 5.33 *Proskynetarion* for the Holy Land 1680

Gregoriou Cod. 159

Paper, 16 x 11 cm, ff. 27

This codex belongs to a category of manuscripts which remained unknown until recently owing to the fact that they have only been studied in the last few years. These are the *Proskynetaria*, illustrated traveller's handbooks or guides, which were very popular, especially in the post-Byzantine era. They describe the shrines of pilgrimage – mainly the Christian ones – in Palestine and were written for the use of the pilgrims who flocked there. Like the others in its group, this codex contains numerous miniatures, which are usually small in size and depict, in a generally conventional manner, with a decorative treatment and bright gay colours, the places of pilgrimage in Jerusalem and the rest of the Holy Land. It is also illuminated with numerous gold initials surrounded by rich flora decoration. It contains a description of the holy places, from which the beginning is missing. This starts with the holy city of Jerusalem and ends with the Monastery of St James ('of the Armenians'). The binding consists of brown leather with simple geometric patterns. The codex is well preserved. Its creator, i.e. scribe and illuminator, was the doctor Daniel, who was definitely responsible for another three, somewhat earlier, manuscripts in the same group: Docheiariou

Cod. 129, Cod. gr. 15 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, and Cod. 121 in the Byzantine Museum in Athens.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, pp. 470-1. Thesauri 1973, pp. 485-7, figs. 470-98. Kadas 1977, pp. 369-432. Kadas 1985, pp. 1281-1302.

S.N.K.

### 5.34 Liturgies

1636

Karakalou Cod. 250

Paper, 18.5 x 12.5 cm, ff. 107

This manuscript contains the Liturgies of St John Chrysostom (fols. 2r-31v) and Basil the Great (fols. 33v-75v), ordination forms (fols. 77r-99v) and two prayers of absolution (fols. 100r-106v). The text is written in an exceptionally fine minuscule script and has fifteen lines per page. Two notes (fol. 23r and fol. 99v) refer to the Episcopo Iakovos, who wrote the text in February of 1636. It also mentions that he was in Constantinople at the time.

The manuscript has no miniatures, but is illuminated with a rich foliate and floral ornamentation typical of seventeenth-century work.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 150. Politis 1958-9, p. 132. Gratzou 1982, p. 98 n. 209. Zoumbouli 1995, p. 151.

Ch.M.-T.

### 5.35 Liturgies

1698

Xeropotamou Cod. 129

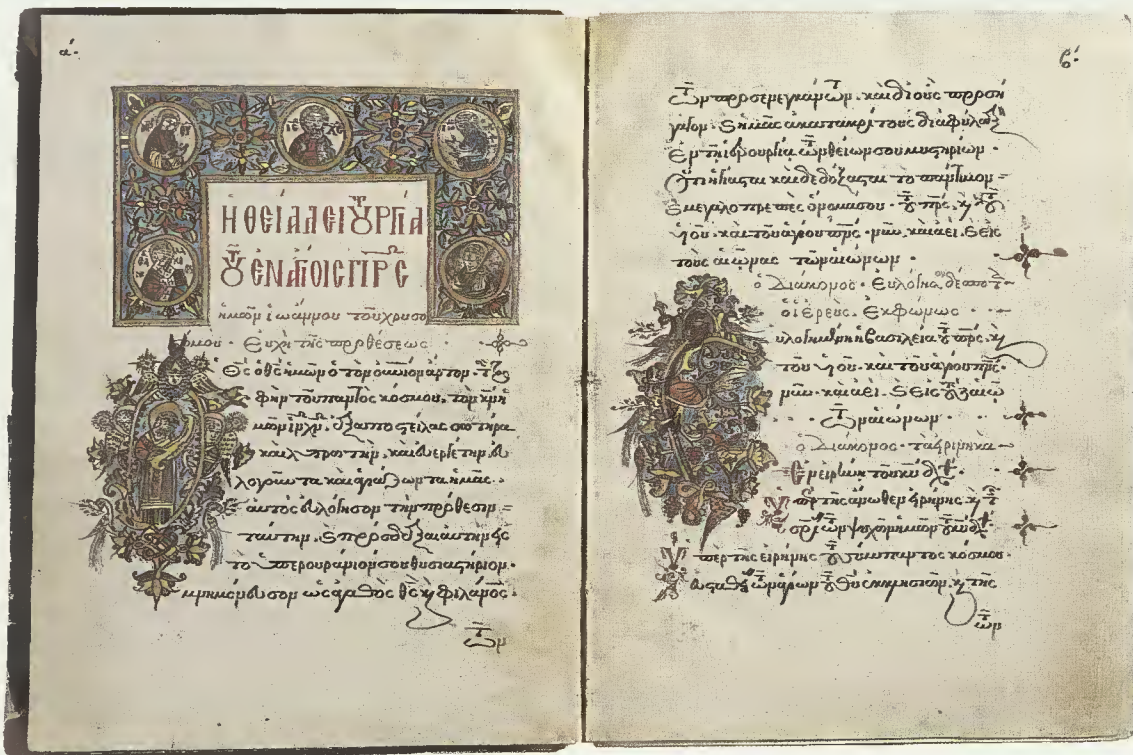
Paper, 29 x 21.5 cm, ff. 67

As is usually the case with liturgical manuscripts, this one is written in a very carefully executed script, with the text of the prayers in black ink and the rubrics in red. It is illuminated with headpieces and ornate initials. Both types of ornament are large and composed of rich and varied plant and floral designs, as well as human figures (either full-length or busts), dragons and birds. In the first, Π-shaped, headpiece are portrayed the three figures of the Deesis (Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist), together with two saints





5.34 Floral decoration.



5.35 Deesis with saints.





Headpiece and initials.

(Nicholas and George), each in a separate circle, while the first initial letter of each liturgy portrays its author. The codex comprises the three Divine Liturgies of John Chrysostom, Basil the Great and the Presanctified. There follow the Dismissals for the Twelve Great Feasts, prayers of blessing for the *kollyva* (ritual food for the dead), a prayer of absolution (which lacks its ending), and another prayer, one of grace before meals (acephalous). The binding consists of brown leather on the spine and black paper on the two covers. The codex is in fair condition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 207. Thesouroi 1973, pp. 478-80, figs. 436-51.

S.N.K.

### 5.37 Psalter

1747

Xenophontos Cod. 54

Paper, 31.5 x 21 cm, ff. 129

The manuscript contains the 150 Psalms of David in minuscule script with red titles. The

text is single-column and has twenty-three lines to the page. The binding consists of two wooden boards covered with dark brown leather. Both front and back covers picture David and are stamped with gilt flora motifs. According to a note on the inside front cover, written in another hand, the manuscript is the work of a certain Christophoros. Another note on folio 1r mentions that the manuscript belongs to the holy cenobium of Xenophontos Monastery, on folio 40r that the manuscript was produced on 1st May 1747, and on folio 60r the year 1748 is written.

The ornamentation consists simply of rectangular and band-shaped headpieces with intricate two-dimensional geometrical designs and initials decorated with flora and fauna motifs. It is a delicate work, typical of the flowering of manuscript art in the eighteenth century. The motifs on the initials, crowned dragons and birds, continue the seventeenth century tradition.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 67. Kadas 1989, p. 443. Thesouroi 1991, pp. 350-1, figs. 402-5.

Ch.M.-T.



### 5.37 Lectionary Karakalou Cod. 272

Paper, 28.5 x 20.5 cm, ff. 302

18th c.

The manuscript contains the Gospel lections for the whole year (fol. 2r), the Menologion lections (fol. 263r) and the eleven *Eothina* lections (292v). The single-column text of twenty lines per page is written in black ink, with red titles and marginal notes. The binding is wood with a silver-gilt cover portraying the Crucifixion on the front and Christ with the Apostles Peter and Paul on the back.

A note on folio 301v mentions that a mistake was made during binding, that the book belongs to the Monastery of the Holy Apostles, Karakalou, that it was commissioned by a certain Asotan in memory of his parents and that the manuscript is the work of the Hieromonk Damaskinos the 'Iberian (Georgian) and hadzis'. In the miniatures of the

Evangelists and the books displayed on their lecterns the texts are Georgian.

The full-page miniatures of the Evangelists John (fol. 1v), Matthew (fol. 45v), Luke (fol. 122v) and Mark (fol. 206v) demonstrate the continuity of iconographic tradition. The manuscript also has a headpiece and one initial letter E (fol. 2r). Space has been provided for three more headpieces (fol. 46r, fol. 123r and fol. 207r), which, however, have not been executed.

The style of illumination is that of the first half of the eighteenth century, decorative and brilliant, due to the use of gold, reminiscent of the Palaeologan art. The manuscript is important, as it demonstrates the continuity of manuscript illumination into the eighteenth century, the link between Mount Athos and Iberia (Georgia) and the likelihood that it was made on Mount Athos or in Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 474. Thesauri 1979, pp. 302-3.

Ch.M.-T.



John the Evangelist and the opening page of his Gospel.



# SCULPTURE





## 6 BYZANTINE SCULPTURE



## 7 STONE-CARVING



## 8 WOOD-CARVING









## 6 BYZANTINE SCULPTURE

### *Byzantine Sculpture on Mount Athos*

**W**orks of sculpture on Mount Athos are few in number compared with the wealth of painted decoration seen in Athonite monuments, and this is true generally of churches from the middle and late Byzantine period. Nonetheless, the visitor is impressed by the marble remains that are sometimes preserved *in situ*, sometimes re-used, sometimes incorporated as decorative features in the walls, or, in a few cases, simply treasured as mementoes of a bygone age.

The marble decoration is mainly of an architectural nature and is represented by columns, capitals, impost blocks, doorframes, closure panels, phialae, and templa. There are other categories of sculpture, however, such as funerary monuments and figurative reliefs.

These features are more conspicuous in the older Athonite establishments dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as the Protaton in Karyes, the Great Lavra, and Vatopedi, Iviron, Xeropotamou, Docheiariou, and Xenophontos Monasteries.

Quite a number of sculptures belong to the early Christian period, in fact, which means that, when the monasteries were being built, marbles from ruined churches in Macedonia or on the islands were brought to Mount Athos; though it is also possible that they were taken from older Christian monuments on the peninsula itself.

We also find reliefs (mainly grave reliefs) of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, which either were brought to Athos from the monasteries' *metochia* (dependencies) elsewhere or came from the townships that flourished on the peninsula in pre-Christian times.

Neither these sculptures nor the ones that were produced especially for the Byzantine monuments on Athos have been studied in their entirety. However, the research that has been done to date indicates that the sculptural decoration in the Athonite churches follows the styles and techniques seen in the religious buildings in the rest of the Byzantine world and reveals links both with Constantinople and with Asia Minor, as also with workshops closer to home, in Macedonia.

Beginning with the architectural sculptures, mention must be made of a double-zone animal capital with rams' heads in the sacristy of the Great Lavra which is dated to the sixth century, as also a similar fifth-century capital re-used in the katholikon of Iviron Monastery. The columns and pedestals in the middle section of the templon in Iviron Monastery also date to the early Christian period, which means that they may have originated from the old Monastery of Clementos, which is believed to have stood on the same site as the present monastery complex. The four columns in the nave of the old katholikon of Xenophontos Monastery, together with their bases and capitals, were also taken from early Christian monuments. The capitals represent



four different types of Corinthian capital of the fourth and fifth centuries AD; one of them was subsequently altered to make it more closely match the decoration of the impost blocks that were added in the middle Byzantine period.

The impost blocks on the capitals in the katholikon of Xenophontos Monastery are contemporary with the church itself, which is believed to have been founded by Hosios Xenophon around the year 1000. They are decorated with a variety of relief motifs, including foliate crosses, palmette tendrils, intersecting circles, rosettes, and firewhirls. The technique is the stiff chip-carving technique that appeared early in the tenth century in the Church of the Virgin in Lips Monastery in Constantinople (907) and was repeated later in the Church of the Virgin in Hosios Loukas' Monastery in Phocis and in many sculptures in Asia Minor.

In the middle and late Byzantine period, the architectural decoration of the churches was dominated by the marble templon: tall structures composed of colonnettes supporting a horizontal epistyle, with the intercolumnar spaces below sealed by closure panels. It is a model that appeared towards the end of the early Christian period, though it evolved into its final form during the Macedonian and Comnenian periods.

In a number of Athonite churches the marble templon still survives, either wholly or in part, usually behind the post-Byzantine carved wooden iconostasis. Such templa are found in the Protaton, the katholika of Iviron, Chelandari, Xenophontos, and Docheiariou Monasteries, and also in the Chapel of St Nicholas at Vatopedi and the cemetery church of the Great Lavra. Some templa, like the one from the katholikon of Vatopedi, have been dismantled and their component parts built into the walls of other, unrelated, structures.

One of the earliest Byzantine templa is in the oldest, most venerable church on Mount Athos, the Protaton. The epistyle is ornamented with an undulating tendril with half-palmettes and grapes, and what is known as the 'Asia Minor motif': a row of little arches enclosing acanthus leaves. The closure panels display a motif that was common in the middle Byzantine period, geometrical patterns of lozenges and circles enclosing rosettes and firewhirls.

The reliefs in the Protaton are executed in a linear, rather unsophisticated style that may be connected with workshops in nearby Macedonia. This suggests an earlier dating than the eleventh-century sculptures we know from the katholikon of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis, for instance. The templon in the Protaton could thus be dated to the tenth century, possibly around 965, when Hosios Athanasios was carrying out work on the monument.

Superior in quality are the architectural sculptures in the katholikon of Vatopedi Monastery, as also its old marble templon, which was dismantled and replaced in 1788 by the present carved wooden iconostasis. Investigations based on the now scattered components, which have been built into the walls of various buildings of the monastery, and the remaining traces on the stylobate, have made it possible to reconstruct the screen on paper. Like the monastery itself, it may be dated with certainty to around the end of the third quarter of the tenth century. These sculptures display a certain eclecticism in their combination of such mediaeval motifs as rosettes and interlacing geometric patterns and older, early Christian ornaments like the superposed lozenges on the closure panels, the intersecting circles on the epistyle, and the eagles at the corners of the capitals.

It is precisely this revival of early Christian motifs, also evident in two other great monuments of this era, Lips Monastery in Constantinople and the Church of the Virgin in Hosios Loukas' Monastery in Phocis, that places the Vatopedi templon in the context of the artistic renewal that took place in the Macedonian period and links it with the artistic output of the capital and the area within its sphere of influence.



Of the other marble templa that survive *in situ*, two more deserve special mention, one in the old katholikon of Xenophontos Monastery and the other in the katholikon of Chelandari Monastery. The former was probably added when the church was renovated in 1083 by the Great Drungarios Stephanos, who became a monk and later hegumen under the name of Symeon. It is very sparingly decorated and notable chiefly for the two closure panels with interlacing geometric patterns enclosing crosses, rosettes, and vegetal motifs that recall their earlier counterparts in the Protaton, as also those of the eleventh century on the phiale of the Great Lavra.

The marble templon in the katholikon of Chelandari Monastery was constructed in two stages, the older section being the one in front of the prothesis. It came from the original church of the tenth to early eleventh century, for the undulating tendrils on the colonnettes and the cubic capitals with their low-relief vegetal ornamentation closely resemble those in the Protaton. The other two sections of the templon, in front of the sanctuary and the diaconicon, must belong to the renovations carried out by Milutin in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. This dating is indicated both by the composite cross-section of the colonnettes, which have the decorative motif of a double knot halfway up, and by their cubic capitals, features which are seen in other examples of decorative sculpture in monuments of the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century. These include the templa in Vlachernes Monastery, Arta (1250), and Porta Panagia, Thessaly (1283), and the ambos in Hagia Sophia, Ochrid (1317), and the Old Metropolis, Veroia (early 14th c.).

Another large category of architectural sculpture comprises the marble doorframes, the finest of which include the one around the north door in the Protaton, some in the katholikon of Vatopedi, the cornice re-used over the west entrance to the present katholikon of Docheiariou, and two lintels in the katholikon of Chelandari, one over the west door of the inner narthex and the other over the central entrance to the nave.

The Protaton doorframe is characterised by the geometric, vegetal, and zoomorphic decoration along the lintel, which is also seen in other early eleventh-century doorframes, such as the one in the Church of Hagioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, for instance. The decoration of the Docheiariou lintel, with its undulating vine scroll and animal population, is of early Christian origin, though the technique is similar to that of a group of unsophisticated tenth- to eleventh-century zoomorphic reliefs with slightly oriental influences that are found in Constantinople and Thessaloniki and on the outer walls of the Old Metropolis in Athens. Of the doorframes in the katholikon of Vatopedi, which are decorated mainly with undulating tendrils or vertical acanthus leaves and a row of bead-and-reel, the lintel over the Imperial Door is particularly interesting. It too is decorated with an undulating tendril, with half-palmettes and little birds pecking at grapes, but the technique used is the *champlevé* process, with orange wax-mastic inlay and strong islamising features. The repetition of this theme in the same technique on the closure panels of the old templon in the katholikon demonstrates the unity of the church's sculptural decoration and helps to date it to the period when the church was founded, between the third and the last quarter of the tenth century. The two lintels in Chelandari Monastery, with their elaborate *champlevé* arabesques, are outstanding examples of the work produced on Mount Athos by a sculpture workshop that was active in the general areas of Thessaly and Macedonia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, with its base most probably in Thessaloniki.

One special type of structure with marble decoration is the phiale, which is found outside every katholikon on Athos. None of them, however, survives intact from the Byzantine period: even the oldest, that of the Great Lavra, originally made around 1060, had to be rebuilt after



an earthquake in the sixteenth century. Closure panels from the original phiale were used in the reconstruction, as were panels from the old templon in the katholikon and a number of other sculptures. No complete reconstruction of the phiale's Byzantine form has yet been produced, but three of the closure panels, which are decorated on one side with crosses under arches in the *champlevé* technique and on the other with zoomorphic subjects in small compartments, may be attributed to the original structure. Two other panels of the phiale's closure screen, with geometrical patterns of lozenges and circles on one side and heraldic birds and griffins and fighting animals on the other, seem to belong to the old marble templon. Some of the motifs on the closure panels, particularly the zoomorphic subjects, are an eleventh-century echo of the post-Iconoclastic reliefs in the Churches of Skripou and Gregorios Theologos in Thebes, while others, like the one with a *champlevé* foliate cross, represent the same stage of abstraction as the cover slabs from the dome of the Church of the Virgin in Hosios Loukas' Monastery.

Some closure panels have been re-used in the window-sills in the choirs of the katholika of Iviron and Docheiariou, and another has been built into the wall over the entrance to Xeropotamou. With its rough design and sharp linear relief, the closure panel in the north choir of the katholikon of Iviron exemplifies the unsophisticated linear relief technique of the late tenth and early eleventh century.

The two closure panels in the choirs of the katholikon of Docheiariou are even finer. They depict a spread-eagle and the Ascension of Alexander the Great, or the 'Ascent into the Air', in a highly decorative rendering that recalls silken fabrics of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is also reminiscent of contemporary gold-work and glazed pottery and, to a certain extent, architectural sculptures in Constantinople, which take their themes from a stock of oriental motifs.

A different trend is reflected in the closure panel built into the wall over the entrance to Xeropotamou, which depicts a peacock with spread wings and tail in a very high, plastic relief. It is, without a doubt, a late tenth-century work from Constantinople, influenced by the sculptures in Lips Monastery and perhaps presaging a similar representation of a peacock on an eleventh-century relief plaque in the wall of St Mark's in Venice.

There are also funerary monuments on Mount Athos, which take the form, common in the Byzantine period, of pseudosarcophagi. These are built tombs in arcosolia with a relief marble slab covering the front, in which the founders of the various monasteries are, or are said to be, buried. The exception is the tomb of Hosios Athanasios in the Great Lavra, which belongs to the group of fitted sarcophagi, but without any relief decoration.

There are two pseudosarcophagi in arcosolia in Vatopedi Monastery, one in the Chapel of St Nicholas (now walled up) and the other in the inner narthex of the katholikon. Recent archaeological investigations have established that the latter is the tomb of the monastery's founders and took shape gradually between the early eleventh and the fourteenth century. It is a composite funeral structure, comprising an underground built cist, in which the deceased were laid, and a pseudosarcophagus at ground level, i.e. a shrine with its three sides built and its front closing with a marble panel, in which the relics were placed in due course. From this point of view, the tomb of the founders of Vatopedi was particularly important for monasterial funerary customs in the middle Byzantine period, because the creation of a ground-level shrine, which probably had a little window in the cover, was obviously intended to facilitate the veneration of the relics. The marble front of the pseudosarcophagus was decorated with an arcade enclosing a foliate cross and cypresses, a common theme on middle and late Byzantine sarcophagi, with allusions to Paradise. On the basis of the simple decoration and low relief, this slab belongs with



a series of pseudosarcophagi dated to the mid-eleventh century.

The decoration of the cover of a pseudosarcophagus now in the courtyard of Pantokrator Monastery is similar, though more elaborate. The motifs and their execution suggest a fourteenth-century dating, which is supported by the tradition linking this pseudosarcophagus with the founders of the monastery.

Figurative sculpture on Mount Athos, as in the rest of the Byzantine world, has never been especially favoured. The only example is a small icon of St Demetrios built into the wall of the katholikon of Xeropotamou, and probably brought here from Constantinople. The icon is characterised by simplicity, though its execution is also highly expressive, and it is dated to the twelfth century.

Finally, from the other categories of sculpture, mention must be made of two portable marble holy-water phialae, one from the late tenth or early eleventh century in Vatopedi and the other from the fourteenth century in the Monastery of Pantokrator. They are both hemispherical bowls decorated with crosses, like other Byzantine marble holy-water phialae and baptismal fonts.

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**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1924<sup>2</sup>, pp. 38ff., figs. 7-9. Bréhier 1940, pp. 48ff. Orlandos 1953, pp. 83ff., figs. 1-5. Orlandos 1955-6, pp. 105ff., figs. 1-2. Lange 1964, no. 23, pp. 79-80. Nenadović 1974, p. 137, fig. 48. Bouras 1975-6, pp. 85ff., pl. 44-51. Grabar 1976, pp. 68-9, pl. XXXIX, XL. Mylonas 1979, p. 146 n. 11, figs. 3-4, 10-1. Boura 1980, p. 29, fig. 29. Mylonas 1981, pp. 549-50, figs. 6-8. Mylonas 1985, p. 67, figs. 5-8. Mylonas 1986, pp. 11ff., figs. 3-4. Pazaras 1987, pp. 159ff., figs. 7-9. Pazaras 1987-8, pp. 44ff., figs. 44-5, 48-9. Pazaras 1988, no. 16, pp. 27, 63-4, 122, 161, pl. 13α; no. 17, pp. 28, 72, 128-9, 164, pl. 13β; no. 18, pp. 28, 81, 103, 119, 131, pl. 14; no. 19, pp. 28-9, 72, 75, 81, 112, 130-1, 158, 164, pl. 15α; no. 20, pp. 29, 73, 154-5, pl. 15β. Pazaras 1993, pp. 147ff., figs. 1α-β, 16. Pazaras 1994, pp. 407ff., figs. 1-17, drawings 1-6. Pazaras 1995 (1), pp. 15ff., figs. 1-18.





### 6.1 Templon

Karyes, Protaton

Marble, 350 x 1400 cm

10th c., 2nd half

One of the oldest marble templa on Mount Athos and the only one to survive intact in its original place.

It is a high, tripartite screen, typical of the

form which evolved in Byzantine churches after the Iconoclast period. It consists of eight colonnettes – four in the central section and two in each of the lateral sections – supporting an epistyle, the intercolumnar spaces below being closed by panels.

The central section of the chamfered face of the epistyle is decorated with an undulating tendril, the diaconicon section with continuous arches framing palmettes (the 'Asia Minor motif'), and the prothesis section with interconnected roundels enclosing palmettes and rosettes.

The jambs of the sanctuary doors are decorated with the common Byzantine motif of the undulating tendril with half-palmettes, and the colonnettes with rows of squares linked by knots; the upper square encloses a cross, the others alternately a clover-leaf and a palm-leaf. The capitals of the colonnettes at either end are simple octagons; these of the central section have a pyramidal form and are decorated with either lanceolate leaves or highly stylised palmettes on the faces, and vertical stems with pine-cones at the edges.





The lower intercolumnar spaces to the left and right of the Royal Door are closed by twin panels, each divided in the middle by a stylised chevron pattern culminating in a cross. Each compartment is ornamented with a geometrical pattern which is a common motif on middle-Byzantine closure panels. Specifically, a triple band of bosses forms an inscribed lozenge and circles, one large one in the centre and four smaller ones in the corners. The central circles contain alternately a concave multiple rosette or a composite lemniscus. The smaller circles in the corners are also supplemented with multiple and star-shaped rosettes and firewhirls.

On the partition walls of the sanctuary are two plaster icon-stands, composed of two double knotted colonnettes crowned with pyramidal capitals decorated with five-leaved palmettes. The capitals support a chamfered arch decorated with a zig-zag pattern that forms triangles enclosing small palmettes.

The reliefs on this templon are characterised by a lack of stylistic coherence and a tendency towards simplification, like the reliefs on other

Macedonian monuments from this period; they should therefore be connected with local workshops, rather than directly with Constantinople. As far as the dating is concerned, Bréhier (1940) and Orlandos (1953) place it in the tenth century, while Grabar (1976) prefers a dating around 1000. Mylonas, however, without offering any specific proof, argues that the templon could belong to the end of the ninth century or be an early tenth-century addition, since, he says, Hosios Athanasios found it *in situ*, and in fact partially walled it up when he was enlarging and renovating the Protaton around 965 (Mylonas 1979, p. 146). All the same, whether Athanasios' work on the monument involved restoring an earlier church or building a new one, it could also have included the construction of a marble templon, because, according to his Life, the church acquired 'beauty as well as size'.

**Bibliography:** Bréhier 1940, pp. 45-6. Orlandos 1953, pp. 83-91, figs. 1-5. Grabar 1976, no. 61, p. 68. Mylonas 1979, p. 146, figs. 3-4, 10-1.

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## 6.2 Part of the epistyle of a templon

10th c., 2nd half

Vatopedi Monastery

Marble, 17 x 243 x 37 cm

This was part of the old marble templon in the katholikon. One end was broken off so that it could be re-used as the south pilaster of the Royal Door in the Chapel of the Hagia Zoni. Along the upper face runs a series of circles enclosing five-leaved palmettes. In between was a boss, which has been turned into a cartouche, a kind of shield surrounded by stylised rococo leaves.

The lower surface is also covered with relief decoration, divided into sections enclosing lozenge-shaped interlacing patterns, a foliate cross, a cruciform arrangement of palmettes, a curved lozenge with a cross in the centre, and a two-headed eagle that was carved later on the unfinished rectangular surface which rested on the abacus of the capital.

The decorative subjects are all executed in the chip-carving technique in an eclectic style that combines early Christian and middle-Byzantine motifs seen on the epistyles of tenth- and eleventh-century templa in Acroinon and Sebasteia in Asia Minor, in the Church of the Panagia Krina on Chios, in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis, and also in Constantinople itself in the Church of the Virgin in Lips Monastery. This shows that the construction of the Vatopedi templon is directly connected with the artistic output of the capital during the Macedonian Renaissance and may be dated to the same period as the Monastery's foundation. According to the written sources, this was in the third or last quarter of the tenth century.

For further stylistic comments and questions relating to the dating of the Vatopedi templon, see nos. 6.3, 6.4.

**Bibliography:** Komnenos 1701, p. 42. Barskij 1887, pp. 197-8. Pazaras 1995 (1), pp. 15-32, figs. 3-4, 17.

T.N.P.





### 6.3 Capital Vatopedi Monastery

10th c., 2nd half

Marble, height 30 cm, base diameter 21 cm,  
abacus 34 x 34 cm

The capital, which is in excellent condition, belonged to the old marble templon in the katholikon. It was re-used, together with three similar ones, on the columns supporting the dome of the Chapel of the Hagia Zoni. The decoration consists of a variation on the early Christian double-zone Corinthian capital with heads of birds and animals. In the lower zone, which has become very narrow, the acanthus leaves have been replaced by a row of Sassanian-style palmettes in very low relief. In the upper zone, as in older capitals, the four corners of the basket are occupied by spread-eagles in very high relief. The spaces

between them are filled with purely mediaeval subjects, perforated bosses covered by a rosette, a composite lemniscus, or a cross. In the centre of the concave edge of the abacus is a protruding fan-shaped ornament.

The plasticity of the figures and the high standard of the execution directly link this and the other three historiated capitals from the katholikon templon with the mullion capitals in the Church of the Virgin in Lips Monastery (907) in Constantinople, while the stylised palmettes are similar to those on a capital in the Archaeological Museum in Bursa.

For further stylistic comments and questions relating to the dating of the Vatopedi templon, see nos. 6.2, 6.4.

**Bibliography:** Pazaras 1995 (1), pp. 15-32, particularly 20, 24, 30, fig. 15.

T.N.P.



#### 6.4 Double-sided closure panel

10th c., 2nd half

Vatopedi Monastery

Marble, 146 x 113 x 6.5 cm

Originally from the central section of the old marble templon in the katholikon; re-used in the row of piers in the outer narthex.

The main face is decorated with the familiar early Christian motif of superposed lozenges within a rectangle. The central lozenge, however, encloses not a Christogram or a cross within a laurel wreath, but a high-relief disc with a radiating pattern of little perforations. The whole subject is framed by a broad band covered by an undulating vine-shoot with half-palmettes and grapes, at which little birds peck. The relief is executed in the *champlevé* technique, with the ground left rough for the wax-mastic inlay. On the rear face, a

rectangle formed by a flat band contains an incised Latin cross with droplets suspended from the ends of the arms.

Like its twin beside it, from the same templon, this closure panel displays a combination of early Christian and mediaeval decorative motifs and a mixture of techniques, notably the use of *champlevé*. The latter, with its clear Islamic influences, was first employed in Greece in the third quarter of the tenth century in the Church of the Virgin in Hosios Loukas' Monastery, and is also seen on closure panels re-used in the phiale of the Great Lavra on Athos. One of the latter, indeed, is remarkably similar to the Vatopedi panel.

For further stylistic comments and questions relating to the dating of the Vatopedi templon, see nos. 6.2, 6.3.

**Bibliography:** Pazaras 1995 (1), pp. 15-32, particularly 19, 30, figs. 9, 17.

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**6.5 Closure panel**  
Xeropotamou Monastery

late 10th c.

Proconnesian marble, 80 x 80 cm

Re-used in the monastery's outer wall, over the main gate. Oblique and vertical crack on the right. Within a square frame composed of one broad and two narrow bands, a peacock is represented frontally with spread wings and tail. It stands on a high-relief quarter-sphere, from either side of which sprouts a tendril with half-

palmettes and three-petalled flowers. In the upper corners are heart-shaped supplementary motifs.

An inscription is incised on each of the two horizontal sections of the frame.

i) Above: '+ Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ πιστός βασιλεύς' (Andronicos in Christ faithful king).

ii) Below: '+ Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ' (The recollection of death is useful in life).

The panel is characterised by the high relief and plastic rendering of the peacock's body, extreme symmetry, incised details on the body,



and extensive use of the drill. It is unquestionably the work of a Constantinopolitan craftsman who had in mind similar representations of eagles in the architectural sculptures in Lips Monastery (907), particularly as regards the bird's pose and the incised details of its wings and feathers. In its wealth of anatomical detail, the peacock is closely related to a similar one in a marble medallion in the wall of St Mark's in Venice, which is dated to the eleventh century (Buchwald 1962-3, pp. 206ff., fig. 31).

The Xeropotamou closure panel may thus be dated to the end of the tenth century and connected with the foundation of the monastery. The reference to Andronicos clearly reflects the tradition that Emperor Andronicos II Palaeologos restored the monastery, and the inscription is obviously later than the relief. It may have been incised in the eighteenth century, like other inscriptions in the monastery (see no. 6.8).

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 545. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 568. Brockhaus 1924<sup>2</sup>, p. 40 n. 3.

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## 6.6 Closure panel Docheiariou Monastery

10th-11th c.

Marble, 64 x 90 cm

Re-used as a sill in the opening in the north choir of the present katholikon. Part of the bottom edge missing. The panel depicts the Ascension of Alexander the Great (the 'Ascent into the Air'), quite a common theme in middle Byzantine sculpture, which indicates the survival of the Alexander myth into the Middle Ages.

Alexander, in the regalia of a Byzantine emperor, is depicted frontally in the centre riding in a chariot and holding two baited spits, which he used, so the myth goes, to make the two harnessed griffins fly upwards, drawing the chariot after them. Each of the upper corners is occupied by a lion's mask, identical to the one on the lintel over the west door of the katholikon.

As usual, the composition is strictly symmetrical,





in this case with particular emphasis on the vertical axis. The design reveals a distinct decorative tendency, which is most apparent in the simulated pearls on the Emperor's clothes and the griffins' wings, details that are also seen in the closure panel with the eagle in the south choir. The relief is low and flat, and all the details are incised upon the surface.

This strongly decorative relief technique brings to mind the eagles on tenth- and eleventh-century silken fabrics at Auxerre and Brixen, which derive their themes from a repertory of oriental motifs, as do contemporary gold-work, glazed pottery, and, to a certain extent, architectural sculptures, particularly in the

### 6.7 Portable phiale late 10th-early 11th c. Vatopedi Monastery

Marble, height 26 cm, diam. 55 cm

A hemispherical bowl with a separate ring-shaped base. On the front a triple-band cross formé, with two half acanthus leaves sprouting symmetrically from its base.

Various types of cross adorn other Byzantine marble holy-water phialae and baptismal fonts, like those at Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos (unpublished), the Monastery of Hosios Meletios near Megara (Orlandos 1939-40, p. 103, fig. 51), Mistra (Millet 1906, pp. 459ff., fig. 3), and the



Church of the Virgin in Lips Monastery (907) in Constantinople (see Grabar 1963, p. 118, pl. LXXIII).

The features this relief shares with both the lintel over the west entrance and the other closure panels in the choirs of the present katholikon indicate that they all come from the same group and must have been part of the decoration of the old katholikon.

**Bibliography:** Berchem - Strzygowsky 1910, p. 352, fig. 299. Brockhaus 1924<sup>2</sup>, p. 41 n. 3. Orlandos 1954-5, pp. 285ff., pl. 2β.

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Byzantine Museum in Athens (Soteriou 1929, p. 78, fig. 74).

The simple relief ornament on the Vatopedi phiale, with its sharp linear execution, may be compared with similar crosses on the closure panels of the templon in the Church of St Achillios, Prespa, another on a window mullion in the Protaton, as also the cross on a capital in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phocis. On this basis, the Vatopedi phiale may be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

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### 6.8 Relief icon of St Demetrios

12th c. (central subject), 18th c. (surround)

Xeropotamou Monastery

Serpentine (central subject), white marble (surround)

a. 40 x 25 cm approx. (central subject)

b. 70 x 50 cm (surround)

The icon is embedded in the wall at the south-west outer corner of the narthex of the katholikon. There are two cracks in the surround and two more in the central subject. The icon is a full-length frontal representation of St Demetrios, wearing a tunic and chlamys and holding a cross in his right hand before his breast. On either side of his head is the inscription: 'Saint Demetrios'.

The icon is framed by a succession of marble

mouldings surrounded in turn by two tendrils with a variety of flowers, which terminate in the middle of the upper surround on either side of a two-headed eagle. The following inscription in twelve-syllable lines is incised on the lower section of the surround: '+For the grace of the flock of the faithful kings, the senior patriarchal archimandrite, Gregory, persuaded the church officials and at great expense brought this icon from the Church of Hagia Sophia.'

The icon itself is believed to be a twelfth-century work, though it in fact reflects an iconographical type that is common in earlier pictorial monuments and works of minor art, though not entirely absent from the middle Byzantine period. The work is distinguished by a simple yet expressive execution. The saint's



body is flat, and the vertical, tubular folds of his clothing give no hint of what lies beneath. All the same, the linearity stops short of geometric abstraction, for the fall of the folds emphasises the vertical motion, in much the same way as the fluting on a column. This relief is from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, if the inscription on the later surround is to be believed. The surround must have been made after the katholikon was founded in 1761 and certainly before the end of the eighteenth century, for the 'faithful kings' mentioned in the inscription are none other than Romanos I, Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos, and Andronikos II Palaeologos, who are repeatedly mentioned in eighteenth-century inscriptions in Xeropotamou (see Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, nos. 541, 561-3).

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 547. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 539b. Brockhaus 1924<sup>2</sup>, pp. 43-4, pl. 9. Lange 1964, no. 23, p. 79.

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is an Anastasis type (patriarchal) cross, executed in the two-level technique, on a stepped base, with a cypress on either side. The middle arch encloses a Greek cross, its arms terminating anchor-wise in tendrils that meet in pairs to form a palmette. Two small separate half-palmette tendrils fill in the background. The spandrels are decorated with half-palmettes flanking an inverted palmette in a heart-shaped surround.

An arcade enclosing crosses is a very common decorative theme on sarcophagi of the middle and late Byzantine period. The foliate cross appears with particular frequency, with its connotations of salvation and resurrection; according to Byzantine theology, it is the 'life-creating, life-giving wood'.

The two-level cross closely resembles the cross on a pseudosarcophagus from Hortiatiss, Thessaloniki, which is dated to the fourteenth century, while the other, rosette-like, cross has



## 6.9 Front of the pseudosarcophagus 'of the founders', 14th c.

Pantokrator Monastery

Marble, 153 x 75 x 8 cm

A third of the left edge and the upper right corner are missing. The principal face preserves two arches and the springing of a third. They are supported by unfluted columns, with figures of birds on the capitals. Under the right-hand arch

counterparts in the painted decoration of the Church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki (1310-20). On this basis, the Pantokrator sarcophagus may likewise be dated to the fourteenth century, a dating which also accords with the tradition connecting it with the monastery's founders, who must have died in the fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Tsigaridas 1978, p. 182, pl. 3a. Pazaras 1988, no. 20, pp. 29, 73, 154-5, pl. 15β.

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### *Modern Greek Stone-Carving on Mount Athos*

**B**uilding and marble-carving on Mount Athos in the modern Greek period brought together two different categories of organised workers in stone: the stone-masons of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace and the marble-masons and marble-carvers of Tenos and the other islands.

The first group had long been chiefly involved in the construction of the monastery buildings, most of which were built in the 'north-Helladic' architectural style. Their architectural skills were remarkable, but the stone reliefs they bequeathed us are less impressive, being mainly founders' inscriptions and simple decorations in stone. This is generally the case with Northern Greek stone-carving anyway, for it was essentially regarded as little more than an adjunct to the edifice.

The names of these few vernacular architects and builders are preserved in the sources. They include: 'Dionysios Syropoulos, H(adzis) and master mason' of Karakalou Monastery's seashore tower and its surrounding wall (*barbakas*) (1534); Theophanis, architect of the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery (1547); 'Nikephoros, monk, master-builder' in an inscription of Vatopedi Monastery (1604); the architect Constantinos, from Epivates in Thrace, who designed the katholikon of Xeropotamou Monastery, and the assistant builder Hadzi-Constandis Karamanlis (from Karamania), who built it (1763), according to Kaissarios Dapontes; 'Pachomios, architect' in an inscription in the old Church of St Andrew or Serao (1768); the architect Christodoulos from Glossa, Skopelos, who executed a Russian design for the kyriakon of the Skete of St Andrew (1881-1900); the 'mason Ioannis Stylianou from the village of Belkamen, Florina', according to the inscription, who built the multi-storeyed south wing of Simonopetra (1862-4); and there are others too. We learn from one of the monastery's documents that the last-mentioned was an *Arvanitis*, or Albanian, probably one of the Albanian masons and labourers who were living in Chalkidiki in the mid-nineteenth century, seeking work in the local villages and on Mount Athos.

The other category of stone-workers included the marble-masons and marble-carvers, islanders for the most part, who produced the marble architectural members and the stone reliefs that adorn Athos: closure panels, capitals, phiales, fountains, doorframes, relief icons and other panels, templa, hegumens' thrones, icon-stands, and so on and so forth. Their large number is due to the donors and patrons who were so generous in periods when the monasteries were flourishing, for marble is a material whose use is directly connected with economic prosperity. These objects, which are what chiefly concern us here, belong to two phases, which also accord with a more general division. The first, the phase of what one might term 'folk stone-carving', comes in the pre-Independence period (with a conventional cut-off point at around 1830),



though it continued until about the end of the nineteenth century. Thematically and stylistically it is characterised by the folk manner, a blend of traditional (Byzantine and oriental) elements and western Baroque influences. The second phase, that of 'empirical marble-carving', covers the rest of the nineteenth century and the twentieth. It was practised chiefly by Tenian workshops and is characterised by a strong Neoclassicism, apparent in both ecclesiastical and secular works, and influenced by the empirical craftsmen's contacts with academically trained architects and sculptors.

With the Greeks' economic and cultural regeneration in the eighteenth century, the Byzantine marble tradition spread to Athos and, in the course of time, works of marble-sculpture lent increasing lustre to monasteries and sketes. In 1735, Iviron Monastery acquired a splendid fountain (no. 7.1); and the plaque from a second one, certainly the product of the same workshop, was later (1852) incorporated into another, four-sided, fountain, together with new and old (a Byzantine closure slab) sculptures and a rhyming inscription that is a copy of one in the Monastery of St Paul.

There is a marble icon of the Virgin the Source of Life, probably of 1738, built into the wall of the belfry of Xeropotamou; and the building of the katholikon in 1761-3, on the initiative of the scholarly monk Kaissarios Dapontes, adorned the monastery with more reliefs, including the closure panels with two-headed eagles under marble window frames in the north and south facades. At about the same time, Dapontes brought the basin of the phiale, made by a Chian workshop out of red marble (no. 7.3), and in 1783 the peristyle and closure panels were added to the phiale (nos. 7.3a, 7.3b). Other works from the second half of the eighteenth century include a relief icon of the Virgin built into the wall of the narthex, a fountain with a two-headed eagle near the guest quarters, and the throne in the outer narthex.

Still in the eighteenth century, there is the marble hegumen's throne in Pantokrator Monastery, modelled on carved wooden structures; the phiale of Docheiariou Monastery (1765); the relief plaque in the belfry of the Protaton, certainly the product of an island workshop (1781; no. 7.2); a fountain in St Paul's (1794); a fountain on the first floor of the guest quarters in Dionysiou Monastery; and others too.

Early in the nineteenth century there was a surge in building and marble-carving on Mount Athos, notably between 1808-11, when the katholikon of Esphigmenou was built, and the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, which effectively brought all such activities to a halt. The presence of workshops from Tenos was particularly marked. According to Smyrnakis, the architect of Esphigmenou 'was a native of Tenos who also designed the katholikon of St Paul's. It seems reasonable to suppose (though there is no definite proof) that this was Demetrios Filippotis, the father of the, likewise empirical, architect, Zacharias Filippotis, who continued the work on the katholikon after the War of Independence. It is a fact that a Tenian workshop was active on Athos from 1808, engaged in both building and marble-carving, as was the custom in those days.

This workshop designed the katholikon of St Paul's and built the foundations in 1817, and the same workshop, or another one working alongside – also from Tinos –, produced a number of marble structures with sculptural decoration in the monastery between 1816 and 1821. These include:

- the renovation and refurbishing of the belfry (1819-20), together with a number of relief plaques that have since been built high into the exterior facades of the katholikon (no. 7.4);
- the renovation of the refectory and kitchen, and the guest quarters and chapel above in 1820. All that survives today is the splendidly decorated frame and lintel, re-used for the entrance



to the new refectory (1894). The representation of the protective Christ Pantocrator on a cloud on the keystone of the doorframe carries echoes of a similar representation on a doorframe on Tinos (in the Church of the Megalomata, at Ktikados, 1823) and the Tenian workshop that worked at Xenophontos Monastery;

- a fountain to the north of the katholikon with a Baroque relief arch and a draped curtain held up by rings (1817) and a two-headed eagle on the top (1816);

- a fountain of 1821, under the belfry, with an inscription in a medallion and high-relief vegetal decoration (sections of it are now in a room near the guest quarters);

- other fountains (1817, 1821), the inscriptions on which (like the above-mentioned inscriptions) have been published by Millet, Pargoire, and Petit, and other structures 'at the expense of archimandrite Anthimos'.

Works from this decade in other monasteries are also due (with varying degrees of probability) to the presence of marble-carvers from Tinos. These include:

- in Xenophontos Monastery, dating from 1819-20, when the new katholikon was built: a doorframe and lintel, the entrance from the pronaos to the nave, the windows and panels on the lateral facades, external columns with capitals etc.;

- in the Great Lavra: the outer narthex with marble columns and closure panels, 1814;

- in the Monastery of St Panteleimon: the katholikon (1812-21), where the capitals on the facade are identical to those of Xenophontos Monastery; the hegumen's throne (1815);

- in Koutloumousiou: the phiale with its closure panels, and a fountain, 1813-16.

After 1830 and the birth of the modern Greek state, marble-carving on Athos continued to flourish, both in conjunction with building work and as an independent activity. It now branched out into the creation of marble templa, icon-stands, and ciboria. At first, Baroque was once again the predominant style, but it soon gave way to Neoclassicism. The craftsmen from Tinos were still conspicuously present until the beginning of the twentieth century.

In St Paul's Monastery, Zacharias Filippotis, father of the great sculptor Demetrios Filippotis, continued his interrupted work and, with his brother Ioannis, built the katholikon (1839-44), the only one on Athos built entirely of marble. He was back again in 1860-2, making two marble 'throne-type' icon-stands, the door between the courtyard and the naos, and other structures in the inner narthex, for which he received 18,000 piastres and a bonus of 2.5 okes of oil and 2.5 okes of raki a month. His work was continued by his son Georgios in 1874, who, together with a fellow islander, Giannakos Chalkiopoulos, paved the floor of the naos and the outer narthex, and added three round relief ornaments. Another marble-carver from Tinos, Ioannis F. Lyritis or Karaïskos, then carried out a number of tasks: he paved the old refectory (1895), made the splendid templon in the katholikon (1899-1900) for 750 Turkish liras, re-paved the refectory after it had burnt down and made twenty-six tables (1903), made the templon for the Skete of St Demetrios or Lakkos Skete, a metochi of St Paul's (1903), as also two icon-stands and the floor of the *skete* (1904).

In Iviron Monastery, the above-mentioned Georgios Filippotis and his son Zacharias built the ciborium over the altar and three icon-stands in 1888-90.

In the Great Lavra, Ioannis Chalepas, the father of that other great modern Greek sculptor, Giannoulis Chalepas, made the templon in the katholikon and the ciborium over the altar in 1886 for 621 Ottoman liras (plus fifty twenty-franc coins, 'as a tip').

In Karakalou Monastery, an inscription in dactylic hexameters on the lintel of the inner narthex of the katholikon tells us that 'Demetrios Mavromaras of Tenos [worked] with marble stones, gouge, and chisel' in 1859.



In Xenophontos Monastery, the marble templon and the altar, made in 1840 'of Athonite and Tenian marble', are also the work of craftsmen from Tenos. The templon is mentioned as a model in the contracts drawn up between St Paul's Monastery and Zacharias Filippotis in 1860 and Ioannis Lyritis in 1899.

At present it is not possible to say which workshops produced the other nineteenth-century marble structures and reliefs on Athos. They include, among many others, pedimented Neoclassical doorframes in Pantokrator Monastery (1847), the Baroque doorframe in the Monastery of St Panteleimon (1855; no. 13), the phiale in Iviron Monastery (1865), the same monastery's gate and propylaea with fluted columns (1867), the templon in Kastamonitou Monastery (ca. 1867), a fountain outside Vatopedi Monastery (1884), and the prostyle entrance and gate of Gregoriou Monastery (1894-6).

The practical function of the marble structures is allied with the protective function of the decoration – whose age-old symbols, re-evaluated, are intended to defend the entrance and the water – and also with the informative function of relief icons and founders' inscriptions. In the early phase, the composition is characterised by the general features of folk sculpture – stylisation, symmetrical repetition, the main subject emphasised by its size, *horror vacui*, optimism, and a decorative tendency. In the second phase, Neoclassicism predominates, with its well-known thematic and stylistic characteristics. Nonetheless, traditional Baroque reliefs survive sporadically in this period too. In all cases, the island workshops predominated.

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**Bibliography:** Vlachos 1903. Smyrnakis 1903. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904. Lambros 1909, pp. 433-74. Politis 1913, pp. 185-235. Pallas 1960-1, pp. 413-52. Mylonas 1963, pp. 189-207. Zora 1966, pp. 35-56. Nikodemos N. 1975. Korre 1978. Vasileiadis 1979. Florakis 1980<sup>2</sup>. Lydakis 1981. Dagoulis - Lymperis 1985. Goulaki-Voutyra 1989. Karagatsi 1990. Theocharidis 1991 (1), pp. 76-86. Theocharidis 1991 (2), pp. 253-70. Florakis 1992, pp. 184-99. Zora 1993, pp. 1-77. Florakis 1995. Hatzifotis 1995<sup>2</sup>. Karagatsi 1996.





7.4 St George, detail.



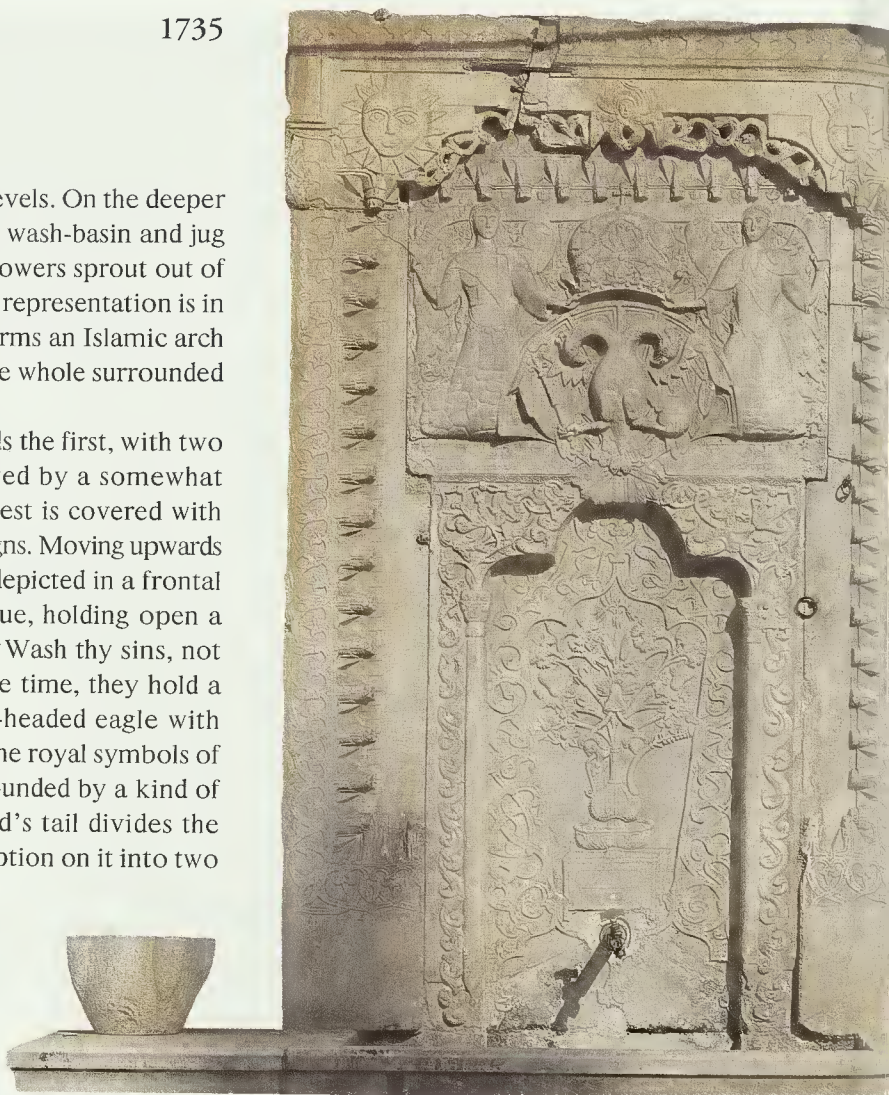
7.1 Fountain  
Ivion Monastery

Marble, 180 x 100 cm

1735

The fountain is on two levels. On the deeper one is a representation of a wash-basin and jug on a bench. Branches and flowers sprout out of the openings of the jug. The representation is in a frame, the top of which forms an Islamic arch and at the base is the tap, the whole surrounded by a scroll pattern.

The outer level surrounds the first, with two slender columns surmounted by a somewhat flattened trefoil arch. The rest is covered with dense interlacing vegetal designs. Moving upwards now, full-length angels are depicted in a frontal pose on a rectangular plaque, holding open a scroll with the inscription: 'Wash thy sins, not thy face alone'. At the same time, they hold a bishop's mitre over a two-headed eagle with wings *éployées*; it clutches the royal symbols of orb and sceptre and is surrounded by a kind of semicircular glory. The bird's tail divides the lower cornice and the inscription on it into two



sections of three lines each: 'The holy Nathanael, prior of Ivion Monastery, an honest man like the Israelite of yore, from the city of Smyrna ... of the excellent Monastery of the fathers of Ivion ... in remembrance ... cleanse ... 1735'. The whole of this more prominent level is surrounded by a double frame, the inner one fringed with stylised fruits, and the outer one with foliar motifs within intersecting arches.

The superstructure of the fountain, finally, which is a projecting separate piece of marble, depicts a cherub in the centre and anthropomorphic suns in the corners. Along the top is a cornice of contiguous crosses, along the bottom a perforated lace-like ornament.

This is a fine piece of workmanship, showing

a notable sense of composition dominated by the *horror vacui* which causes every surface to be covered. The strong Islamic influence evident in the lower section, with its interlacing vegetal ornaments and the floriferous jug (a common theme in both Epirot and Skyrian coloured embroidery), joins with, and is animated by, the traditional and religious motifs in the upper section and the superstructure.

As regards the representations, it should be noted that, within its polysemous symbolism, the fact that the two-headed eagle is being crowned by angels alludes to the scholarly interpretation of the two heads as symbolising the dual nature of Christ (Lambros 1909, pp. 467-8). There is a similar symbolism in the haloes around the two



heads in other stone reliefs, as, for instance, in the *katholika* of Xeropotamou (external closure panels, 1763) and Xenophontos (wall plaque, 1819). The angels too – like the cherub above –, in addition to their devotional aspect, are not lacking in protective and deterrent powers as the supernatural guardians of the fountain. Lastly, the personification of the sun in folk art reflects the belief that it is a being with human attributes, and its radial halo brings ancient solar deities to mind.

**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, pp. 88-9 (the inscriptions). Lydakís 1981, pp. 20 (fig. 18), 242.

A.E.F.

## 7.2 Relief plaque

1781

Protaton

Marble, 97.5 x 61.5 cm

Island workshop

The plaque is embedded in the wall of the belfry. Within a frame that forms a pointed western arch, a two-headed eagle with wings *en pointe* and a blank oval medallion for a body is depicted wearing lily-decked crowns. The right talon clutches the imperial orb (like the crown, a symbol of royalty) and the left two keys on a ring. A third crown with an oversized cross rests on the two necks.

The two-headed eagle is a symbol with multiple connotations: apotropaic, royal, national, religious, heraldic. On Mount Athos its symbolism is chiefly national, royal, and religious, a reminder of ever-present Byzantium.

In the two-headed eagle examined here, the western features indicate a workshop from one of the islands, where western influence was stronger than on the mainland. In particular, the pseudo-escutcheon-like body and the wavy hatching with which the wings and tail are rendered bear a striking resemblance to a similar motif on a marble closure panel in the templon (1780) in the Church of the Hagios Taxiarchis in Amonaklio, Andros (Karagatsi 1996, p. 97, fig. 48). This date accords with the date of the reconstruction of the Protaton belfry in 1781: '1781 ιουλίου α' / παλεότητι του χρόνου έσα-



θρόθην εις κάλος δ' αὔθις ἐκ / βάθρον και-  
νουργήθην (...)' (Damaged by the passage of  
time, was rebuilt in July 1781). Both reliefs seem  
to be based on the same western heraldic model.

However, the national and religious symbolism  
also takes other forms here: the first in the keys  
in the eagle's talon, which symbolise the Ruling  
City of Constantinople itself (according to the  
folksong, 'The City is the key to the world') and  
await the day when they will open it once again;  
the second in the stylised seraph at the top, which  
have both a devotional and a protective significance  
(see also no. 7.1).

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 699. Millet - Pargoire -  
Petit 1904, p. 12 (the inscription).

A.E.F.



### 7.3 Phiale and peristyle 1763 or 1778 and 1783 respectively Xeropotamou Monastery

Marble, 400 x 300 cm  
Chian workshop

A holy-water receptacle with a peristyle, of a type commonly seen on Mount Athos. The basin inside the peristyle is of red marble and was brought from Chios by the scholarly monk Kaissarios Dapontes about 1763, when the present katholikon was being built. The spout in the centre is decorated with fruit motifs on two circular levels on a square base. Around the rim of the basin is a verse inscription in a single unbroken line of majuscules, the hemistichs being separated by full-stops. It is a humorous poem by Dapontes himself: ‘A lady of Chios I am, a Chiotissa, why do you ask me, priest? That’s why, as you see, I’m beautiful, bishop. Daughter of Kaissarios Dapontes, elder, and he brought me to stay at Chloropotamou,\* so people can see and praise my beauty. And if you ask, Phiale’s my name. 1778.’ The dating of the inscription to 1778 – according to Millet, Pargoire, and Petit – means either that Dapontes brought the phiale in that year, or that the inscription was engraved later on.

Shortly afterwards, in 1783, the peristyle was erected at the expense of Serafim Kephalliniaios, according to the inscription on one of the closure



panels: “This structure of the phiale was erected and built from the foundations at the personal expense of the late priest Serafim Kaifalinos, 1783”. It consists of a double step all the way round, a marble floor, eight columns, six closure panels carved on both sides, and two openings. Above the columns the structure continues with eight built, glass-enclosed arches and a hemispherical canopy painted on the inside with scenes connected with baptism and the blessing of the waters.

Of the eight intercolumnar spaces in the peristyle, two have been left open for access, and the other six closed with panels measuring

7.3a Closure panel (outer side), 1783. Marble, 70 x 100 cm.





70 x 100 cm, sculpted on both sides, and with bases and cornices. The external faces are decorated as follows: two have an intaglio lozenge and a surround of elliptical or foliar shapes respectively; two identical panels have double contiguous lozenges within Baroque ornamentation; and on the fifth is the inscription referring to the construction of the peristyle (1783), within two frames surrounded by a vegetal ornament.

The external face of the sixth closure panel (no. 7.3a), to the left of the west entrance, is particularly interesting, being an attempt at a realistic depiction of the monastery complex in low relief. It shows the entrance gate, the courtyard, the katholikon, the chapels inside and outside the monastery, the belfry, the refectory, the sacristy, the phiale itself, the monks' cells, and the cultivated fields, in a folk-art pictorial style.

The decoration of the closure panels integrates Byzantine and traditional motifs in the Baroque style that predominated in Greece at the end of the eighteenth century (7.3b). The principal element in the composition is the arcade (arches on colonnettes, which in this case divide the panel into two equal parts), a common Byzantine and post-Byzantine subject both in architecture and in stone-carving (on templa and lunettes, for instance – compare a panel built into a wall at Chelandari Monastery: Vasileiadis 1979, fig. 238). In this case, the semicircular Byzantine arches are replaced by the Baroque shouldered

arches that were especially popular on the Aegean islands at that time. An oval pseudo-escutcheon with mantling surmounts the central colonnette.

The same may be said of the representation framed by the left arch: a vase or goblet with confronted birds above pecking at a bunch of grapes. In Byzantine art, this motif, which has its ancient oriental source in the tree of life, symbolises the Eucharist. Here, it is adopted not only thematically but also morphologically, but from a Baroque perspective, with fruit and foliage springing up from the goblet and tumbling downwards. The area enclosed by the right arch is similarly overburdened: flowers with their heads turned away to reveal the calyx are depicted in a two-handled heart-shaped vase standing on an item of western-style furniture.

The other two interior reliefs on the north side of the phiale display similar influences. In one, the main theme is the Baptism of Christ above a vase draped with fabrics, with the symbols of the Evangelists occupying the four corners within ribbon-like circles linked in pairs by rings. The other depicts a pseudo-escutcheon (or medallion) lying on its side and draped with mantling.

\*A play on the Monastery's name: *Xeropotamou* means 'dry river'; *Chloropotamou* 'fresh river'.

**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, p. 188 (the inscriptions). Vasileiadis 1979, pp. 114-5, figs. 126-7. 7.3a Vasileiadis 1979, p. 116, fig. 127. 7.3b Unpublished.

A.E.F.

7.3b Closure panel (inner side), 1783. Marble, 70 x 100 cm.







#### 7.4 Relief plaque St Paul's Monastery

Marble, 70 x 65 cm  
Tenos workshop

1820

One of the most popular representations of saints is that of the equestrian St George slaying the dragon. The theme of dragon-slaying, which has counterparts in similar ancient themes, symbolises the victory of light over darkness, especially in the Christian tradition, where the dragon is identified with the devil. So, apart from anything else, the scene has a clearly apotropaic aspect. It illustrates the well-known folksong that relates how St George killed the monster of the source and snatched the princess from its jaws.

On this plaque, the saint gallops along, having already overpowered the dismayed dragon, into which he thrusts his spear. Before the horse's hooves, the princess flees in terror. Although she is depicted frontally, in accordance with the folk-art tradition, the sculptor has attempted to convey the idea of movement through the averted

hands, the bent knee, and the rippling veil. In the upper right corner, the hand of God in a cloud assists the saint with a blessing, as in votive icons. The inscription reads: 'Saint George'.

This plaque is one of many embedded high up in the outer facades of the katholikon and belfry of St Paul's Monastery. They were all produced by the same workshop about 1820, as the inscription on one of them, on the belfry, attests: '1820 August 28'. Later on, when the katholikon was finished (1839-44), they were re-used here.

The panel's iconographical type is clearly modelled on contemporary engravings. However, the existence of an identical representation at Ktikados on Tenos (1823: Florakis 1980<sup>2</sup>, fig. 58) and in Xenophontos Monastery (closure panel in the north facade of the katholikon, 1819) by a Tenian workshop confirms the presence of Tenian marble-carvers at St Paul's Monastery too. They probably produced all the monastery's marble reliefs between 1816 and 1821, as other evidence attests (see the Introduction).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.E.F.



### 7.5 Relief plaque St Paul's Monastery

Marble, 60 x 75 cm

Workshop of Zacharias D. Filippotis, Tenos

1844

This is the founder's inscription for the katholikon, which was built in 1839-44 by the Tenian empirical architect and marble-carver Zacharias Filippotis, father of the great modern Greek sculptor Demetrios Filippotis. The detailed inscription is written on a scroll with curled edges: 'Make fast, Lord, the firmament of them that believe in thee, the Church which thou won with thy sacred blood. On 23 April 1839, with the contribution of Archimandrite Sophronios of Kephallonia, was placed here the foundation stone of this sacred church. On the same day was formed a sacred society and the rule of the coenobium was determined. Shed in abundance the radiance of thy brightness, Lord. 1844. April 23. Hegumen Archimandrite Sophronios Kaligas.'

Above the scroll rises the Lord's cross on Calvary. It is adorned with a floral wreath, and flowers grow from the base, in accordance with hagiological texts, symbolising the 'wood of life',

the tree of Paradise. Buried in Calvary we can see Adam's skull, which, according to tradition, was soaked with the blood of Christ, becoming a type of the redemption of the dead of ages. The blood, which is rendered in colour, flows down from the base of the cross and envelops the skull. In the upper part of the composition, the cross is attended by three cherubs on either side, and in the corners are the sun and the moon, which were 'darkened' at the Crucifixion. The whole scene is surrounded by an ornate frame of ribbons and flowers.

Though the relief is not signed, we may be certain that it was done by the architect himself. Technical and morphological details, including the rendering of the rocks of Calvary, the wedges bracing the cross, and the facial types, link it with another, signed, work of his, dated 1841, in the Church of the Myrtidiotissa on Kythira (Florakis 1995, pp. 24-6, fig. 3). The deep carving and the balance of the composition prove Zacharias Filippotis to have been no less skilful a marble-carver than he was an empirical architect.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished. For the inscription, Smyrnakis 1903, p. 603. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, p. 145.

A.E.F.







ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΘΕΛΕΝ



*Wood-Carving on Mount Athos*

As regards both quantity and quality, Mount Athos is the richest area in the whole of Greece in terms of its perfect distillation of monuments of Orthodox Christian art from the eleventh to the twentieth century. Needless to say, wood-carving is also represented here: indeed, from the early seventeenth century onwards, a large number of works survive in which one may trace, step by step, the whole evolution of wood-carving on Athos in the post-Byzantine period. However, since these works have never been systematically catalogued, and specialised studies are few and far between, any attempt at a comprehensive presentation of the wood-carving of this period is still something of a pioneering endeavour. Furthermore, little survives from the period before the seventeenth century, either on Mount Athos or anywhere else in Greece, so it is not easy to trace the changing forms or sketch out even the general characteristics of each period with any degree of certainty.

In recent years, researchers have ascribed four previously unknown Palaeologan works to the Byzantine period, from which very little survives and every new find constitutes a rare and precious record. They are the epistyle of an iconostasis, two lecterns, and a double door. The epistyle is in the south-west Chapel of St Demetrios in the old katholikon of Xenophontos Monastery, and is decorated with half-palmette tendrils in low-relief. The lecterns are of a very high standard: probably connected with the Despot of Thessaloniki, Andronikos Palaeologos, they are among the rarest treasures in Vatopedi Monastery (see no. 8.1). The double door, finally, which leads from the inner narthex to the nave of the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery, is a work of outstanding craftsmanship, comprising rectangular panels with frames and ornamented with large and small bosses, animals, flowers, interlacing scrolls, tendrils, and other decorative motifs. These works confirm earlier observations about the relationship between Byzantine wood-carving and marble sculpture, minor arts, and painting, and, like other Palaeologan wood-carvings, testify to the use of colour.

From the period that followed, between the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and about 1600, the surviving wood-carvings on Mount Athos are mainly parts of epistyles, together with some large crosses from sixteenth-century iconostases: the cross and two pieces of the epistyle from Dionysiou Monastery, for instance, the sections of epistyles with Dodekaorton icons from Iviron and Pantokrator, and the cross from the Great Lavra Monastery.

It should be mentioned here that the sections of the epistyle and the cross from Dionysiou Monastery, with their fairly high relief and their thematic repertory of slanting acanthus leaves and tangential semicircles enclosing half-palmettes, as also the carved sections of the epistyles of Iviron and Pantokrator, and the Great Lavra cross, were produced by workshops from Crete, where both wood-carving and painting were flourishing at this time and continued to do so well



into the seventeenth century. This was why Mount Athos, which used Cretan painters, also called on Cretan craftsmen for wood-carving, particularly for iconostases. However, the Athonites did not content themselves solely with Cretan wood-carvers, nor Cretan painters for that matter, but they also commissioned work to artists from mainland Greece. This is confirmed by a sixteenth-century bema door from the Monastery of St Paul (see no. 8.2), the technical features of which closely relate it to the iconostasis in the Church of St Nicholas at Velvendo, Kozani (precisely dated to 1591), the almost contemporary iconostases in the Church of the Panagia at Kastraki, Kalambaka, and the Church of the Panagia at Aiani, Kozani, as also the bema door in Kastoria Museum. These iconostases are worked in low relief and still retain their affinity with marble sculpture, whereas in Cretan wood-carving of the same period the relief is high and reflects Venetian influence.

At this point it must be noted that the evolution of wood-carving in the post-Byzantine period was directly connected with the replacement of the marble templon by wooden iconostasis. The change, which must have begun at least as early as the fourteenth century, spread more widely during the Ottoman period, when the iconostasis became the principal expression of religious wood-carving. At this time, the iconostasis preserved the structure of the high Byzantine templon, with the closure panels below, the despotic icons higher up, and the epistyle along the top, though this latter feature was now high, with an entablature in several horizontal sections.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, wood-carving on Mount Athos had moved away from marble sculpture and was exploiting the technical potentialities of wood in order to develop its own distinctive style. A document of 1623, concerning the commissioning of an iconostasis by Iviron Monastery from a Cretan wood-carver named Thomas Benettos, shows that contact with Crete continued in this century too. The western motifs and relatively high relief must have been due to these Cretan connections, being elements which the Cretans took from the West, adapted to their own aesthetic, and passed on to Mount Athos. Athos was also receiving oriental elements, and proceeded discreetly to integrate everything into the traditional Byzantine forms, preserving an uninterrupted continuity of style and the profounder Orthodox spiritual content.

The oldest and most important piece of seventeenth-century wood-carving on Mount Athos is the iconostasis in the Protaton. Made in 1611 by a monk named Neophytos (see no. 8.4 a-b), it was a landmark in the evolution of the post-Byzantine Athonite iconostasis. The epistyle is still dominated by its zone of icons, but this is supplemented by five relatively wide and twelve narrow relief zones, preparing the way for the high entablature. Alongside the traditional forms, it also uses a Renaissance vocabulary, together with low relief; though in some areas the relief is in fact relatively high and in a few it is fretted. Everywhere, however, a faultless technique blends old knowledge and new forms into a harmonious synthesis. The other seventeenth-century iconostases on Mount Athos are also noteworthy – some of them, indeed, are very important – and in them (in the Great Lavra, Vatopedi, Chelandari, Xenophontos, Pantokrator, Philotheou, Molyvokklessia, and cells in Karyes) one may clearly trace the development of Athonite wood-carving.

The Protaton screen is the structural model of all the seventeenth-century Athonite iconostases, with the exception of those in the small churches, whose epistyles necessarily have fewer sections. As a rule, the icons have arched frames, though some are topped with tiny conches, and the tympanum over the Royal Door is frequently done in fretwork. The decorative subjects include fruit, flowers, leafy tendrils, birds, palmettes, and vases, though the commonest theme, which is seen in one or more sections of the epistyles of all the screens, is the vine-shoot, sometimes



simple, and sometimes – as in the Great Lavra – more complex, with broad leaves between the branches, and bunches of grapes, often with birds pecking at them. The outline of the leaves in particular is frequently more deeply cut away, so that they stand out more forcefully against the background, which presents a chromatic contrast to the gilded relief ornaments. The relief in various places is sometimes low, sometimes higher, and some of the decorative motifs – like the vine-leaves – are usually rendered in a naturalistic manner, while others – like the palmettes and fruit – preserve their traditional stylised forms. The great cross on top of the sixteenth-century iconostases continued to be used in the seventeenth century, its height in some cases reaching four metres.

Many iconostases were made on Mount Athos in the eighteenth century, some to replace older ones and others to adorn the interiors of the new churches that were being built at this time. After 1700, the general economic climate improved considerably, which meant that numerous churches were being built and furnished both on Athos and in the rest of Greece. At the same time, changes were taking place in the structure, technique, and style of the iconostases. The triple arrangement remained, but new elements were being added. In the lower zone, above the closure panels, narrow rectangular carved wooden features, the lower *ketabedes* or ‘overpanels’, were added. In the middle zone, above the despotic icons, the upper *ketabedes* were added, surmounted by curved structures known as *kemeria*. The third zone, corresponding to the Byzantine epistyle, is often quite wide and includes the Tree of Jesse, the *Apostolika*, the Dodekaorton, and narrower relief zones; it is crowned by the low, perforated *kladi*, upon which, as of old, is the cross flanked by the *lypira*. The capitals on the colonnettes in the zone containing the despotic icons are usually shaped into corbels supporting the epistyle, which projects and cants forwards. This, give or take a few details, is the structure of all iconostases from the eighteenth century onwards.

As far as technique is concerned, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the relief was becoming higher, and more and more parts of the screen were being ‘carved in the air’ (fretwork). At the same time, the stylised forms were giving way to a more naturalistic rendering, and there was a growing tendency towards prolific, elaborate decoration. The motifs were many and varied: tendrils twisting and twining, flowers, leaves, fruit, stylised carnations, vases, garlands, mouldings, birds, animals, angels, human figures – motifs from the Byzantine tradition, some of them influenced by the Renaissance, others with elements of European and oriental Baroque. One popular new motif was a medallion serving as a cartouche, a common ornament in European decoration after the early decades of the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, craftsmen were also engaged in a search for ever higher relief, more prolific, elaborate compositions, and more naturalistic forms. The early iconostases – in the Chapel of St John the Prodrome in Iviron Monastery, for instance (1711), and the Chapel of St John the Prodrome in the kellion of Dionysios of Fourni (1711) – preserve a number of seventeenth-century features. In the Chapel of St Demetrios in Vatopedi Monastery (post-1721), the rosettes have become roses and there are many more animals; while in the katholikon of Stavronikita (1743) the screen carvings verge on Greek folk Baroque.

The period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century was the age of modern Greek Baroque, which was strongly manifested in ecclesiastical wood-carving, and is represented on Mount Athos by numerous, frequently very fine, examples. Particularly impressive are the iconostases in the katholika, especially those of Vatopedi, Gregoriou, Docheiariou, Koutloumousiou, Dionysiou, and Esphigmenou.

During this period, the iconostases changed in terms of structure, technique, and artistic



style. Each one now formed an impenetrable barrier between the nave and the sanctuary, rising to the tops of the walls and leaning forward. Frequently, they were not straight, but curved at the ends, or else the middle section advanced towards the centre of the nave; and the epistyle, now transformed into a weighty entablature, consisted of a succession of undulating courses.

Fretwork predominated and the relief was high, almost sculptural. Forms tended to be elliptical, the arrangement diagonal, the whole surface was gilded, there was a strong impression of depth, and the thematic repertory was enriched with fresh motifs and new combinations of old ones. Elaborately twining tendrils thick with leaves covered the surfaces, and among the restless foliage appeared flowers, animals, birds, angels, prophets, Evangelists, scenes from the Old and New Testaments, little human figures engaged in everyday pursuits, and a host of other decorative subjects – vases, bouquets, fillets, fringes, medallions – all in busy motion, often twisting and twining, and rendered as naturalistically as their tiny size permitted.

After the mid-nineteenth century, influenced, like other art forms, by Neoclassicism, ecclesiastical wood-carving began to introduce elements that were ill-suited to its style, and suffered a decline in quality as a result. It has correctly been observed that the works became poorer and somewhat cold and flat. Iconostases in particular displayed a mixture of techniques, being now panelled, with only a few sections still carved – usually the tympanum over the Royal Door, the Royal Door itself, the cross and the *lypira*, and, more rarely, a band of fretwork on the epistyle. Sometimes the screens are painted, however, and then the vases, the vine-shoots, and the floral and geometrical ornaments are rendered with a sensitivity and feeling for colour that produce enchanting compositions imbued with the fresh purity of folk art.

Finally, it should be noted that the interior decoration of the churches also includes cathedras, ambos, and other objects carved in wood, such as icon-stands, lecterns, candelabra, and *epitaphioi*. But the tour de force of ecclesiastical wood-carving is the iconostasis, which ‘brings together all the virtues (of that art form), comprehends all its decorative themes, and fully exploits its aesthetic potential.’ We have therefore confined this investigation to the iconostases, because this, albeit brief, survey of their technical and morphological development on Mount Athos, gives us a clear overview of Athonite wood-carving as a whole.

Nikos Nikonanos

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8.4a Detail.



**8.1 Lectern**  
**Vatopedi Monastery**  
Wood, 117 x 48 cm

15th c.

The exhibition contains one of two lecterns which are the most important items of ecclesiastical furniture in Vatopedi Monastery. It is an artistic masterpiece, which adds one more notable work to the few Byzantine wood-carvings that survive.

The body of the lectern is octagonal and stands on eight short legs. Each of the eight sides is divided into three compartments containing representations or decorative subjects; which means a total of twenty-four compartments in three rows, separated horizontally and vertically by strips of mainly vegetal motifs. More specifically, the horizontal strips are decorated with tendrils with fleshy leaves and the vertical ones consist of a pole with a leafy shoot twining around it, embellished with flowers, fruit, and a few animals. The principal decoration, however, consists in the relief panels within the compartments. These are rectangles measuring approximately 25 x 13 cm in the top row, 29 x 13 cm in the middle row, and 30 x 13 cm in the bottom row. On the other lectern (not exhibited here), the iconographical cycle of the Akathistos Hymn is illustrated, each panel representing one verse. The decoration on the lectern in the exhibition, however, is more varied in its thematic repertory and arrangement. Both horizontally and vertically, each panel illustrating a scene is flanked by a panel with a decorative subject. Twelve panels contain various combinations of intersecting or tangential circles, with the spaces between the circles either being decorated with rosettes and tiny bosses or forming fretted ornaments set against a red or green ground. The panel is missing from one compartment; the rest depict the Annunciation (in two panels); the Mother of God as the True Vine; the Hospitality of Abraham; Jacob's Ladder; David; Balaam the Soothsayer; the Three Youths; Daniel; and the Apostles Peter and Paul. The motifs on the horizontal and vertical strips are rendered somewhat summarily

without the finesse that characterises the panels, whose elaborate detail recalls miniature ivory carvings.

Tradition has it that both lecterns were the gifts of Andronikos Palaeologos, the Despot of Thessaloniki who handed the city over to the





Venetians in 1423 and became a monk under the name of Akakios (Arkadios, forthcoming, p. 277). As regards the various versions of where Andronikos went after 1423, it seems to be generally accepted that he became a monk at Vatopedi; and Uspenskij's information that a

chronicle written in 1570 included the two lecterns among Andronikos' gifts to the monastery should be taken very seriously. This reference offers considerable support for the view that Andronikos had special links with Vatopedi, and also adds further weight to the theory that the lecterns, which must have been made especially for the monastery, date to Andronikos' time. It should also be noted that Ioannis Komnenos, in his *Prokynetarion for the Holy Mountain of Athos*, includes among the works 'worth seeing' the lecterns, which the monks must have shown him as such when he visited Mount Athos in 1698.

**Bibliography:** Komnenos 1701, p. 51. Uspenskij 1880, p. 32. Theophilos 1972, p. 104. Moni Vatopediou 1994, pp. 86-7. Moutsopoulos 1995, p. 61, fig. 19. Nikonanos 1996, pp. 542-4, figs. 488-92. Arkadios (forthcoming).

N.N.

## 8.2 Bema doors St Paul's Monastery

16th c.

Wood, left door 110 x 30 cm,  
right door 110 x 31.5 cm

These bema doors were in the *kalyve* of St Charalambos, which belongs to the Nea Skete. After the recent death of the last resident, they were transferred to the sovereign Monastery of St Paul. No-one knows which church they originally came from.

The decoration is mixed – painted and carved – and the doors consist of two solid pieces terminating at the top in imperfect quadrants edged with intersecting semicircles and zig-zag patterns. The central strip between them resembles a spiral colonnette, with rosettes and guilloches in the middle and at the ends. The greater part of each door is taken up by painted representations: in the central sections, St Peter on the left and St Paul on the right; and the Annunciation in the quadrants, with Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right. Behind the Virgin and Gabriel are two buildings, with a prophet depicted from the waist up on each one. There is little carved decoration. The main, rectangular section of each door is divided by a rope-like ornament





into two parts, a narrow one below, decorated with relief heart-shaped ornaments, and one above with zig-zag strips along the outer edges and topped by two opposed spiral tendrils enclosing palmettes. The lettering in the representations is in the Slavonic script of Romania.

and semicircular in section. This latter technique is also seen in the accurately dated (1591) iconostasis in the Church of St Nicholas at Velvendo (Makris 1969, p. 61. Tsaparlis 1980, pp. 26-8), in the almost contemporary iconostases in the Church of the Virgin at Kastraki, Kalambaka prefecture,



The carved areas are not only limited, they are also somewhat unsophisticated in style. They make an attempt at symmetry and display a mixture of techniques: some parts are almost flat – the heart-shaped ornaments in the lower section, which are reminiscent of earlier works (Papatheophanous-Tsouri 1995, figs. 10-13) – while in others (the palmette tendrils over the figures of Peter and Paul) the relief is low, smooth,

and the Church of the Virgin at Aiani, Kozani prefecture, and also on a bema door in Kastoria Museum. It reflects trends that were prevalent in Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaloniki (Nikonanos 1995, p. 223), and former Yugoslavia (Ćorović-Ljubinković 1965, pls. XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, etc.).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

N.N.



### 8.3 Cross

Pantokrator Monastery

Wood, 95 x 85 cm

ca. 1600

The small dimensions of this cross (only 95 cm high) suggest that it was made for the epistyle of the iconostasis in a chapel, because we know that

three large and two small flowers in the form of stylised palmettes with a pine cone emerging from them; the bottom has only two large flowers on the lateral lobes, because the middle lobe rested on the epistyle. The Crucifixion is painted on the gilded ground of the cross, and in the three-lobed extremities are the symbols of the Evangelists, the eagle of St John, the angel of St Matthew, the



in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries iconostases crosses were much larger, frequently attaining a height of four metres (see the Introduction). The arms of the cross terminate in three-lobed ornaments, and at the point of intersection they widen by means of four ninety-degree angles to form a central square. The base of the cross is not stepped. The whole inner body of the cross is outlined with an unbroken row of tiny bosses, the arms are edged with stylised roses, and carved flowers are affixed to the terminal three-lobed ornaments. More specifically, the three upper extremities each have

lion of St Mark, and the calf of St Luke. At the base of the painted cross is a concise representation of the hill of Calvary and the skull of Adam. The form of this cross, with the three-lobed extremities and carved flowers affixed to them, features already known in the fourteenth century, seems to have become more widespread on the iconostases of Orthodox churches in the sixteenth century (Vocotopoulos 1985-6, fig. 3. Kazanaki-Lappa 1991, figs. 113, 116-18).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

N.N.



**8.4a-b** Iconostasis from the Protaton 1611  
Karyes. Holy Community Building  
Wood. Hieromonk Neophytos

As has already been pointed out, the Protaton iconostasis of 1611 is the oldest and most important work of seventeenth-century wood-carving on Mount Athos.

Its creator, the monk Neophytos, moved away from a strict adherence to the styles and techniques of marble-carving and, by exploiting the technical potentialities of wood, gave his work a style of its own. He also considerably increased the number of zones above the despotic icons and thus opened the way for the spare, simple sixteenth-century epistyle to become the high entablature that would later turn the iconostasis into an impenetrable barrier between the nave and the sanctuary. Most important of all, however, is the fact that this evolution in style and form, which would certainly never have been possible without earlier developments, are made in a work of an extremely high artistic quality, in which old and new elements, both traditional and introduced from abroad, are combined in a perfect structure of supreme Orthodox spiritual presence.

The original marble parapet of the Protaton's Byzantine templon serves as the lower section of the present iconostasis (Orlandos 1953, pp. 83-91; cf. no. 6.1). Apart from colonnettes, the zone of the despotic icons also has a row of arched finials, the augmented epistyle comprises the zone of icons of the Dodekaorton together with another five relatively wide and twelve narrow relief zones, and the whole culminates in a pyramidoid scheme, formed by the great cross and the *Iypira*. The zone of despotic icons and the section of the epistyle displayed in the exhibition, as also the zone of the Dodekaorton and the section with the inscriptions, are now kept in the vestibule and meeting chamber of the Holy Community Building, and the cross and *Iypira* in the sacristy.

The colonnettes in the zone of despotic icons rest on and are crowned with Corinthianising capitals, and their whole surface is covered with loosely intertwining vine-shoots, which emerge

from elaborately decorated little amphorae and are interspersed with bunches of grapes and vine leaves. On the row of arched finials the vine-shoots, which emerge from vases, apart from leaves, half-leaves, and grapes, are also enriched with pine cones, pecking birds, and buds; over the Royal Door the composition is even more complex, and done in fretwork. The whole section is covered with writhing tendrils with half-leaves, oak leaves, roses, and pine cones around the axis

of the composition, which is marked by an open vessel containing sprigs and above it a smaller one with two confronted birds bending over it. On the slightly projecting epistyle, the three principal zones of the section (8.4a) displayed in the exhibition present a continuous succession of motifs between narrow bands of stylised leaves, ovolo mouldings, and astragals, and a rather broader band of acanthus leaves. In the middle of the lowest zone is a mask, from the mouth of

which emerge vine-shoots, which go curling off to the sides, with leaves and birds pecking at bunches of grapes among them on a dark blue ground. In the middle zone, which is done in fretwork, narrow beaded bands form an interlacing pattern, interrupted at regular intervals by vertical branches and pairs of birds. The third zone too is fretted and consists of a row of vertical branches.

The base of the cross and the *Iypira* (8.4b) consist of two curved sections decorated with



8.4a Zone of despotic icons and the epistyle under the Dodekaorton zone (685 x 235 cm).





8.4b The base of the cross and lypira with the inscriptions (214 x 53 cm).

spiral beaded bands, leaves, and flowers. In the middle of each one is a rectangular panel with a majuscule inscription, and between the two panels is the motif of the Pelican in her piety.

The upper inscription runs: 'We worship in the place where thy feet have trod, Lord +1611. Footstool +7199 [=1611].' And the lower: 'Finely worked by the hand of Neophytos, hieromonk, surnamed Routis. Pray for him.'

In the Protaton iconostasis, hieromonk Neophytos married elements from the thematic repertory of both West (the mask and the vases, for instance) and East (the roses). But he selected and integrated them with the Byzantine themes with such subtlety and discretion that, despite these borrowings, he created a complete, consummate, purely post-Byzantine composition of high artistic quality, which set an example for all subsequent craftsmen to follow.

**Bibliography:** Ćorović-Ljubinković 1965, pp. 114ff., 157ff., pl. LXIV. Ćorović-Ljubinković 1966, pp. 126-7, fig. 2. Tsaparris 1980, pp. 30-1, pl. 2.

N.N.

## 8.5 Bema doors

1615/16

Chelandari Monastery

Wood, left door 165 x 55 cm,  
right door 150 x 50 cm

These two solid doors form a pointed curve at the top and have both painted and carved decoration. The carved ornaments are very elaborate and the gilded relief areas stand out against a flat red or blue ground. At the bottom and in the middle of the central strip between

the doors are rings holding bunches of leaves, and at the top a pear-shaped ornament, while dainty tendrils with palmette-like leaves and many-petalled rosettes coil slantwise over the rest of the central member. The outer edges of each door are defined by a rope-like ornament, followed by a broad band with two pairs of intertwining leafy tendrils embellished with rosettes and palmettes. In the arched upper section, this band is limited to a single pair of tendrils, which twists and twines around palmette-like ornaments, is enriched at regular intervals with half-palmettes, and every so often forms interlacing ornaments. On the rest of the interior surface, at the bottom there is a square area defined by a fine rope-like ornament and filled with a disk in the centre, heart-shaped palmettes in the corners, and lotus flowers in the middle of the sides. At the top, similar rope-like ornaments frame a small triangular section containing a representation of a prophet – David on the left door, Solomon on the right. Immediately below this, a larger space contains opposed bunches of stylised leaves flanking a boss in the form of a firewhirl. In the middle is the principal painted subject, the Annunciation, with Gabriel on the left door and the Virgin on the right within a high-relief frame forming a canopy. More specifically, on two small consoles projecting from the surface of each door stand spiral colonnettes with rings in the middle and at either end. These in turn support two larger consoles, and the whole structure culminates in the canopy proper. The latter has a multilobed opening on the front, a lobed window at either side, a double window at the top, two-lobed pointed openings on the narrow sides, and the exterior surface of







the pointed roof imitates tiling.

Apart from their elaborate carved decoration, these bema doors are also interesting in that they are connected with Mitrophanović, a monk of Chelandari and an artist who painted frescoes, icons, and iconostases both in Chelandari and in Serbia (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, pp. 155ff.). In fact, the paintings on the iconostasis to which these doors belong are the oldest known works by this artist, and the inscription mentions Mitrophanović, the donor, and the date 1615/16.

The low relief, the stylised rendering of the decorative subjects, and various other details place these bema doors in the early decades of the seventeenth century; but they are chiefly characterised by the choice and composition of the themes and the addition of the canopy, which hints at western models.

**Bibliography:** Ćorović-Ljubinković 1965, p. 102, pl. XLIX. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 156.

N.N.

### 8.6 Cross Skete of St Anne

17th-18th c.

Wood, 63.5 x 51.5 cm, without the metal base

This is a typical example of Athonite miniature carving and nicely illustrates the respect and admiration which the monks accord their heirlooms. This cross, which until relatively recently was on the right-hand icon-stand in the church of the skete, must have been made by some anonymous monk living there. The skete has been known since at least the seventeenth century as a centre for the production of wood-carvings (Komnenos 1701, p. 38). What is most striking, however, is the fact that the craftsman has produced an almost exact replica, at least as regards the shape, of one of the most important and deeply venerated Athonite treasures, the wooden Byzantine cross decorated with miniatures which belongs to the Monastery of St Paul. The latter cross is divided into a number of compartments, each bearing a miniature on parchment and covered with a thick piece of glass; it is also embellished with gemstones,

pearls, and silver leaf decorated with filigree (Thesauri 1979, pp. 209, 312-13, figs. 312-19).

Like that of St Paul's, the cross from the Skete of St Anne has arms of unequal length, radiating from a square. Each arm consists of a trapezoidal compartment widening at the outer extremity, followed by a smaller compartment – lozenge-shaped on the vertical arms, triangular on the horizontal arms –, and terminating in a disc. On either side, on small stems, and at the extremity of the disc, the three upper arms have three smaller discs; the lower arm has two small discs on stems, another large trapezoidal compartment, and terminates in a smaller compartment in the form of an elongated hexagon.

The various compartments – square, trapezoidal, lozenge-shaped, triangular, hexagonal,





and round – are decorated with tiny carved representations in quite high relief. On the one side of the cross, the central compartment bears the Nativity, and the other scenes include the Annunciation, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, and the Presentation of the Virgin. On the other side, the Crucifixion is in the centre, and the other scenes include the Raising of Lazarus, the Lamentation, the Anastasis, the Ascension, the Hospitality and Sacrifice of Abraham. Both sides together contain a total of fifty-two scenes.

The small round and triangular compartments contain single angels, saints, prophets, and apostles. In addition to the cycle of the Dodekaorton the iconographical programme is enriched with scenes from Christ's Miracles and Passion, the events following the Anastasis, the Old Testament, the Life of the Virgin, and the martyrdom of various saints.

All the compartments are framed with simple rope-like or zigzag ornaments, some have rows of lozenges too, and the central squares are surrounded by a band of relief seraphs.

The carving is somewhat unsophisticated in style, the forms summarily and naively executed, and the work is embellished with picturesque details. Such is the craftsman's dread of *horror vacui* that even compositions which should normally contain only a few figures are crammed with as many extras as the space will permit.

**Bibliography:** Tavlakis 1982, p. 134.

N.N.

### 8.7 Bema doors Koutloumousiou Monastery

ca. 1700

Wood, left door 132 x 31 cm,  
right door 132 x 31.5 cm

These have both painted and carved decoration. The solid body of the doors culminates in a double-curved arch and their fretwork top is semicircular in shape. The central strip between them is decorated with a spiral leafy tendril and topped with a disk surrounding a fretwork cross, stylised roses, and a composition commonly seen in

wood-carving, namely the Pelican, which represents the sacrifice of Christ. The bird pierces its breast with its beak, the nestlings drink its blood, and two large serpents complete the scene below. The solid main part of each door consists of three sections marked off by beaded strips and spiral leafy tendrils. The lower sections are filled with flowers, four birds' heads, and two vases. In the middle, spiral columns with stepped bases and Corinthianising capitals support semicircular arches and serve as frames for the painted figures of Gabriel and the Virgin. Above are two bands





with inscriptions in embossed letters: 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured' and 'The Lord is with thee'. In the upper sections, two pairs of prophets are portrayed in two little icons, David and Moses on the left and Solomon and Isaiah on the right. Along the fretwork top, finally, twine tendrils with fleshy leaves, with two stylised cypresses at the ends, the whole culminating in two birds pecking at stylised grapes.

As regards its stylistic features, the woodwork still reflects the stylised forms of the seventeenth century, while the technique presages relief forms of the first half of the eighteenth century.

It should be noted that these doors have been re-used, as is indicated by the addition of a perforated band of crosses at the bottom.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

N.N.

### 8.8a-b Parts of a carved wooden iconostasis 1760

Simonopetra Monastery

Kellion of Hagios Georgios Kalathas in Karyes

These are from the kellion of Hagios Georgios Kalathas in Karyes, which was radically renovated, and some of the furnishings of its church were transferred to Simonopetra Monastery, to which the cell belongs. The bema doors are now kept in the sacristy of the monastery, while the *Apostolika* remained in Karyes and were affixed to the epistyle in the chapel attached to the lodge in which the monastery's representative lives.

**The bema doors (8.8a).** These have both painted and carved decoration, and each door consists of two sections: a solid lower section with relief decoration and three little icons, and an upper section with fretwork decoration and a single icon. The central strip between the doors is decorated with a series of roses alternating with trefoils and culminates in a disk bearing a representation of Christ. The upper fretwork section is ornamented with intricately twining tendrils, leaves, stylised roses, birds, and the icons of Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right. The lower sections are divided into four almost



8.8a Bema doors  
(125 x 31 cm, left door; 125 x 31,7 cm, right door).





8.8b *Apostolika* (438 x 64 cm), detail.



square compartments, each ornamented with fleshy leaves and the icon of a saint in a double, arched frame: St Basil, St John Chrysostom, St James, and St Ambrosios. Higher up are two long, narrow compartments containing tendrils, many-petalled roses, and tiny icons of the prophets Daniel and Isaiah. The solid section culminates in a narrow band with a stylised undulating tendril.

**The *Apostolika* (8.8b).** Two narrow bands

of low relief and the arched frames of the icons with a rosette between the arches comprise the simple carved decoration. The inscriptions in a separate panel at either end are interesting.

The left-hand inscription informs us: 'This was done at the expense of Master Chadzisimon and his children'; the right-hand inscription: 'Supplication of the servants of the Lord, James, hieromonk and Ambrose, monk, 1760'.

In the middle are the Deesis icons, on either side the apostles, and at the ends, before the inscriptions, St George on the left and St Charalambos on the right. The presence of both saints on the epistyle shows that the Chapel of Hagios Georgios Kalathas was also dedicated to St Charalambos. Also, the fact that St James and St Ambrose are represented on the doors shows that this was the wish of the monks mentioned in the inscription.

It should be noted that fretwork decoration, which, in this case, is not confined to the superstructure of the bema doors but covers much of the surface of the doors themselves, spread over the whole of the iconostasis after about the mid-eighteenth century, as Greek Baroque gradually flowered (see the Introduction). However, in the lower, unfretted section of the bema doors and in the relief parts of the *Apostolika* on the iconostasis from the Chapel of Hagios Georgios Kalathas, the relief has not yet entirely broken away from the technique of the first half of the eighteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

N.N.



# MINOR ART EMBROIDERY



**9** MINOR ART



**10** CERAMICS



**11** EMBROIDERY



**12** ANTIMENSIA









## Byzantine Minor Art

Few civilisations have left examples of minor art of such exquisite quality as the Byzantine, and that in spite of the fact that relatively little of its artistic production – especially of small objects – has survived its troubled history. Fortunately there are written descriptions of some of the more important pieces from each period, and these sources enable us fill in some of the blanks. Byzantine authors such as Paul Silentiarios, George Cedrinus and the Emperor Constantine VI Porphyrogennitos, poets such as Manuel Philis, and visitors to Byzantium, mainly from the West, wrote of the treasures amassed in its churches and palaces, especially in Constantinople. This wealth was principally in the form of cloth-of-gold and precious works of minor art, which were later plundered from the churches, palaces and monasteries by the raiders who seized or sacked the Empire's urban centres, particularly its capital. Constantinople was taken twice, by the Crusaders in 1204 and by the Turks in 1453; and we know that in the wake of these two catastrophes most of the city's celebrated treasures disappeared, either to ornament churches and palaces in Western Europe or, in the case of works crafted in gold and silver, to be melted down for their metal. Such items as were saved in the Hellenic world owe their preservation either to their having been buried by their owners, as in the case of the treasures of Cyprus and Mytilene, or to having been kept in one of the few monasteries – such as those on Mount Athos – which managed despite the pillaging to retain some part of their wealth.

Our knowledge of the wealth of the Byzantine churches and monasteries derives from the *typika* of the various monastic foundations, incorporated into which are *brevia*, or registers of the real and personal property belonging to the monastery. These *brevia* list the private gifts made to the monastery or church, describing the items, often in considerable detail, and were usually produced in several copies, so as to facilitate inventory in case of loss. They also reveal that consecrated ecclesiastical vessels were held in higher esteem than other portable items, such as icons and manuscripts. Also worthy of remark is the fact that most of the objects of this type still preserved in the Athonite monasteries were gifts from Emperors or from members of the Byzantine ruling class, offered as tokens of piety and frequently bearing dedicatory inscriptions: examples include the chalice and the paten offered by the Despot of Ioannina Thomas Preljubovic (1348-55), now in the Monastery of Vatopedi and the Great Lavra, and numerous icon revetments, such as those offered to Vatopedi by its Hegumen Theosteriktos (12th c.) or by Anna Cantakuzene Palaeologina, wife of Manuel III Comnenos and Empress of Trebizond (1390-1412).

While most of these objects, such as the ecclesiastical vessels, the silver gilt icon revetments,



the sacred books and crosses covers, were made for use in the monastery churches, there are many examples of items originally made for the Byzantine nobility and later offered or bequeathed to a monastic foundation: these include most of the miniature icons of ivory and steatite and the pectorals of jasper, sardonyx or precious metals. These works, often made exclusively in the imperial workshops, like the precious silk fabrics, were officially protected by the state. This protection combined with restriction exports guaranteed quality control in production and consequently upgraded value. Such articles were thus both exceptionally costly and highly treasured, even in the West. Their value lies chiefly in their unusual technical perfection combined with an elevated aesthetic artistry which followed the predominant trends in the monumental art. The costliness of these small treasures owes less to the precious materials of which they were made than to their workmanship, at once delicate and ornate, which set them apart from other contemporary examples of gold and inlay work and caused them to be copied in neighbouring countries to the North and West.

The monasteries of Mount Athos do not preserve examples of miniature works from the early Christian period; their treasures of minor art dates from the Macedonian and Comnenian period, and the Palaeologan Renaissance. The articles from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period known as the Macedonian Renaissance, such as for example the steatite icon of St George in the Monastery of Vatopedi (no. 9.1), the bema door from the Protaton with its inlaid ivory ornamentation (no. 9.15), and the jasper panagiarion from the Monastery of Chelandari (no. 9.8), are all examples of an art marked by a conscious revival of features from classical Greek tradition. The differences in expression and rendering of the classical in the works of this period owes as much to each artist's individual approach to the classical heritage as to the use of different models. The humanism of the age of the Macedonian Emperors, however, conferred a homogeneity on its art such that comparisons between paintings and ivories, between enamels and miniatures, become perfectly valid.

While the minor arts preserved their classical heritage during the age of the Palaeologans (1363-1453), the period which produced most of the miniature treasures preserved in the Athonite monasteries, various elements and techniques from the lands lying beyond the Empire's eastern and, especially, western borders had begun to penetrate Byzantine art. Innovations began to appear: established motifs of Orthodox iconography were rendered in the translucent enamels commonly used in Italy, Gothic-inspired ornamentation was added to works whose shape and remaining decoration were purely classical (Jasper no. 9.14, chalice of Preljubović), and eastern motifs, such as heraldic animals, were used to add a touch of the exotic to ornamented items (Jasper no. 9.14, Vatopedi bema door).

The monasteries on Mount Athos have preserved miniature Byzantine works of art executed in a variety of materials, including ivory, steatite, bone, semiprecious stones, precious metals and wood, and decorated in a variety of techniques: repoussé and fretted relief, incision, and enamels, damascening, niello, etc.

Ivories were among the most highly valued *objets d'art*, both in antiquity and throughout the Byzantine period. This material – obtained mainly from India, occasionally from Africa – was one of rare beauty and relatively easy to work; but the difficulty of supply added to its costliness, especially during those periods when the roads to India and Africa were dangerous or even impassable. At these times ivory craftsmen would resort to such substitutes as the bones of large animals – camels, bovines, horses, even exotic animals like the rhinoceros. Written sources confirm the abundant use of ivory in the early Byzantine period: it was used to make book covers and as an inlay for articles of furniture, thrones, doors, caskets, diptychs and other



items. Constantinople and Alexandria were the principal ivory-working centres.

The abundant production of ivories characteristic of the early Byzantine period came to an end in the seventh century, before reviving again in the late ninth century and reaching a peak in the tenth. Ivory, however, is a material which presupposes both economic prosperity and a love of luxury: the production of ivories soon began to decline, and by the eleventh century Constantinople's flourishing ivory workshops were using other materials, including bone and steatite: this is evident in the early steatite carvings of the eleventh century, which are clearly copies of ivories. The finest of the ivories, then, as well as the bulk of their production, belong to the tenth century. The number of articles crafted declined through the eleventh century, and by the twelfth century ivories were rarely being made.

During the middle period in Byzantine sculpture (10th-11th c.) ivories, even those of a religious nature, were mainly produced for secular magnates; such works included private portable icons and small caskets. At the same time craftsmen in ivory were also decorating furniture, ecclesiastical and secular, such as the bema doors of the Protaton (no. 9.15) and the Monastery of Chelandari. This period, however, is essentially associated with the art of the portable icon, especially in the form of miniature icons and triptychs in ivory, which were produced in considerable numbers. These costly miniatures were designed for the personal devotion of the ruling class. Their content was patently liturgical, favourite subjects including the Great Deesis (Christ flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist), scenes from the Dodekaorton, such as the Crucifixion in the Monastery of Dionysiou (no. 9.16), or images of Christ and the Virgin. Such works were frequently sent as gifts accompanying ambassadors to western and northern Europe, and as imperial gifts to western delegations. Thus numerous examples found their way to the West, where however they did not retain their original purpose, but were dismantled and re-used, often to decorate the covers of sacred books or other objects.

Another type of ivory was the caskets known as the 'rosette caskets'; these were usually decorated with secular motifs and used as jewel boxes or, in the West, as reliquaries. Decorated with figures or scenes from classical Greek art, they were modelled on contemporary illuminated manuscripts and icons. Many ivory workshops have been identified, each characterised by its preferred models. The works of this period have been classified into four groups, each probably associated with a corresponding workshop. Few ivories remain in the Athonite monasteries; of those that have survived, the two bema doors from the Protaton (no. 9.15) and the Monastery of Chelandari have been attributed to the 'painterly' or 'classicising' group, while the Crucifixion in the Monastery of Dionysiou (no. 9.16) may be attributed to the 'Romanos group'.

From the eleventh century on, as we have seen, miniature ivory icons largely gave way to carvings on steatite, the 'undefiled stone' of the Byzantines. This material, readily available in the Mediterranean basin, was both cheaper than ivory and relatively soft and easy to work. By the eleventh century the art of the craftsmen working in steatite was achieving a remarkable plenitude in the imitation of ivory-work. The natural tints of this stone – pale green or grey-green – were enhanced by the adjunction of colour and by gilding. The works closest in style to the ivories were produced in Constantinople, which from the tenth through the twelfth centuries knew a prolific production of miniature icons carved in steatite. The variety evident in the style and iconography of the works created in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reveals the spread of the production of steatite and the establishment of workshops in provincial centres, which produced articles for the personal use of private individuals, mainly miniature icons, like those of St George (no. 9.1) and of the Dodekaorton (no. 9.4) in the Monastery of Vatopedi, and pectorals. The Athonite collections include numerous examples of icons, in a



variety of forms, carved on steatite; these were usually gifts from various individuals, whose names, as handed down by tradition, accompany them. The oldest of these, the miniature icon of St George in the Vatopedi Monastery, is an eleventh-century work, while the silver revetment of its frame has been dated to the fourteenth century. Of the other miniature icons, all from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two are double-sided (nos. 9.2, 9.6), attesting to the skill of the craftsmen who made them. Steatite was also used for panagiaria like those in the monasteries of Xeropotamou (no. 9.5) and St Panteleimon (14th c.), remarkable for the richness of their iconographic decoration.

Another branch of the art of sculpture practised during the Byzantine era is that which produced items made of semiprecious stones carved or incised with decorative motifs. Mostly pectorals and miniature icons, but also including examples of ecclesiastical vessels, such as patens, these articles are stylistically very similar to the steatites, and may well have been carved in the same workshops. One factor contributing to this similarity is the tendency to follow, in both the style of carving and the iconographic rendering of the subjects, the artistic currents of the age to which the item belonged – always of course within the limits imposed by their small scale. They are usually decorated with a religious repertory, and were intended for the use of the layman, who wore them as amulets and frequently offered them as votive gifts. The Athonite monasteries have preserved a number of these votive pectorals, some in the form of simple cameos, like the three belonging to the Monastery of Chelandari (nos. 9.11-9.13), and sometimes with costly mount, like those (no. 9.10) belonging to the Monastery of Vatopedi. There are also a number of panagiaria in stone or bone with metal mounts which are particularly interesting for the variety of their iconography, like those in the Monastery of Chelandari (nos. 9.8, 9.9, 9.17). Early examples, like the eleventh-century one in the Monastery of Chelandari (no. 9.8) present in plain compositions the relation between the Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ, while in a later period (12th-14th c.), although the symbolic content remains the same, the composition seems to become more populous and more complicated.

According to sources including Procopios and Paul Silentiarios, the art of the Byzantine goldsmiths must have achieved remarkable levels of craftsmanship and artistry. Unfortunately, the larger examples of the goldsmith's art that they describe or mention, such as the thrones and the statues of emperors in the palaces and the pulpits, templa and altars in the churches, have all been lost.

In the small scale works in gold and silver that have survived from both early and later Byzantine periods, the principal characteristic is the tendency to introduce polychromy, mainly through the use of precious and semiprecious stones but also through the exploitation of a growing mastery of alloy and fused work. With niello, enamels, precious and semiprecious stones and precious metals in a variety of amalgams which gave them a wide range of tints, Byzantine craftsmen achieved remarkable effects of polychromy in their work.

Constantinople had always been the principal centre of gold- and silver-workshops from its founding to its fall. With the city's rapid expansion, the Imperial Court had naturally attracted the finest craftsmen in the realm to meet its demands; but other large centres, including Rome and Thessaloniki, produced their own work. The imperial control stamps on most articles are of assistance today in dating and cataloguing these items.

Like the other branches of the minor arts, the goldsmith's craft also flourished, particularly during the period of the Macedonian dynasty. This is not only evident in the numerous works, mainly ecclesiastical, that have survived, but is also attested by written sources, which mention church walls revetted with silver, silver ciboria, enamelled icon-stands and icons revetted in



gold and enamelwork, like those of St Michael in the Treasury of San Marco. The growing veneration for relics multiplied the number of reliquaries and varied their forms. The most costly were used to encase fragments of the True Cross, and the Athonite monasteries have preserved a number of the finest examples of this type.

The technique particularly typical of the middle Byzantine period was that of cloisonné enamel, although other techniques continued to be used, and indeed were frequently combined, as we see in numerous surviving ecclesiastical vessels. Our knowledge of such articles, made of precious metals or semiprecious stones and ornamented with enamel and gemstones, comes mainly from those preserved in Athonite monasteries, in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice and in other western cathedrals, relics of the pillaging of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. After the eleventh century, however, and particularly during the age of the Palaeologans, there was a growing tendency to produce articles of similar appearance but of lesser material value. Thus gold in most cases gave way to silver or silver gilt, gemstones to semiprecious stones or glass; smaller pearls were used, painted miniatures and painted glass replaced enamel work. Icons, processional crosses, and the covers of sacred books were sheathed in silver, of embossed or filigree work and frequently embellished with enamel. These works are remarkable for their vivid colours and their intricate ornamentation, quite different from the austere lines of earlier examples; these, however, were not rejected but rather re-worked in a new and freer form. The Monastery of Vatopedi has a remarkable collection of fourteenth-century silver gilt icon revetments, while book covers from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries are preserved in the Monastery of Iviron and the Great Lavra, among others.

Equally admirable, although less costly, are the examples of copper and bronze work from the Byzantine era. The Byzantines inherited the ancient Roman art of copper-casting, which flourished in Constantinople and probably in Thessaloniki: there were, in fact, coppersmiths' quarters in both those cities. These craftsmen produced a wide variety of both religious and household items. The former included crosses, large ones for churches, like the example from the Monastery of Docheiariou (no. 9.26), and smaller ones for personal use, stands for votive lamps, candelabra like the two pairs from the Great Lavra, oil lamps, *katzia* like the one from the Monastery of Simonopetra (no. 9.27), censers, *polykandela*, and other articles. Much of their production, even though decorated with crosses, was destined for household use.

Another category of cast metal items, again of Roman origin, were the great monumental doors which throughout the Byzantine age retained some of their pre-Christian features. One of the finest, and earliest, examples is the door of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (9th c.), once ornamented with crosses and flora motifs in relief, although this decoration has unfortunately been removed. The monumental door to the Athonite Great Lavra, created in imitation of this genre, is made not of solid bronze but in accordance with the more usual in the eleventh century technique of sheathing a wooden door with copper plaques or sheets. This sheathing is decorated with foliate crosses and twelve-petalled rosettes in repoussé relief.

It was during this same period that a workshop in the imperial capital began to decorate doors with a sheathing of copper with inlaid gold or silver strips beaten into it. This was the technique known to the ancient Greeks as *empaistike*, now called damascening. Some marvellous examples of this art have come down to us, attesting to the renewal of this ancient technique and its role in the spread of Byzantine art forms across the countries of the West and North. A group of eight late eleventh-century doors from churches in Italy, most of which are still *in situ*, and a twelfth-century door in Suzdal, Russia, were, according to inscriptions, commissioned and manufactured in Constantinople. This attests to the city's prominent role in the manufacture



of copper products and the determinant role of its now fully international trade. A survival of this art in the Palaeologan period is seen in the damascening on the sheathing of a door in the katholikon of the Monastery of Vatopedi, which is thought to have been made in Thessaloniki for the Church of Hagia Sophia in the Byzantine co-capital. It has a series of ornamental panels, in which the damascening is probably done with red ochre, a fluid compound made of hematite which was used to impart a red colour to the inlay. The decorative motifs, for the most part non-figurative, show a close affiliation with the repertory used in thirteenth-fourteenth century Byzantine silk manufactories, thus creating an overall impression of painting. Niello, another form of metal inlay work, was also widely used in this middle Byzantine period, especially in the East. A fine example of this type of work is the pair of candelabra known as the Amalfi candelabra (11th-12th c.), from the Great Lavra.

In addition to the Byzantine *objets d'art* preserved in the Athonite monasteries one must also note the few items of western manufacture from the same period, which were presumably acquired as gifts (nos. 9.29-9.31). These articles demonstrate that the steady flow of trade between Byzantium and the West resulted in the acquisition of a number of original works of art from western workshops, articles which entered into use and which not infrequently influenced Byzantine art by introducing new ideas. Works of art like the rock crystal chalice in the Monastery of Vatopedi (no. 9.33) or the book cover with Limoges enamel in the Monastery of Dionysiou (no. 9.32) thus become even more fascinating.

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**General Bibliography:** Ebersolt 1923. Rosenberg 1928. Bréhier 1936. Csallany 1957, pp. 250-74. Coche de la Ferté 1958. Bank 1960. Beckwith 1961. Frolow 1961. Talbot Rice 1963. Delvoye 1965, pp. 171-210. Philippe 1970. Bank 1977. Bank 1978. Bank 1985<sup>2</sup>. Bank 1986.

**Exhibition and collection catalogues:** Dalton 1901. Segall 1938. Walters Art Gallery 1947. Coche de la Ferté - Hadjidakis 1957. Ross 1962. Coche de la Ferté - Hadjidakis 1963. Byzantine Art 1964. Ross 1965. Weitzmann 1972. Venezia e Bisanzio 1974. Age of Spirituality 1979. Bulgarie médiévale 1980. Metallkunst 1982. Trésors serbes 1983-4. Trésor de Saint-Marc 1984. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986. Byzance 1992. Byzantium 1994.

**Ivories:** Goldschmidt 1914-26. Volbach 1923. Longhurst 1927. Delbrück 1929. Goldschmidt - Weitzmann 1930, 1934. Morey 1936. Volbach 1952. Bovini - Ottolenghi 1956<sup>2</sup>. Volbach 1976<sup>3</sup>. Williamson 1982. Randall 1985. Martini - Rizzardi 1990.

**Steatites:** Orlandos 1935, pp. 567-8. Xyngopoulos 1948, pp. 265-73. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985 (with earlier bibliography). Durand 1988, pp. 190-4. Totev 1992, pp. 123-8.

**Enamels:** Kondakov 1892. Hackenbroch 1939. Amiranashvili 1962. Wessel 1967. Buckton 1988, pp. 235-59.





9.5 'The Pulcheria Paten', detail.



### 9.1 Icon with St George

11th c.

Vatopedi Monastery

Steatite and silver, carved and embossed

15 x 9 cm; 21 x 13.5 cm (with frame)

Constantinople

This icon of St George, carved in pale green steatite, has a wooden frame ornamented with a silver revetment, which is probably of later date. The saint is pictured full-length and frontal in the characteristic attitude of the warrior saints: left hand holding his shield, the point of which is resting on the ground, and right hand raised, grasping the lance in repose beside him. His

military garb, with its heavy folds, is rendered in exquisite detail. The facial features are carved with delicacy and precision, and are in some ways similar to those in the portrait of St Theodore on two eleventh-century steatite icons (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 6-7, pp. 99-101). These works, in fact, share a number of iconographic elements, including the shape of the shield and the positioning of the figures under a palmetted arch reposing on a pair of columns with the familiar Herakles knot: indeed, the columns and the arch are of a type found on many eleventh- and twelfth-century ivories and steatites. The triumphant attitude of the martial figure is thought to be intended to present St George as a victorious





warrior and defender of the Christian faith, as well as of the icon's owner, who frequently bore the name of the saint depicted.

Tradition has it that the icon was donated to the monastery by a relative of the Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (1347-54), from Ioannina (Theophilos 1972, p. 103). The silver revetment of this icon preserved on the upper parts of both the frame and the icon itself, with its prominent bosses displaying the monogram of the saint's name, its intricate ornamental motif of a fluted latticework ribbon with three knops, and the undulating tendril scroll in low relief, all typically fourteenth-century work, tend to confirm this tradition. It should be noted, however, that the repairs made to the worn silver revetment have employed sheets of metal from two different periods, not necessarily connected with the actual date of the intervention. These are the strip on the bottom of the frame, with linked figures-of-eight framing flora motifs, an ornament reminiscent of a staurotheke ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth

century (Byzance 1992, no. 249, p. 336), and the small strip on the upper right-hand part of the frame, with a representation of St John the Theologian, according to the inscription, which is probably post-fourteenth-century. These two strips must have been taken from the revetment of similar icons or caskets.

**Bibliography:** Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6, pp. 101-2 (with earlier bibliography). Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 460, fig. 392.

K.L.-T.

## 9.2 Triptych with the Great Deesis, 13th c. Vatopedi Monastery

Steatite (centre leaf), silver gilt and enamel (wings)  
5.5 x 10 x 1.2 cm (total)

The core of this triptych is a small, double-sided icon, which was transformed into a triptych by the addition of a gilt frame and a pair of side





panels. The Great Deesis is elaborated on both sides of the central wing, each of which has three registers of three frontal busts, all set beneath arched openings. In the top row on the front of the icon are the figure of Christ Pantokrator, flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist, in the familiar position of supplication. Next come two sets of martyrs, most of whom are identified by inscriptions engraved in uncials in the spaces between the arches: these are, from the left, St Demetrios and George holding a lance and a sword, respectively, and St Akakios (?), holding

hierarchs and apostles are represented in a harmonic composition intended to express the hierarchy of Paradise as conceived by the owner of the triptych in his devotions. The representation of the Deesis in steatite works is generally somewhat more summary, principally in iconography (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 463). While in iconography this triptych from the Monastery of Vatopedi is related to eleventh-century works, in style it is closer to the thirteenth century.

Although probably more recent, the metal



against his breast the cross of martyrdom; they are followed by the two Sts Theodores, both bearing shields, and probably St Loupos, holding the cross of martyrdom before him. The figures on the reverse side are similarly arranged, and represent St Onouphrios flanked by the Anargyroi, Cosmas and Damian, beneath two rows of hierarchs, whose names have been lost.

The theme of the Deesis with full-length figures of saints is found as early as the tenth century, on a series of ivory triptychs (Byzance 1992, pp. 233-4). These are exceptionally fine pieces, where martyrs, warriors, physicians,



wings transforming the original icon into a triptych are of the same decorative concept. On their inner faces they have full-length figures of the Apostles Peter and Paul; when closed, the two wings meet to form a foliate Anastasis cross in low relief. Elements of the iconography, style and inscriptions all indicate that the triptych was probably created either sometime in the thirteenth or in the very early years of the fourteenth century (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 464).

**Bibliography:** Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 463, figs. 396-8.

K.L.-T.





9.3 Icon with the Transfiguration, detail.





### 9.3 Icon with the Transfiguration

13th c., 2nd half

Xenophontos Monastery

Light green steatite

Revetment: silver gilt,

with pearls and semiprecious stones

18.5 x 15 x 3 cm

This icon has been set into a wooden panel trimmed with gold-embroidered velvet; the pearl-encrusted revetment is probably of Russian origin. The haloes still bear traces of gilding.

The composition of the scene of the Transfiguration is somewhat austere: the focus is on the central figure of Christ, flanked by Moses, on the left, and Elijah, with the figures of the Apostles Peter, John and James, below, rendered in smaller scale. The position of the apostles against both the rocks which constitute the sole indication of landscape and the area occupied by the central figures of Christ and the Prophets suggests an attempt to differentiate planes and to give the scene a certain depth. The same intent is evident in the use of at least two different depths in the carving: the haloes and the mandorla framing the figure of Christ are executed in low relief, as are the rocks, while a higher relief is used for the figures themselves.

The drapery underlines the volume of the bodies and is rendered with both severity and plasticity, the edges standing out sharply against the convexity of the relief. The late thirteenth-century dating of this work is based on stylistic criteria (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 191-2).

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, p. 623. Kadas 1986, pp. 120-1. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 191-2.

K.L.-T.

### 9.4 Icon with the Dodekaorton 14th c. Vatopedi Monastery

Steatite

23 x 16.5 cm

This icon, which is in relatively good condition, is divided into twelve panels (four rows of three) separated by a delicate, corded edging. These panels contain representations of the Dodekaorton, each identified by an incised inscription: Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, Koimesis. Iconographically, the compositions are simplified, but this simplification, which does not follow the same pattern in each scene, is evidently a result of the artist's own concerns rather than the influence of some specific model. Thus, while constraints of space have obliged the artist to retain only the principal figures in each scene, the adjustments of scale are not an indication of their relative importance but an unsuccessful attempt to differentiate between planes and to create a sense of third dimension. In the scenes of the Nativity and the Transfiguration, for example, the figures in the foreground are rendered in a smaller scale than those in the background, while in those of the Baptism and the Entry into Jerusalem the figure of Christ is on a smaller scale than those around him.

The relief, lower than is usual for the fourteenth century, does not leave much margin for plasticity in the modelling of either the figures or the drapery. In spite of this, however, and although the figures are in general somewhat stylised, it is evident that particular care has been taken





with the principal figures, and especially in the rendering of their facial features. The subject of this icon, held to have been a gift from relatives of John VI Cantacuzenos from Ioannina in the fourteenth century, is a favourite for enkolpia: the Vatopedi Monastery has another three with the same subject and the Dionysiou Monastery one; they can be dated in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 460).

While the iconography of these works may have derived from earlier examples, such as the

twelfth-century steatite icon in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Toledo (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 143-50), as principal models are thought to have served painted works, such as portable icons. It should further be observed that, while these steatite icons were in fact mass produced, a fair number of different models must have been used (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, p. 61).

**Bibliography:** Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 217-8 (with earlier bibliography). Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 460, fig. 393.

K.L.-T.



9.5 Panagiaron  
known as 'The Pulcheria Paten'  
Xeropotamou Monastery

14th c.

Light green steatite with relief work and footed gilt base  
Diameter 15 cm, height of foot 7 cm

This paten, which is one of Mount Athos' greatest treasures, is bound by an encircling engraved metal sheet and is attached to a round, footed base decorated with a rosette-shaped ornament in relief. The outside of this band bears the following inscription, engraved in majuscules: '+Venerable gift of Pulcheria Augusta to the reverend flock of the Forty Martyrs'; this probably dates from the eighteenth century (Kondakov 1902, pp. 225-6), when the tradition associating

inscription 'Mother of God / the Great Panagia', frames the head of the Virgin, while the names Michael and Gabriel appear above the archangels in abbreviation. The Virgin is represented in *contrapposto*, standing on a decorated footstool, arms wide-spread, creating a generous frame for the oval medallion with the bust of the Christ Child. Around the rim framing this central medallion is inscribed in majuscules the text of the Hymn of the Cherubs, which is chanted during the Great Entry, marking the beginning of the ritual of the Holy Eucharist: '+ We, mystically representing the cherubs and singing Holy, Holy, Holy, to the life-giving Trinity, offer up all earthly cares as we receive the Lord of all, surrounded by the invisible hosts of heaven.'

The decoration on the two rosette-shaped



this paten with the Empress Pulcheria (5th c.) seems to have first appeared. Two handles in the form of rings attached to polygon bosses protrude from the otherwise smooth surface of the metal strip, which is held in place by means of four screws.

This round and slightly convex paten, in the form of a shallow rosette-shaped dish, follows a decorative pattern commonly used since the eleventh century, with a central medallion framed by two concentric bands of horseshoe grooves. On the central medallion, full-length and frontal, is the Virgin in the type of the Vlachernitissa, flanked by archangels in the garb of deacons, worshipping and offering incense. The incised

bands with sixteen compartments framing the medallion represents the Divine Liturgy with Christ officiating and assisted by angels (on the inner row) and apostles (on the outer row). On the inner row, as in many other depictions of this subject, Christ appears twice, standing on either side of the altar on which the Melismos is represented, accompanied by the inscription 'The Lamb of God, The Holy Altar'. Occupying the same position on the outer row is the representation of the Hetoimasia (Preparation of the Throne), with the inscription 'The Preparation'.

The style of the relief work, especially the rendering of the Virgin and the angels, is similar to that of two steatite patens of known date: the





panagiaron of the Athonite Monastery of St Panteleimon, with an historical inscription, and the icon of St Demetrios in Moscow, both from the second half of the fourteenth century. The heads and bodies are somewhat undercut, in an attempt to produce a three-dimensional effect; the heavy drapery has also been rendered three-dimensionally, and envelops the outlines of the figures (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, p. 47).

The conjunction of the Virgin in the type of Vlachernitissa and of the Holy Eucharist is a representation of the dogmatic concept of the Incarnation, and is commonly used in the decoration of the conch of the apse, where the Virgin Platytera occupies the upper part of the vault and the

representation of the Holy Eucharist, divided into the scenes of the Giving of the Bread and the Receiving of the Wine by the disciples, is usually placed on the walls of the sanctuary.

The decoration of this panagiaron, then, with its combination of iconography associated with the Incarnation, affirms its use in rituals honouring the Virgin, where it holds the 'bread' on the altar to be elevated and later distributed to the faithful (Yiannias 1972, pp. 225-36).

**Bibliography:** Barskij 1887, p. 314. Kondakov 1902, pp. 225-6, fig. XXX. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 548. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 546. Dölger - Weigand 1943, pp. 158-9. Thesauroi 1973, p. 319, fig. 317. Kadas 1986, p. 181, fig. 117. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 204-5.

K.L.-T.





### 9.6 Double-sided processional icon

14th c. (icon), 16th c. (frame)

Vatopedi Monastery

Steatite in low relief (icon)

and painted wood (frame)

6 x 5.5 cm (icon)

40 x 33 cm (frame)

This double-sided icon, with the Virgin in the type of the Hodegetria on one side and six mounted saints on the other, was given a wooden frame and thus transformed into an interesting example of a processional icon combining not only two materials – steatite and wood – but also two decorative techniques: painting and relief carving. An eleventh-century Sinai icon displays a similar combination of techniques (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 106-7). Tradition has it that the Vatopedi icon was offered to the monastery







by relatives of John VI Cantacuzenos (1347-54) from Serres (Theophilos 1972, p. 102). When the icon was framed some time in the sixteenth century, judging from the style of the painting of the frame (Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 405-6), an attempt was made to establish an overall thematic unity on each side: the same is true of a contemporary processional icon now in the Vlatadon Monastery (Tourta 1977, p. 152).

On the principal face of the icon, there is a bust of the Virgin Hodegetria, as confirmed by the relief inscription to her right: she is represented frontal, with the Child on her left arm, while busts of two angels in adoration occupy the upper corners of the field. The wooden part of the icon has been decorated with the half-length images of the twelve apostles, while in the centre, near the top edge, is a bust of Christ in a section of aureola borne by angelic hosts. Six-winged cherubs embellish the corners of the carved frame. Taken



together, the iconographic features of both the icon and its frame are thought to represent a free rendering of the theme of the Ascension. The subject of the Hodegetria is quite common on steatite icons (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 169, 206-7), especially in the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. One of the iconographically closest parallels is found on the fourteenth-century steatite panagiarion from the Athonite Monastery of St Panteleimon.

The iconography on the reverse of the icon is a relatively unusual one: six warrior saints, on horseback. Arranged in two rows of three, the six saints – George, Demetrios and Theodore Teron (above) and Procopios, Merkourios (?) and Nestor (below) – are mounted on heavy steeds and armed with either lance or sword. The decoration of this side of the frame, with busts of the ‘Ten martyrs of Crete’, creates an iconographic unity of subject on this side as well.

**Bibliography:** Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 200-1 (with earlier bibliography). Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 461-3, figs. 393-5. Tsigaridas 1996 (1), pp. 405-6.

K.L.-T.

### 9.7 Icon with the Virgin Eleousa early 14th c. and Sts Demetrios and George Vatopedi Monastery

Steatite and silver with cast relief  
6.5 x 6 cm

This small, almost perfectly square, icon was probably treated with oil in order to produce this light brown colour in the stone. The bust of the Virgin holding the Child in her arms is carved in high relief, with the hands and head especially accented. The incised inscription near the left and upper sides of the carved frame, which reads ‘The Merciful Mother of God / Jesus Christ’ occupies the background around the heads of the figures. The slanting, carved frame is surrounded by a denticulated silver sheet which extends from the back of the icon and is ornamented with the portraits of Sts George and Demetrios in high relief. The two saints, pictured full-length, in

military dress and armed with lance in the right hand and shield steadied on the ground by the left hand, are depicted frontal, standing under arches supported by slender, grooved colonettes with stepped bases and small capitals. The representation is framed by a sculpted band bearing an illegible inscription, in relief, which is read cross-wise: ‘+ The gloriously victorious ... of the saints shield me, Nikolaos, from all harm.’ The names of the two saints, in high relief, are written in column-fashion, reading from right to left.

This iconographic type of the Virgin, with many variations, was widely used between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries in steatite icons (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 31-4, 134, A8a). Stylistically the exceptionally high relief, especially in the heads of the figures, and the creation of different depths in the drapery and in the haloes, are features characteristic of early fourteenth-century work.

The Benaki Museum’s steatite icon of the Presentation in the Temple is very similar in





style, and has also been treated with oil (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 154, pp. 221-2).

The denticulated edging on the silver sheet, while encountered in objects dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, is more usual in twelfth- and thirteenth-century work. The depiction of the two warrior saints under arched openings, common in eleventh- and twelfth-century steatites, is also found in paintings of a later period, especially the fourteenth century. The cast high relief of the two figures is somewhat stylised and summary. The iconography and style of a silver reliquary found in a fourteenth-century tomb is so similar to the silverwork on this piece that the suggested fourteenth-century dating may be extended to the silver mount as well (Polenaković-Stejić 1964, pp. 323-4, figs. 7-8). The mount appears to have been the gift of a certain Nikolaos, who commemorates Sts Demetrios and George in the dedicatory inscription.

**Bibliography:** Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 466-8, figs. 404-5.

K.L.-T.



### 9.8 Panagiarion Chelandari Monastery

10th-11th c.

Jasper and silver

Height 4.5 cm, rim diameter 11.4 cm,  
base diameter 6.5 cm

The most striking characteristic of this panagiarion – a round dish, its rim encased in an engraved metal mount – is the austere simplicity of its design and decoration. In the centre is a half-length Virgin Orans, with Christ before her chest, a scroll in his left hand, right hand raised in blessing. Just under the rim are busts of the four archangels, in crossed positions. Incised inscriptions flank the Virgin's head: 'Mother of God / The Most Holy', and those of the archangels, identifying them by name: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel. Small hollows around the edge of the halo show where gemstones were once set. In style, the rendering both of the facial features and of the drapery is very similar to that of the ivories of the 'Romanos group', as well as to certain eleventh- and twelfth-century steatites, such as the Virgin Hodegetria in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 80).





The inscription decorating the rim of the vessel, ‘+ Thy womb is become a Holy Table offering up the bread from heaven, our Lord Jesus Christ, of which whosoever shall eat shall not die, according to the promise of the Heavenly Father who feeds us all’, is a hymn (troparion) from the service of the ‘Elevation of the Virgin’, ascribed to Andreas of Crete, which thus links the subject represented with both the dogma of the Incarnation and the Elevation of the Virgin.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 183, fig. 44.

K.L.-T.

*transylvano* or *modo ragusano*, which became popular in about the middle of the seventeenth century (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 223); the decoration here is a scroll of flower motifs, framing a Greek cross.

At the centre of the panagiaron is a round medallion, forming the bottom of a shallow dish with a broad, flat rim. Carved in low relief on the medallion is a half-length depiction of the Virgin, frontal, arms outstretched in supplication. This representation displays certain similarities with busts of the Virgin on cameos like the one



### 9.9 Panagiaron Chelandari Monastery

12th-13th c.

Jasper (?) and silver, with enamelwork  
Diameter 8.1 cm; 9.6 cm with sheathing

This panagiaron-enkolpion is a broad-rimmed disc which has been set into a spherical, hinged case with a lid much more recent than the panagiaron itself; two attached rings enable it to be worn as an enkolpion. Both sides of the case are decorated in cloisonné enamel technique, known as *modo*

in the Monastery of Chelandari. The halo and the monogram M(HT)HP Θ(EO)Y are incised. The medallion is encircled by an abbreviated (?) inscription incised in majuscules, reading: ‘+MTXB + PKAT + ΔΠMC + ΕΩΘC’. Traces of red are still visible in the incised letters. Moving outward, the smooth, slightly convex rise bears another inscription, also incised in larger capitals: ‘+ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ + Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΕ ΒΟ + ΗΘΕΙ Η + ΜΙΝ ΤΚΙΙΓ’ (Most Holy Mother of God help us). The flat rim is decorated in low relief with sixteen arches framing fourteen busts of saints, probably apostles



and prophets, and the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis. A third incised inscription runs around the outer edge of the rim: '+ O Blessed Virgin, bearer of the Bread that like a fierce lava cleanseth body and soul .... +.'

The inscription on the central medallion has symbolic (?) abbreviations. The second, on the shallow sides of the vessel, is a supplication to the Virgin, probably on behalf of the owner of the panagiaron, who however has not yet been identified; while the third, on the rim, refers to the function of the vessel, that is, to hold the holy bread during rituals in honour of the Virgin.

Iconographically, the decorative motifs – especially the two scenes – appear to associate the Virgin and the Holy Eucharist. In the arrangement of the figures (busts under arches) there is a resemblance to the fourteenth-century steatite panagiaria from Xeropotamou Monastery (no. 9.5) and St Panteleimon (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner



9.9

1985, pp. 204-8, pls. 64-5). The closest parallel, however, in both style and iconography, is the twelfth-century Ravenna panagiaron (Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 184, with bibliography), and it is on this basis that an earlier dating has been preferred.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), pp. 184-5, fig. 45.

K.L.-T.

### 9.10 Enkolpion with the Suppliant Virgin 12th-13th c.

Vatopedi Monastery

Amethyst (?), carved in relief,  
silver gilt, gemmed mount with pearls,  
emeralds, turquoises and enamel (?)  
3.2 x 3.3 x 0.8 cm

Small enkolpion, depicting in relief the Virgin in supplication, in a three quarter view towards the left. This iconographic type, known as Hagiosoritissa (Tatić - Djurić 1966, p. 67) and directly associated with representations of the Deesis and the Last Judgement, is commonly found on enkolpia and medallions from the middle Byzantine period (Walters Art Gallery 1947, no. 555). Although the rendering of both drapery and outline is to a certain extent both cursory and stiff, the carving is nonetheless at once dynamic and expressive. 'The simplified forms of the almond-shaped eyes, trapezoid nose and flattened hands are considered characteristics of a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century cameos' (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 467).

The cameo is mounted into a silver gilt sheet, decorated on the reverse in deep blue enamel (?): a Greek cross with finial ornaments on a





stepped base, and the inscription 'Jesus Christ Conquers' occupying the space between the arms of the cross, the whole surrounded by an inscribed band. The inscription of the band, in majuscules, is metrical in iambic dodecasyllable; it is punctuated by eight small flat-headed rivets, and reads as follows: '+ From the maelstrom of the passions deliver me Maiden and in a verdant place put me to dwell, O Virgin.' The bejewelled ornamentation on the front is also found in sixteenth-century works. Another inscription, around the edge of the frame, describes the enkolpion: '+ Raise your hands in supplication, O Virgin, thee whom the amethyst portrays in its colour.'

**Bibliography:** Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 467, fig. 406.

K.L.-T.

### 9.11 Cameo with Christ Pantokrator

13th c., 1st half

Chelandari Monastery

Jasper streaked with red and dull yellow

4.3 cm x 4 cm

Christ Pantokrator in bust is the subject of this cameo, which has lost a chip from the lower right edge. The head and body are carved in high relief, while the halo and the flanking monograms IC XC are incised, as are the details of the drapery, the hair and the short beard. The workmanship is in general fairly cursory, with the result that the outlines of the Gospel and of the blessing hand are not clear. In striking contrast, however, are the almond-shaped eyes with their well-defined lids, the high cheekbones and the powerful nose, which lend a certain sternness to the expression.

There are a number of stylistic similarities between this work and a twelfth-century Pantokrator cameo in the Cabinet de Médailles in Paris (Byzance 1992, no. 200, p. 286), on which the left hand is covered by the himation, as it is on tenth- and eleventh-century coins, and the St John the Theologian cameo in the same museum (Byzance 1992, no. 203, p. 287), which has the same expressive power in spite of the harsh stylisation. Iconographically, this cameo is closely related to, and possibly a copy of, those in the Monastery



9.12



of Chelandari (late 12th-early 13th c.) and the Belgrade Museum of Applied Arts (13th c.; Popović 1983, pp. 18-19, figs. 15, 17).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 183. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, fig. 44. Popović 1983, pp. 8, 18-19, fig. 17 (right).

K.L.-T.

### 9.12 Cameo with the Virgin Orans, 13th c. Chelandari Monastery

Green jasper, 4 x 3 cm

This oval cameo depicting the Virgin in an attitude of supplication is one of a numerous series of similar pieces (Putzko 1969, p. 164) associated with a dated work, possibly part of a panagiarion, which belonged to the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiatēs (1078-81) and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Byzantium 1994, no. 171, p. 158). The Virgin, wearing a sleeved tunic and a maphorion, has raised her hands, palms turned outward, in front of her breast. The lines of the figure, while carefully executed, are somewhat heavy. Her maphorion, slightly swelling around her head, gently frames her face; by contrast, the folds lying over her shoulders are both heavy and cursorily worked. The long face with its accented features – deep-set almond eyes, long, flat, triangular nose, wide mouth with expressive wrinkles marking the cheeks and heavy jaw – resembles a tragic mask. The hands raised in front of the breast are so closely juxtaposed that their lack of symmetry is obvious. These features occur in other similar twelfth-century carvings, both in steatite (Byzantium 1994, no. 184, p. 168) and in semiprecious gemstones (Popović 1983, p. 25). The halo is incised, as is the abbreviated name of the Virgin framing the head. Stylistic similarities with the jasper cameo with the Pantokrator in the Belgrade Museum suggest that the two pieces may have come from the same workshop (Popović 1983, pp. 27-8).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), pp. 183-4, fig. 43. Popović 1983, pp. 8, 22-8, fig. 23.

K.L.-T.



### 9.13 Cameo with St Demetrios 13th c. Chelandari Monastery

Glass, 3 x 2.3 cm

Venice or Thessaloniki

This deep blue, nearly circular cameo bears in relief a half-length, frontal portrait of St Demetrios, dressed in military garb. The saint, depicted with short curly hair and a halo indicated by a line of embossed dots, is holding a lance and a round, convex shield marked with a cross. His name is worked in raised letters, while a hint of an A within a circle is all that is left of the abbreviation of the word ἅγιος (saint).

Three cameos in the British Museum and others in Athens, Paris, Berlin, Bologna, Hamburg, Naples, Cyprus (Nicosia and the Kykkou Monastery), Toronto, Oxford and Washington DC were all produced from the same mould (Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 233. Byzantium 1994, no. 204b, p. 190. Byzance 1992, no. 334, pp. 441-2).

With close to twenty identical copies known, this is considered the commonest type of glass-paste cameo. To date no cameo in semiprecious stone depicting the saint in a similar iconographic type, that might have served as a model, has been located (Popović 1983, p. 39). The fact that iconographically its closest counterparts are the



representation of St George on a seal belonging to John Comnenos (1057-67) and twelfth- or thirteenth-century jasper cameos (Popović 1983, p. 40, figs. 36-7 and p. 41 n. 151) supports the assumption that the models for these works are to be sought in earlier Byzantine cameos or seals. One unresolved question is that of their provenance: some (Wentzel 1959, pp. 50-67. Bank 1978, p. 200) ascribe them to Venetian workshops, where, since the sack of Constantinople in 1204, artists in glass had been copying earlier, mid-Byzantine works; while others (Ross 1962, p. 88) hold them to be Byzantine work, given that the art of moulding glass had been practised in Byzantium since the sixth century.

The large number of cameos with the same representation of the patron saint of Thessaloniki, in both transparent and opaque glass (Wentzel 1963, pp. 11-24), is an indication not only of the saint's popularity but also of their common provenance. The fact that most such objects were produced as souvenirs for pilgrims visiting the saint's shrine suggests that they may have come from a workshop of Thessaloniki, but it is certainly possible that they were produced in Venice and imported into Thessaloniki for this purpose sometime after the thirteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 183, fig. 43. Popović 1983, pp. 8, 34-43.

(K.L.-T.)

### 9.14 Chalice, known as the 'Jasper'

14th c., 2nd half

Vatopedi Monastery

Carved jasper, gilded silver relief work  
Height 19.5 cm, rim diameter 20.5 cm,  
with handles 32 cm, base diameter 17 cm

This chalice, known as the 'Jasper', is considered one of the most characteristic products of Byzantine silver-work, and one of the finest pieces from the Palaeologan period. It belonged to Manuel Cantacuzenos Palaeologos (1349-80), Despot of Mystra, son of the Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (1347-54) and grandson of Theodore Palaeologos, Despot of Mystra. A text from 1570 mistakenly

ascribes it to the Emperor Manuel Palaeologos (1391-1425), with the result that it has been associated with his son Andronikos, Despot of Thessaloniki (1408-23), who retreated to the Monastery of Vatopedi (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 475 and 655 n. 110). This account has misled a number of serious scholars.

The cup of the chalice was carved out of a single piece of jasper, and given the shape of an antique broad-lipped wine-cup in a Byzantine workshop. The edge of the lip was later embellished with an inscribed mount of obviously western inspiration, while an annular device of similar style was added to the foot. The inscription on the rim is the familiar prayer from the Eucharist as given in the Liturgy of St Basil: 'and he gave it to his disciples and apostles saying, drink of this, all of you ...'. This proves that, after the mount was added, the cup was used as an ecclesiastical vessel. Its initial use may well have been secular: this is reflected in the tradition associating it with cures performed on victims of poisons and with protection against poisoned beverages. The case of older vessels which have been mounted before re-used is familiar from certain imperial chalices, such as that belonging to the Emperor Romanos (10th c.), which has a sardonyx cup dating from the first century BC (Trésor de Saint-Marc 1984, no. 10, p. 129).

The base is octagonal, its eight sections decorated with medallions containing, alternately, cruciform monograms and half-length hierarchs holding open scrolls. The monograms identify the owner of the vessel: M (Manuel), Δ (Despot), K (Cantacuzenos), Π (Palaeologos). The hierarchs represented are Sts Athanasios, Basil, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian. The iconographic types of these hierarchs follow Byzantine models, and their presence on the vessel is linked to its use in, and their association with, the rite of the Holy Eucharist. Both base and foot have been decorated in champlévé technique, combined with low relief for the depiction of the medallion subjects. The stippled background creates a colour contrast which further sets off the motifs. Another interesting feature is the octagonal annular device halfway down the foot, decorated with medallions containing





– alternately – mythological beasts and cross-shaped rinceau. The dragon-lions, a motif particularly beloved of the Byzantines, are found on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, jewellery, metalware, fabrics and sculptures (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 477 and 656 n. 122), always in a purely decorative role without any underlying symbolism. This chalice also has handles in the shape of winged dragons, connecting the rim and the foot. This feature was thought to be of Gothic inspiration (Volbach - Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, p. 201), but it is also found in Venetian work, including fourteenth- and fifteenth-century reliquaries like the *'kratetera'* in the Monastery of Vatopedi (no. 9.33). These creatures,

represented with their wings folded in repose, have long and extremely elegant tails which terminate in a second head, a detail which accents their decorative role. This marvellous work of art, an example of the fine silvercraft of the late Byzantine period, proves that a judicious marriage of Gothic and classical Byzantine elements could produce truly exquisite results.

**Bibliography:** Uspenskij 1880, pp. 31-3. Barskij 1885, p. 201. Kondakov 1902, p. 220. Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 439-40. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, p. 23. Dalton 1911, p. 562. Diehl 1926, pp. 898-9. Dölger - Weigand 1943, p. 156. Bank 1970, p. 341. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1980, p. 11. Byzance 1992, p. 427. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 475-7, figs. 420-5.

K.L.-T.





### 9.16 Icon with the Crucifixion

late 10th-11th c.

Dionysiou Monastery

Carved ivory

21.5 x 13 x 2.2 cm

Constantinople (?)

This ivory icon has been set into the leather-bound wooden cover, of the monastery's Cod. 27 of the thirteenth century. Like many similar works, the ivory tablet has a raised, flat frame, with nail holes on the two narrow sides. The nail in the top, indeed, has split the icon into three.

The composition of the Crucifixion, which occupies the entire surface of the icon, seems compressed, with both the vertical and the horizontal arms of the cross touching the edge of the frame and the open palms of the Crucified reaching to within a few millimetres of it. In

addition to the three principal figures the scene also depicts, on a smaller scale, two soldiers seated at the foot of the cross and the busts of two angels, wings outspread, flanking the *tabula ansata* of the upper arm of the cross, their gestures expressive of wonder and sorrow. The Virgin is represented standing rigidly, turned towards the cross, her head slightly inclined and her left hand raised to her breast. John is depicted frontal in the attitude of an ancient philosopher, right leg relaxed, holding a bejewelled book with both hands, the left being concealed by his himation. The angle and inclination of his curly head mirror the attitude of the figure of the Virgin. Inscriptions with the usual abbreviations of the names of Christ and the Virgin are incised above their heads. Jesus is depicted as a sturdy man, broad-chested and with a well-defined waist, feet placed firmly on the suppedaneum. His head is slightly bent, and a lock of hair falls over each shoulder. The droop of the head and the eyes rendered without pupils, unlike those of the other figures, would seem to indicate that death has already occurred.

The reserved grief of the Virgin and the beloved disciple is an archaic iconographic type found in ivories from the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Another archaic feature is the Gospel held by St John, a type common in tenth-century ivories (Millet 1960<sup>2</sup> p. 405 n. 1). Two other Crucifixions from the second half of the tenth century, on ivory triptychs in London and Paris (Byzantium 1994, no. 153, pp. 142-3. Byzance 1992, no. 150, pp. 236-7), both belonging to the 'Romanos group' (Goldschmidt - Weitzmann 1934, nos. 38-41), display iconographic and stylistic features similar to those seen here, including the 'classical elegance of the drapery and facial features'. Moreover, the composition of this icon is iconographically and stylistically comparable to that of a twelfth-century steatite icon in the Hermitage (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 45, pp. 137-8). The proposed late tenth- or eleventh-century dating suggested for this icon is therefore quite plausible.

**Bibliography:** Thesauroi 1973, pp. 45, 406. Kadas 1986, fig. 114 (colour photograph). Kadas 1997, p. 115.

K.L.-T.



### 9.17 Panagiaron with angelic hosts

13th-14th c.

Chelandari Monastery

Rhinoceros horn (?) with relief work and silver

Diameter 11.5 cm

Provincial workshop, possibly Serbian

An encircling metal strip protects the edge of this shallow, flat-rimmed dish, which has been



mounted on a base in the shape of a truncated cone connected with the metal rim by two metal bands laid cross-wise. This type of mounting was designed to enable the vessel to be set on the altar without concealing its exterior ornamentation: pairs of *polyommata* seraphs, their outstretched hands holding aloft three flaming torches, alternate in the triangular compartments framed by the silver strapping of the mount with pairs of interlocking wheels. The carefully crafted low relief work permits a gentle differentiation of volumes and planes.

The decoration of the interior of the dish is divided into three discrete zones. Within a raised frame in the centre of the panagiaron is a medallion with a bust of the Virgin in the type of Vlachernitissa (Kondakov 1914-5, II, pp. 55 ff.), the folds of her mantle partially replacing the aureola which

usually encircles the figure of the Child. Opposite one another in the second zone are the figures of the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by full-length adoring archangels, and of the Holy Trinity (the Father enthroned, with the Son seated in front of him, holding the Dove), flanked by six-winged cherubs and busts of angels and prophets. In the outer zone, the bust of Christ, aligned with the Trinity and the Vlachernitissa, is flanked by the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist, and beyond them seventeen busts of archangels, apostles and hierarchs, identified by the incised initials of their names.

According to Radojčić (1955 (1), p. 184 n. 14), the very material of which the panagiaron is made has a symbolic value, being associated with the 'unicorn' and thus with the Incarnation. The concept of the Incarnation, in fact, dominates the entire iconographic composition, as it does in the Xeropotamou (no. 9.5) and St Panteleimon panagiaria. Iconographically, the decoration seems to be associated with certain Old Slavonic texts. The same anthropomorphic representation of the Holy Trinity, however, is found in a manuscript from the eleventh or twelfth century and in thirteenth-century frescoes and manuscripts (Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1973, pp. 85-9).

While stylistically the carving of the panagiaron may belong to the Palaeologan period, with certain vaguely western touches, its quality and iconography attest to provincial workshop, possibly Serbian (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 58).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 193. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 58, fig. 35.

K.L.-T.

### 9.18 Revetment of a staurotheke

11th-12th c. and 1758

Protaton

Silver gilt, with repoussé work

17.8 x 14.2 x 1.2 cm

To the cover of this silver gilt staurotheke has been added a rectangular tablet made of a single sheet of silver and decorated in repoussé work with the Crucifixion. The long sides have bands with sinuous, twining tendrils, while at the





bottom two flora volutes with leaves and fruit frame a plain, undecorated triangle. These bands belong to the staurotheke which, according to the inscription running around it, was offered by monks from various *kellia* to the 'great church of the Protaton' in 1758 (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 26, p. 10). The compartment with the scene of the Crucifixion was also donated, according

to its inscription, by a monk named Zosimas, who is pictured kneeling in adoration at the feet of the Virgin. Above him is the inscription in five lines: '+ Κ(ΥΙ)Ε ΒΟΗ/ΘΕΙ Ζω/CIΜΑ ΜΟΝΑ/Χω' (Lord, be with the monk Zosimas); while in the margins of the compartment, again in majuscules, written with a double incision and beginning on the top and continuing down the sides (first right,



then left), is the inscription: 'ΤΟΥΣ ΖΩΟΠΟΙΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΠΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΝ/ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΖΕΟΥΣΗ ΖΩCΙΜΑΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΕΙ ΛΙΘΟΥΣ/ ΚΟCΜΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΗΚΗΝ ΠΟΘΩ', which tells us that the decoration was executed by a man named Nikolaos. Beneath the horizontal arm of the cross, in characters similar to those in the first Zosimas' inscription, are the inscriptions 'Here is your son' – 'Here is your mother' (John 19:26-27). The letters composing the text of the inscription are comparable to those on an eleventh-century staurotheke in the Musée du Louvre and a late eleventh- to twelfth-century one in the Hermitage (Byzance 1992, no. 237, pp. 322-3. Bank 1985<sup>2</sup>, nos. 205-6), which as we shall see also display other similarities in iconography and style.

This staurotheke, like so many others (Byzance 1992, nos. 236-7, pp. 321-2), has obviously been assembled from elements belonging to different periods. The tablet with the Crucifixion and parts of the strips with stones from the Holy Land in the interior of the reliquary belong to the original Byzantine staurotheke. These strips are framed by a rosetted band, which has been unevenly cut away in order to create a window to display the later reliquary, which contains fragments of the True Cross. The characters in the inscription telling of the provenance of the stones are the same as those in the lateral inscriptions, that is, with double incisions and a form found in metalwork from the tenth to eleventh century (Splendori di Bisanzio 1990, no. 68, p. 176) and the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries (see below, no. 9.20).

Iconographically and stylistically, the composition of the Crucifixion finds its closest parallels in tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-century ivories, steatites and silver gilt works (Bank 1985<sup>2</sup>, nos. 205-6. Byzance 1992, no. 237, pp. 322-3. Byzantium 1994, no. 153, pp. 142-3. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 77, pp. 168-9, and 45, pp. 136-8); this led earlier scholars to conclude that this staurotheke was a copy of an eleventh- to twelfth-century ivory or 'imitates' the Byzantine style (Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, p. 10). Numerous features, however, too many to detail here, have led us to conclude that this is a genuine work of the eleventh-twelfth century.

**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, p. 10.

K.L.-T.



### 9.19 Book cover

13th-14th c.

Protaton

Silver gilt

18.5 x 12 x 1 cm

Only one side of the metal cover, probably made for the binding of a Gospel, has been preserved. It is decorated in repoussé work, with the Crucifixion surrounded by eleven medallions framing busts of saints, and a twelfth, directly above the cross, with the Hetoimasia. Both the series of medallions and the scene of the Crucifixion are framed by a narrow beaded border. The composition of the Crucifixion, with the dead Christ on the cross and the figures of the Virgin and St John expressing in their attitude and gestures a reserved grief, displays a successful blend of western and Byzantine iconographic features. One detail which is particularly worthy of remark is the fact that John (identified by the inscription as St John the Theologian), who is



holding the Gospel in his left hand, right hand brought up to his face in a pensive gesture, is depicted as a middle-aged man, bearded and balding. This type is quite unusual, for in representations of the Crucifixion John is usually represented as a young man, as indeed he would have been at the time of the actual event. By contrast, in the figure of the Virgin the corresponding gesture is an entirely customary portrayal of grief. The ascetic figure of the crucified Christ, with the stark ribs, the thick ringlets and the head drooping onto the right shoulder, betray a western influence.

The figures of the apostles, identified by incised inscriptions, are turned slightly towards the scene. Only some of the names are still legible: (left, from the top) Paul, Matthew, Mark, (bottom) Thomas, Bartholomew and Peter, (right, from the top) Luke, James, Philip. The hair, chins and facial features are rendered in a manner clearly influenced by western models, lending the figures a realism not found in the idealised features of Byzantine art. This iconographic scheme of the Crucifixion framed by apostles is found in several twelfth-century works, including the Hermitage staurotheke (Bank 1977, p. 309, figs. 205-6). The work closest in both date and style is the panels with apostles and hierarchs on the revetment of an icon with Christ Pantokrator in the Monastery of Vatopedi (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, fig. 434).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.L.-T.

## 9.20 Book cover 14th and 15th c. Ivion Monastery

Silver gilt, with repoussé and open-work, gemmed  
21 x 14.6 x 7.5 cm

Both sides of this interesting cover are formed of four rows of open-work rectangles, all of which have suffered some damage – especially those in the corners. Over these, in the middle of each side, has been nailed a plaque decorated in repoussé work; the ornamentation of the cover also includes cabochon gems. The spine of the book is covered with parallel vertical rows of metallic strips

wound into tight spiral tubes.

Of the rectangular compartments, two have been lost entirely (front: upper right and lower left), four on the front and back are largely missing, and two more on the front are damaged. Their decorative motif is a scroll of four intricately spiralling tendrils with flowers formed of petals and half petals. A similar open-work ornament, but with two spirals more tightly coiled, is found on the revetment of a fourteenth-century icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Monastery of Vatopedi (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 486-7, fig. 433). The ornamentation of this cover, with its more open arrangement of the flora motifs that does not conceal the metal between the tendrils, is closer to Byzantine filigree work and to the *opus venetum*, the characteristic filigree work of thirteenth- to sixteenth-century Venice. The borders of the rectangles are undecorated, to allow for the placing of the rivets, but thus combined they form a broader band with a groove down the middle.

The two figurative plaques differ not only in



9.20 Book cover: The Crucifixion.





9.20 Book cover: The Anastasis.



size but in several other details as well, indicative of different ornamental conceptions.

The Anastasis decorating the front is executed in repoussé work; it is the larger of the two, and the composition, which has no frame, extends right to the edges of the plaque: in fact, the figures of Eve and David are incomplete. Christ, depicted on a larger scale than the other figures, with a large halo inscribed with a cross and a small cross of the Anastasis in his left hand, has turned away from the prophet-kings to raise the kneeling Adam from his sarcophagus. The gates of Hell, fallen cross-wise under his parted feet, are barely visible. Embossed into the upper edge of the plaque is the inscription 'The Anastasis'. This iconographic type of the Anastasis, one of the earliest, is rarely found on fourteenth-century silver covers. A similar composition, however, may be seen in the late thirteenth-century icon of the Fermo Madonna (Grabar 1975, no. 17, p. 44), where it occupies the lower left-hand corner of the frame.

The Crucifixion on the back of the cover has a broad border with a double groove, and a wide frame, the top element of which bears the repoussé inscription: 'The Crucifixion'. The scene, smaller in scale, with only the three principal figures represented, is austere, and the gestures of the Virgin and St John express both suffering and compassion, as in similar Crucifixion representations on other fourteenth-century silver icon revetments. There is a remarkable iconographic similarity between this scene and the Crucifixion on the icon revetment from the Monastery of Vatopedi referred to above, not only in the scheme and in the gestures of the figures, but also in such details as the row of low buildings in the background or the triangular shape of the 'place called Golgotha'. The inscriptions on the Crucifixion of the Gospel cover, however, are incised on repoussé plaquettes, as they are in Vatopedi icon revetments (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, fig. 438). On the basis of these features, then, the flora panels may be ascribed to the fifteenth century, while the two narrative compartments, products of different workshops, to the early fourteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.L.-T.



**9.21** Frame revetment of an icon  
with St Chrysostom  
late 13th-early 14th c.  
Chelandari Monastery

Silver repoussé work, 26.5 x 19 cm

The silver revetment covers only the frame of this nineteenth-century icon; but since it was originally made for another icon, we cannot be sure whether in its initial application it covered and some other areas of the earlier icon as well. The presence of a narrow braided band, a feature which was commonly used as a transition between the frame and the ground, lends weight to the view that the ground of the earlier icon may in fact have been covered.

The decoration of the frame revetment consists of fourteen, mostly square, compartments with figurative subjects, those on the long sides alternating with ornamental motifs which, in the bottom corners, have obviously been elongated (Grabar 1975, p. 55). The figurative themes, identified by inscriptions, depict the Dodekaorton,



to which the Birth of the Virgin (upper right) and the Hetoimasia (lower left) have been added. The scenes represented in chronological sequence on the vertical sides (alternately left and right) are as follows: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion. Only figurative compartments decorate the horizontal sides: on the top, the Pentecost, the Ascension and the Birth of the Virgin, and on the bottom the Hetoimasia, the Koimesis and the Anastasis. Most of these scenes have relief inscriptions. The composition of the scenes is conventional, the most distinguishing feature being their relative iconographic austerity, which restricts the number of figures and eliminates all architectural and landscape features, giving the scenes simplicity and clarity. The decorative motif repeated in the alternate compartments consists of an intricate quatrefoil of interlacing tendrils whose palmetted ends form a symmetrical pair of leaves in the centre of each lobe. This motif is familiar from other late thirteenth-century revetments (Grabar 1975, nos. 17-18), which suggests that although the style and iconography of the scenes would justify an earlier dating, the work should be attributed to this period.

**Bibliography:** Kondakov 1902, fig. 75. Radojčić 1955 (1), fig. 48. Grabar 1975, no. 26, pp. 55-6.

K.L.-T.

## 9.22 Revetment of an icon with St Demetrios

### Dionysiou Monastery

Silver gilt with repoussé work  
in high and low relief, 29 x 24 cm

The revetment covers both the rectangular frame of this icon of St Demetrios and the background, where however there are signs of later repair work in the lower half. The decoration of the frame consists of square panels with busts of saints alternating with rectangular ones with ornamental bosses and a carpeting of sinuous tendrils. The whole is an analytical presentation of the Great Deesis, with Christ, the Virgin and

John the Baptist in the three panels along the top; the square panels around the other three sides display busts of apostles and saints, with the exception of the central compartment on the bottom, which contains two full-length figures of saints. This arrangement is very common in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century icon revetments (Grabar 1975, nos. 18, 25, 30). The icon revetment of 1425 in Venice (Grabar 1975, no. 30) is very similar in both style and iconography to the



Dionysiou frame revetment, which confirms its early fifteenth-century dating. In addition, the upper part of the ground of this icon is paved with intricate flora scrolls resembling both the icon revetment of St John in the Monastery of Chelandari and the ornamentation of the cross of the Empress Helena Palaeologina in the Monastery of Dionysiou (no. 9.23), both fifteenth-century works. The two halves of the inscription 'St Demetrios the Myrrhobletis', which occupy two plaquettes in the flora carpeting, are reversed, probably owing to an error in the preparation of the mould.

**Bibliography:** Kondakov 1902, fig. 76. Kadas 1986, p. 66.

K.L.-T.



9.23 Cross 15th c.  
of the Empress Helena Palaeologina  
Dionysiou Monastery

Wood and silver with high and low relief work  
Height 36.2 cm, length of long crossarm 18.8 cm,  
length of short crossarm 11.2 cm

According to the inscription on the rectangular silver plate at the base of the vertical arm, this cross was a votive offering from the Empress Helena: she was the daughter of the Serb ruler Dragas, the wife of the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos and the mother of the last Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine XI Palaeologos; in 1448 she became a nun, adopting the name Hypomoni (Patience), and died two years later. The inscription, set out in thirteen lines, reads: 'Votive offering from the Lady Helena Palaeologina, Mistress of the Romans, wife of King Manuel Palaeologos, daughter of Dragas, Prince of Serbia.'

This wooden cross has a silver cover, ornamented with relief work. It belongs to the patriarchal type of the Anastasis cross, but with a third slanting crossarm at the suppedaneum's height, a feature which was adopted and widely used in post-Byzantine Orthodox Russia (Uspenskij 1880, pp. 17-28). The decoration covers both sides of the cross, in a combination of panels with figurative scenes and flora motifs, the latter consisting of intricately intertwining fluted tendrils terminating in half-leaves. Cabochon gems in intricately wrought raised settings ornament four of these flora scroll panels. There are figurative panels on both the front and back of the cross.

The front of this cross, with the votive plaque at the bottom, has at its centre a cruciform plate with the figure of Christ on a cross, in high relief, with a square suppedaneum and a plaque engraved with his monogram. Above the outstretched arms of the crucified Christ is the inscription 'The Crucifixion'. Christ is depicted already dead, his slender, slightly flexed legs supporting the weight of his robust but drooping body. Small square panels at the ends of the large crossarm contain two half-length figures which, in the western manner, gesticulate their despair. The corresponding



compartments on the upper crossarm display two half-length angels in adoration; they are turned towards the vertical crossarm on the end of which is represented the Road to Calvary. The slanting crossarm has a flora decoration interrupted by the plate with the figure of the crucified Christ.

On the reverse, the focal decoration is the naked figure of Christ standing, relaxed, on the bank of the Jordan, in which a fish is swimming. Above his head, a series of concentric semicircles





indicate the presence of God. The ends of the crossarms are decorated with half-length angels, similar to those on the front, except for the left-hand end of the larger crossarm, on which John the Baptist is represented, according to western models. On the top of the vertical crossarm there is a miniature representation of the Baptism of Christ. This cross is of the same type, and in decoration very closely with the so-called 'Cross of Constantine the Great' in the Monastery of

Vatopedi, which in all likelihood is also connected with some member of the Palaeologoi family (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, pp. 481-2, figs. 431-2). The iconography of the scenes displays a combination of two distinct trends: the single figures show a western influence, while the two miniature scenes adhere to Byzantine models. The flora ornaments are comparable to those on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century icon revetments (Grabar 1975, pp. 61-2).

**Bibliography:** Kondakov 1902, p. 216. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 461, p. 159. Mošin 1937-8, pp. 136-7. Gabriel D. 1959, p. 72. Kadas 1986, p. 66. Kadas 1997, p. 114, fig. 52.

K.L.-T.

#### 9.24 Inner face of a book cover 13th c. with scenes from the Life of Christ Dionysiou Monastery

Wood and lazurites

139 x 10 cm

Set into the inner face of the front cover of the monastery's Cod. 33, dated in the thirteenth to fourteenth century (Thesauroi 1973, p. 407), is a carved wooden icon. The centre is occupied by a cross ornament formed of five interconnected roundels, one larger circle in the middle with four smaller ones set cross-fashion around it. The perimeter of these *rotae sericae* is fluted, and a lazurite (?), marks the centre of each. Fluted ribbons twist to form a series of medallions within these roundels, six in each of the smaller ones and, in the larger, an inner ring of five and an outer ring of ten. Between these two rings of medallions is a narrow band inscribed with the words 'The host of saints - The host of apostles). Each medallion frames a facing pair of busts, obviously saints and apostles, according to the inscription. Tendrils spring from the central circle and fill the spaces between the roundels, curling around to frame single portrait heads matching the busts in the medallions.

Inscribed bands with the lettering carved in relief frame both the icon and the eighteen small compartments depicting scenes from the Life of





9.24



Christ, from the Annunciation to the Pentecost, which occupy its four corners. These, which follow no apparent chronological or narrative order, are as follows, starting in the upper left-hand corner: (1st row) the Ascension, the Annunciation, the Last Judgement, the Crucifixion, the Mockery of Christ; (2nd row) the Pentecost, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Betrayal, the Last Supper; (3rd row) the Descent from the Cross, the Anastasis, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Transfiguration; (4th row) the Lamentation, the Stone (?), the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus. The identifying inscriptions on the horizontal bands above the scenes are not always either complete or legible; sometimes too they are continued or repeated on the vertical bands. This work presents some interesting iconographic features, such as the scene of the Last Judgement, where the two groups of five angels flanking the enthroned Christ create a direct link with the busts of the saints and apostles. A magnificent twelfth-century steatite icon of the Dodekaorton in Toledo has a similar scene on its finial (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 143-50, pl. 31).

The omission of the Nativity and the inclusion of the Presentation of the Virgin, together with the apparently random ordering of the other scenes, suggest that the artist did not follow a specific iconographic model.

The figures are rendered in a somewhat folk, almost primitive style, which occurs in other, relevant art expressions, such as Coptic art: characteristic features include the strongly-accented heads, the deep-set eyes, the sketchily rendered hair and the shapelessness of the drapery, which leaves only the silhouettes of the figures clearly defined. This notwithstanding, however, it is obvious that this work must certainly have been inspired by an ivory book cover, perhaps that embellishing Queen Melisande's Psalter, dating from the period 1131-43. Indeed, the two share a number of iconographic and technical features (Byzantium 1994, no. 181, pp. 165-6), including the use of *rotae sericae* as representation frames and of fluted ribbons for ornamental motifs, the use of undercut relief, the use of lazurites (turquoise), and also the use of ornaments

related to the content of the book they adorn.

The subject of this wooden icon is associated with the first part of the codex, the New Testament, just as scenes from the life of David were chosen to decorate Queen Melisande's Psalter. Of course, the *rotae sericae* delineated by fluted ribbons of inlaid ivory and framing various themes are also found in other works, such as the central panels on the double door of the katholikon of the Olympiotissa Monastery (11th - early 13th c.; Bouras 1989-90, pp. 27-32), which, given the technical perfection of their execution, must have been made in either Constantinople or Thessaloniki.

The inscription on the upper margin of the frame, also difficult to decipher, gives the titles of the scenes just below: Ascension, Annunciation, illegible, Crucifixion, Mockery of Christ. The rest of the inscription, occupying the vertical margins, reads from the bottom up, starting on the left, and appears to be the text of a Psalm, although it has not yet been completely deciphered.

**Bibliography:** Huber 1969, pl. 168. Thesauroi 1973, pp. 44, 407. Kadas 1986, p. 66, fig. 115. Kadas 1997, p. 110, fig. on p. 114.

K.L.-T.

### 9.25 Enkolpion-diptych 1368-71 of Queen Helen Chelandari Monastery

Silver, wood, pearls, semiprecious stones (?)  
14.8 x 6.5 x 1.3 cm

On one side of this diptych are two carved wooden icons in ornate gemmed mounts, and on the other silver gilt plaques with a dedicatory inscription in Serbian. The two wings are joined by a pair of oval links, while a ring set into the middle of the top side of each wing enables the diptych to be worn as a pectoral. The majuscule inscription is written in metrical form, ten lines on each wing, each line doubly underscored and each wing beginning with a cross and ending with a fleur-de-lis. The poem, written by Queen Helen, expresses her grief at the death of her son, who is buried in the monastery (Trifunović 1984, pp.





35 ff.). The icon on the right wing contains an oval medallion with the Virgin and Child, enthroned, framed by a twisting vine that forms a series of smaller medallions, each containing the bust of a man holding an open scroll; these are most probably prophets, the whole representing the composite subject of the 'Prophets from above'. On the left wing, matching medallions with prophets frame the scene of the Hospitality of

Abraham. Despite the small scale, the figures and the iconographic details are rendered with meticulous care. The technique involves a combination of carving and perforation, but the work is too small to allow comments on style.

This iconographic programme was a common one in the seventeenth century for enkolpia-panagiaria intended not solely for liturgical use but also to be worn as pectorals by prelates: such





examples include the two carved wooden enkolpia-panagiaria of 1670 in the Monastery of Vatopedi (Ballian 1996, p. 512, figs. 452-5). Similar gemmed frames, with stones set in heavy, raised mounts and pearls affixed by tiny nails, are also found in seventeenth-century works.

This enkolpion was a gift from the Metropolitan of Serres to Ugljea Despotović; his mother, Helen, who later became a nun under the name Euphemia, added the silver-gilt mount on which the poem was carved in champlevé technique. For about 10 years Mount Athos was part of the domains of Helen's husband, the fourteenth-century Despot of Serres Jovan Ugljea, a member of the Mrnjavčević family and founder of the Monastery of Simonopetra. The text on the diptych is the earliest known poem by Queen Helen, who donated to the monastery a number of other treasures, including a gold-embroidered veil also bearing a poem of her composition (1399) (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 120). The famous Poganovo double-sided icon also belonged to Queen Helen (Subotić 1993, pp. 25-40).

**Bibliography:** Radojčić 1955 (1), p. 184. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 56, fig. 34. Trifunović 1984, pp. 35-7.

K.L.-T.



## 9.26 Processional cross 9th-10th c. Docheiariou Monastery

Bronze, cast and engraved

Height 95 cm, spread of crossarms 60 cm,  
thickness 0.8 cm

The gently flaring arms of this cross, which has an exceptionally beautiful green patina, have convex ends with finial knobs ornamenting the points. The handle, an extension of the vertical arm, has been fixed to an overturned marble Byzantine capital. Its sole decoration is the engraved inscription on both sides, today partially obscured by the metal reinforcing sheet that has been riveted to the centre. The inscriptions read as follows: '+ Christ the Lord... preserve this ... city eternally in peace ... understand, O nations,

and yield, for the Lord is with us and the Holy, the Mother of God.'

Elegant in design and harmonious in its proportions, this type of cross has been known since the early Christian period. In many details this particular example closely resembles a number of copper crosses from the ninth and tenth centuries now in private Greek collections (Boura 1979, p. 12. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 193). Also extant are a number of tenth-century inscribed crosses, similar to this one but with figurative subjects (Byzantium 1994, nos. 161, 175) or decorated with sheet-gold, niello or enamel, like the Adrianople cross (Boura 1979, pp. 9-16). The similarities between the Docheiariou cross and the 899 cross in the Zachos





9.26 Processional cross.



Collection are obvious, and justify a similar dating for this work.

The use of processional crosses was not restricted to litanies of the great Orthodox feasts; they were also used in ceremonies marking the anniversaries of earthquakes or sieges, as is evident from the miniatures in the Menologion of Basil II (Galavaris 1991, col. 219ff.). Written sources tell us that they also accompanied emperors or generals on campaign (Boura 1979, p. 12). The inscription on the Docheiariou cross would appear to reflect this last use, and classify it as a labarum functioning cross.

**Bibliography:** Papangelos 1997, pp. 55-6.

K.L.-T.

secured with a nail to a horseshoe-shaped extension of the bowl which also forms a sort of handle. This part of the censer is decorated in open-work and engraving technique, with a scroll of tendrils which form a heart-shaped motif framing a trefoil leaf like a fleur-de-lis. A pair of birds, their plumage suggested by graven lines, are pecking at two symmetrically placed similar leaves.

This censer is one of the many late Palaeologan works (Boura 1981, pp. 64ff.) preserved in Greek monasteries and collections, as well as in collections in other Balkan countries (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 163 nn. 8-9), their number attesting to the tremendous production of open-work lighting devices cast in bronze during this



**9.27 Katzi** 14th c., 2nd half-15th c.  
Simonopetra Monastery

Yellow bronze  
Length 28.7 cm

This type of censer, generally associated with mourning rites (Xyngopoulos 1930, pp. 129-30), is known to have been in use since the eleventh century. The Simonopetra *katzi* is the oldest piece of metalwork in the monastery's possession (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 163, fig. 81). The bowl, cast in bronze with a narrow, flat rim, is entirely undecorated. The long tubular handle, similar to that of a *katzi* in the Megalo Meteoro, Thessaly, is probably a later addition, for it is

period, from suspended oil-lamps and candelabra to the *polykandela* of the Palaeologan period that illuminated the great churches (Byzantium 1994, nos. 216-17, pp. 200-1).

Four of the extant *katzia* resemble very closely with the Simonopetra censer: in the Benaki Museum, Athens, the Megalo Meteoro, Mystra, Belgrade, Marko Monastir; together, these form an extremely interesting group, possibly all from the same workshop (Boura 1981, pp. 64ff. Xyngopoulos 1930, fig. 6.1). Such minor variations as impressed circlets or engraving do not essentially alter the openwork decoration of the broad flat handle, which is virtually identical in all these works. The resemblance is particularly marked in the *katzia* from Simonopetra, Belgrade and



Marko Monastir, whose peopled scrolls figure in other articles of cast bronze: in all probability, the workshop where they were made also produced other lighting fittings, such as the Marko Monastir *polykandelon* (Todorović 1978, pp. 28ff.). Mount Athos has been suggested as a possible centre of production, as have a number of other cities in Greece and Serbia (Barišić 1991, p. 227). It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that a workshop such as this would have been located in a regional centre which was also a commercial metropolis renowned for its copper-work (Todorović 1991, pp. 99, 123), such as Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 163, fig. 81.

K.L.-T.

**9.28 Islamic candlestick** late 13th c.  
with silver inlay work  
Docheiariou Monastery

Height 21 cm, base diameter 19 cm



The Docheiariou candlestick belongs to a well-represented group of cast-metal candlesticks which all share the same bell-shape body, repeated in miniature in the socket. Although the silver inlays are largely missing, the decorative pattern is still perfectly clear. Dominating the whole are the bands containing the customary inscriptions, wishing the anonymous owner prosperity and good fortune. On the socket, the inscription is in fluent *Naskhi* script, in the formal version used in metalwork, with anthropomorphic ending. On the neck the script is a simple fluent *Naskhi*, while Kufic script is used on the upper part of the body and the base. On the neck and the socket the inscriptions are punctuated by medallions with birds, on the base and the upper part of the body by rosettes. The decoration of the flat shoulder is extremely worn.

The broad central zone has a series of ten consecutive lobed arches, each framing a figure, alternately standing and seated cross-legged on a low stool. The seated figures are frontal, in two cases with one hand raising a cup of wine; the standing figures are turned towards the left, in the watchful attitude of an attendant. This Sasanid-

derived iconography, which symbolises the sovereign and the life of the court and includes banquet scenes with music, dancing and wine (Baer 1983, pp. 218-45), is found, fully developed or in isolated examples, in Islamic metal-work, pottery and manuscript illumination.

The decorative zones are delimited by a chain motif, and there are three basic types of background pattern: spiralling tendrils with tiny leaves and palmettes behind the upper Kufic inscription; a dense foliate arabesque between the arches; and broad three- or five-leaved palmettes within curling shoots inside the arches. This last type of pattern has been compared to the background decoration used on enamel work from Limoges and to Georgian icon revetments (Rice 1954. Stern 1957), but it is in fact closely attuned to the general current of Byzantine ornamentation as seen both in silver work and in illuminated manuscripts (Grabar 1975, figs. 3-7, 14-15, 17, 26-7. Weitzmann - Galavaris 1990, figs. 52, 278, 280, 660).

The technique of inlaying silver on brass or bronze was introduced to the Near East from the eastern Iranian provinces of the Muslim



world in the thirteenth century. The new art spread like wildfire, for it transformed common brassware into luxury articles well within the reach of the prosperous classes, thus to a considerable extent supplanting gold and silver articles. Characteristic of the work produced in the Near East is the blend of Islamic and Christian motifs, and the representation of subjects from everyday life. Stylistically, cast candlesticks like this one are related to the inlay work of Mosul or Syria. Recent research however identifies their source as either Iconium, the capital of the Sultanate of Rum, or northern Mesopotamia, the area referred to in Arab sources as Jazira, the chief centres of manufacture being Amida and Siirt (Allan 1982, pp. 58-69. Melikian-Chirvani 1987. See also Raby 1985).

When the Monastery of Docheiariou acquired this candlestick is not known, but it was probably either purchased or acquired in trade. The brotherhood of this monastery owned a ship, and traded with Saracen and African ports and with Constantinople (Actes de Docheiariou 1984, p. 14). The Monastery of St Paul, it is interesting to note, has a similar but more richly decorated candlestick, which is used as a base for its Venetian cross, thus juxtaposing two precious and contemporary articles, one imported from the East and the other from the West (see no. 9.31).

**Bibliography:** Tavlakis 1982, p. 135.

A.B.

**9.29 Diptych** late 13th-early 14th c.  
known as 'the Milutin diptych'  
Chelandari Monastery

Wood, silver gilt, rock crystal, semiprecious stones,  
glass, pearls, enamel and parchment  
30.5 x 48 x 2 cm  
Venice

Now preserved in the sacristy of the monastery, this exquisite wooden diptych ornamented, from the seventeenth century on, the front of the ciborium surmounting the hegumen's throne; its association with the Serbian monarch Milutin is largely attributable to the costliness of its

manufacture.

It is decorated with scenes from the Life of Christ, painted on small parchment squares and circles set into concavities hollowed out of the wooden surface. These twenty-four miniatures, arranged on each wing in three rows of four, are encased in sheaths of rock crystal cut to fit each separate compartment: the effect produced by their polished surfaces over the painted miniatures beneath seems to be intended to imitate enamelwork. Surrounding each wing, and filling the spaces between the concavities, are delicate scrolls of silver-gilt filigree work over a solid band, embellished with pearls and semiprecious stones. This band, similar to one ornamenting an icon and a diptych in the Monastery of St Paul, is a typical example of the Venetian filigree work (*opus venetum*) of the second half of the thirteenth century (Trésor de Saint-Marc 1984, nos. 34-6, pp. 233ff.) and was in fact made in Venice. Where the original band has been lost (left wing, lower edge), the gap has later been partially filled with a new (?) band of metal ornamented with perforated circles and finished on one side with a zig-zag pattern of triangles. In certain other areas (right wing, lower edge) only the filigree has been lost, the underlying gilt band remaining in place.

The miniatures seem to be thirteenth-century









work, and depict the following scenes: on the left wing (1st row) the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi; (2nd row) the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus; (3rd row) the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper; and (4th row) the Washing of the Feet, the Betrayal, the Judgement of Pilate; on the right wing (1st row) the Mockery of Christ, the Flagellation, the Road to Calvary; (2nd row) the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Holy Women at the Tomb; (3rd row) the Anastasis, *Noli me tangere*, the Incredulity of Thomas; and (4th row) the Ascension, the Pentecost and Christ Appears to his Disciples. These scenes are painted on a gold ground and are frequently enhanced by tiny pearls outlining the garments and the haloes. The iconography follows the type of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Byzantine painting and manuscript illumination, and is characterised by a certain austerity in the rendering of the landscape and the architectural setting.

A similar diptych, which belonged to Andres II, King of Hungary (1290-96), is preserved in the Berne Museum, while another dozen or so similar pieces may be found in museums and churches across Western Europe. The Athonite Monastery of St Paul has three (nos. 9.30, 9.31). These works were in all likelihood produced in Venice sometime between 1280 and 1330, and there must have been a close and active association between the workshops of that city and the illuminators, crystal-polishers and goldsmiths of Byzantium. The fact that similar works exist on Mount Athos only in monasteries associated with the Serbian monarch Milutin, that is, Chelandari and St Paul's, is explained by the presence in Dubrovnik of Venetian merchants who maintained relations with the Serb prince and supplied him with the Venetian wares which he in turn bestowed upon the Athonite foundations.

**Bibliography:** Brockhaus 1891, p. 53 n. 3. Radojčić 1955 (1), pp. 173, 193, fig. 2. Huber 1973, pp. 115-6, 137-44, figs. 1c-15c, 17c, 19c-21c, 23c-24c, 27c. Bogdanović- Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 96, figs. 3, 74. Thesauri 1975, pp. 399-401, figs. 432-43. Kadas 1986, p. 61, fig. 132.

K.L.-T.

### 9.30 Diptych with icons

late 13th-early 14th c.

St Paul's Monastery

Wood, metal, silver gilt, parchment,  
semiprecious stones, glass, pearls

30 x 41.5 x 3 cm

Venice

This diptych is enclosed in a case like a book cover; in the disposition of its ornamentation it closely resembles metal icon revetments (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, p. 488, fig. 314), while in technique it is closer to the Milutin diptych in the Monastery of Chelandari (no. 9.29). St Paul's has another two works in this same decorative style – a processional cross and an icon with Christ Enthroned (no. 9.31) – which are also considered to be of Venetian workmanship. Indeed, they too have been associated with the owner of the Chelandari diptych, the Serb monarch Milutin (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 96).

In the centre of each wing of the diptych is a rectangular compartment crowned with what appears to be a gabled pediment; around these are two borders, an outer band with small lozenges and rectangles in the corners, and an inner frame of plain undecorated wood, cut to match the shape of the central compartment. Judging by the remnants of such decoration on both wings of this diptych, and by similar work on the diptych in the Chelandari Monastery, this inner band must initially have been covered with an ornamental strip of gilt filigree work and semiprecious stones. A fluted band with beaded edges sets off the individual frames on the outer band.

The Dodekaorton is represented in the eight corner panels and in the central compartments. It has been suggested that the two miniatures in each of the central compartments have not been placed in the right sequence (Dölger - Weigand 1943, p. 164), since the two on the left wing, the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, seem more closely related to the four corner icons on the right, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Ascension and the Pentecost; while the two from the centre of the right wing, the Nativity and the Presentation in the Temple, correspond



better to the scenes framing the left wing, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism and the Transfiguration. The scene of the Annunciation is represented twice, while the Koimesis has been omitted.

The sixteen lozenges on the vertical sides of the outer bands frame half-length portraits of saints, while those on the horizontal bands contain the symbols of the four Evangelists on the left

George and Theodore Stratelatis and, below, Sts Theodore Teron and Vitus. The presence of the last-named, a saint of the Roman Catholic Church, betrays a western influence in the iconography of the diptych; some, indeed, have also seen this in the presence of the symbols of the Evangelists (Dölger - Weigand 1943, p. 164). However this may be, the miniatures are in general considered to be Constantinopolitan work, painted in the



wing and angels on the right. The central lozenges on each of the long sides are empty; these probably framed some inlaid ornament. Or, they may simply have been gilded and ornamented with a single semiprecious stone set in the middle, like the lozenges sections around the icons, which retain traces of gilding and in some cases a semiprecious stone. Some of the saints have been identified: on the left wing, two prophets and, below, Sts Cosmas and Damian; on the right Sts

Monastery of St Andrew.

These iconographic and stylistic features, together with the use of pearl accents in the compositions occupying the central compartments, link the miniatures with those ornamenting the Milutin diptych in the Monastery of Chelandari and its donor.

**Bibliography:** Dölger - Weigand 1943, pp. 164-5. Sophronios 1959, p. 139, fig. 92. Huber 1969, p. 290, fig. 177. Kadas 1986, p. 111.

K.L.-T.



### 9.31 Icon with Christ Enthroned

12th c., last quarter

St Paul's Monastery

35 x 27.5 x 2.8 cm

The nucleus of this portable wooden icon is an exquisite gilded glass image of Christ Enthroned, executed in the *verre eglomisé* technique; in the same technique are the five remaining, of the original fourteen, octagonal medallions, with busts of Sts Philip, Thaddeus, Symeon and Thomas. The figures that, with the central figure of Christ, constitute the Deesis, that is, the Virgin and St John and two busts of archangels, are painted on parchment and displayed under glass against a ground of tiny pearls. Gemmed bands of filigree work, typically Venetian in style, separate the three zones. The outer frame and the back of the icon are covered with a thin sheet of gilded metal. Although badly damaged, it seems to have been decorated with a stamped geometrical motif of



squares with X's and dots.

Venetian *objets de luxe* like this one, often the product of the joint skills of the glass-worker, the miniaturist and the silversmith, were designed for the large market which, in the years following the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204, grew up wherever the merchants of the *Serenissima* pursued their activities. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries especially, control of international trade was in the hands of the Venetian merchants; and this is reflected in the widespread distribution of Venetian luxury goods, found from Portugal to Tabriz and from the Kingdom of Hungary to the monasteries of Mount Athos (Laiou 1982. Cf. Fillitz - Morello 1994, nos. 73, 81-5).

This small icon is related to a group of four objects, three of which are found on Mount Athos: a diptych and a cross in the Monastery of St Paul and a diptych in the Monastery of Chelandari. The fourth, the diptych belonging to Andres IV of Hungary, today in the Historical Museum in Berne, is known to date from 1290-26 (Huber 1975, pp. 117ff.). All these treasures share the same filigree decoration and the same exquisite miniatures which, with their Byzantine-Venetian air and their luminous colours, brilliant against a gold ground, are reminiscent of Byzantine enamels. The nearest comparison, however, is with the miniatures illuminating Venetian manuscripts, which were produced in the same workshops (Neff 1993, pp. 7-10). A typically Venetian mannerism is the white line at the edge of the garments, imitating the same detail in the mosaics in San Marco (Demus 1984, pp. 182, 214-5).

What distinguishes this icon from the other Venetian works to which we have compared it is its use of gilded glass. The figures, worked in gold and silver sheet, the details incised with a very fine tool, stand out against a ground of deep purple or blue (Gordon 1981, pp. 148-9). Glass-gilding was a technique known to the ancient, Byzantine and Islamic worlds; it made its appearance in Italy in the mid-thirteenth century, a development to which the glass-blowers of Venice seem to have contributed (Swarzenski 1940, pp. 55, 63). This icon is one of the oldest examples of the type, and is not unlike the medallions that once ornamented the tomb of



Pope Clement IV (1268), especially in such features as the haloes with petals; this is probably a Gothic detail, and one which is reproduced in the miniatures of this icon (Bertelli 1970, pp. 75-8). The iconography of the enthroned Christ holding the orb of the universe is probably derived from a Northern European model, and may be compared to part of a scene interpreted as *Majestas Domini* in a Gothic church in Cologne (Schiller 1971, p. 20, fig. 31).

We do not know just when this icon, the diptych and the cross came into the monastery's possession; but it appears probable that, like the related diptych in the Chelandari Monastery, they were gifts from the Serb monarch Milutin (1282-1321), who lavished gifts on the Chelandari (Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 96). Unfortunately, we know very little about the Monastery of St Paul in the late thirteenth century; as for the early fourteenth century, all we know is that it was plundered by the Catalans. The oldest reference to a Serb brotherhood in the Monastery of St Paul dates from 1365, when the Monastery of Xeropotamou sold the desolated monastery to a group of Serb monks (Binon 1942, pp. 183-4. Christou 1987, pp. 153-4).

**Bibliography:** Binon 1942. Huber 1969, pl. 158. Bertelli 1970, p. 76 n. 15, fig. 16. Huber 1975, pp. 141-2. Thesaurori 1979, p. 207.

A.B.

### 9.32 Book cover

13th c., 1st half, and 14th c.

Dionysiou Monastery

24.3 x 18 cm

This cover, set over the leather binding of a thirteenth-century manuscript Gospel, was assembled from disparate elements, probably at the time when the leather binding was made. The almost square plaque with the Crucifixion, which occupies most of the front, is a typical product of the enamel workshops in Limoges, where from the mid-twelfth century on craftsmen specialised in *champlevé* enamelwork executed on a base of gilded copper. The more costly *cloisonné* enamel, adopted from Byzantium, had been



abandoned early in the century under the pressure of the multiplication of the monastic houses and the growing demand in the Western Church for liturgical utensils. The enamellers of Limoges profited from their city's extremely advantageous geographical situation, on the cross-roads of the great trade and pilgrim routes into Italy and Spain. Ecclesiastical and political links with other crusading states carried Limoges ware to the Holy Land, and from there obviously to the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. There are records of diplomatic gifts to the Kingdom of Armenia, and a number of book-cover plaques similar to this one have been preserved in Novgorod (Oeuvre de Limoges 1995, pp. 40-7).

Plaques depicting the Crucifixion were virtually mass produced at Limoges, and more than ninety examples have been preserved (Gauthier 1967). This one from the Monastery of Dionysiou is entirely typical: the figure of Christ and the heads of the Virgin, St John and the angels are rendered in relief on separate copper sheets, and the enamelled background, punctuated with rosettes, is worked in two shades of blue. The nearly square shape, however, is not suitable for the cover of a liturgical book, and was probably initially intended for some other use, perhaps as an icon revetment, or as an ornamental sheathing for an altar (Oeuvre de Limoges 1995, p. 171).

The silver bands, with traces of gilding, riveted around the edge of the binding come from a





Palaeologan cover. Triple tendrils twine and form a rinceau encompassing palmettes, their half-leaves filling the intervening spaces. The repeated series of eight palmettes, variants of the lotus and traditional palmette, are separated by a narrow row of beading. The combination of the rinceau and palmettes belongs to the context of Palaeologan decoration (cf. Amiranashvili 1971, fig. 81, wings of a triptych dated 1308-34. Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, fig. 392). The lotus motifs, however, are quite different from the five-petalled Byzantine palmettes of the so-called 'Sasanid' type, and were probably influenced by contemporary Islamic

decorative art.

These bands must have come from an icon revetment or a liturgical book cover: in any case, those ornamenting the longer sides have been affixed upside-down and, probably for lack of more appropriate pieces, the same have been used on the shorter sides, with the result that the motifs are lying sideways. Five bosses have been riveted on the bands, two of gilt, with a lattice pattern coming from a Palaeologan cover, and three plain silver ones, obviously later additions.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.



### 9.33 Reliquary of rock crystal ca. 1400 with a gilt mount

Vatopedi Monastery

Height 25 cm

This reliquary is a typical example of silver and rock crystal Venetian work. The narrow length-wise facetting of the deep cylindrical cup with the hemispherical lid reflect the precious material of which it is made. The silver-gilt mount consists of a tall foot on an octagonal base, a pair of dragon-shaped handles, and a fillet of acanthus leaves around the rims of both cup and lid. The finial ornament is missing from the top of the lid. The most striking feature of the decoration, which covers the foot like a flora mesh, is the separate over-layer of spiralling shoots with vine leaves, still retaining traces of enamel, surmounting the underlying scroll of foliage. Reliquaries with similar mounts occur in churches in Stara Boleslav and Düsseldorf, and have been dated to the first half of the fourteenth century (Hahnloser 1971, pp. 133-4, 148-9, pl. CXXXI. Fillitz - Morello 1994, nos. 88, 90). This type of work is considered an offshoot of the *opus venetum ad filum*, and in older, thirteenth-century, pieces, the shoots, usually made of metal sheet, are combined with figures of animals (Hahnloser 1971, no. 148, pls. CXXX-CXXXI. Fillitz - Morello 1994, no. 87), while in the fourteenth century the emphasis is on flora motifs. This tendency appears to follow developments in Venetian silver-work, as displayed in the work of the 'master of serpentine' (1325-50), characteristic of which are the large inlaid vine leaves with stems that twist into loops (Trésor de Saint-Marc 1984, nos. 41-2. Fillitz - Morello 1994, no. 104). The parallel is particularly clear in the dragon-handles of the Vatopedian reliquary, which are ornamented with similar leaves around which loop tendrils with tightly curled shoots.

This type of mount seems to have continued to be used until the fifteenth century. The acanthus leaves are found in works from the second half of the fourteenth century, and a pair of reliquaries with composite dragon handles, from the treasure of the Medici, have been dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Massinelli - Tuena



1992, pp. 50, 52-3. Fillitz - Morello 1994, nos. 97-8, 106). The circular seal of San Marco (not used in the 14th century) and the hallmark of the silversmith both confirm that this is an early fifteenth-century work (Pazzi 1992, nos. 240, 594).

A crystal vessel occasionally described as *kratetera* is mentioned in the Vatopedi Monastery's lists of sacred vessels, in pilgrim's books and in the *patria* – that is, in the monastery's short chronicles – and is held to be a gift from Andronicos Palaeologos. This tradition, which probably refers to the Despot of Thessaloniki (1408-23), seems to have arisen in the sixteenth century. The description of the reliquary as a 'handled cup' is interesting, and presumably retains the rarely encountered sense of an ecclesiastical vessel held by its handles.

**Bibliography:** Ballian 1996, pp. 500-3.

A.B.





ΗΑΓΙΑΝ

ΑΓΑΘΟΝ

ΧΥ



## Post-Byzantine Silver-Work

**T**he treasures of Mount Athos are the wealth and the memory of its monastic foundations, and the first intimation of 'the wonders to be seen and heard there' is furnished by the *proskynetaria*, books written by pilgrims to the Holy Mount. And since 'few are those who make the journey, and countless those who do not see, who have not heard', the reader is invited on a pilgrimage 'to see with his own eyes' that the reality of what has been described 'far exceeds anything he may have been told'. Among other marvels the traveller will be able to see a wealth of silver, to venerate such sacred relics as the 'miracle-working head of Saint Michael Synadon' in the Monastery of the Great Lavra, 'so potent against locusts, in its wondrous silver casket ... a fragment of the True and Life-Giving Cross with its exquisite and costly ornamentation ... in a priceless reliquary of gilded silver', and admire icons 'silver-revetted and embellished by King Andronicos Palaeologos of blessed memory, depicted himself and his queen' on the sides of the icons 'in hollowed silver'; or, in the Monastery of Vatopedi, 'icons a hundred and more in number, all from Muscovy and all in silver gilt'. Elsewhere, in the Monastery of Chelandari, for example, he may marvel at 'three crosses of wood, wondrously worked and ornamented in silver gilt', and in the Monastery of Iviron 'silver votive lamps and gilded silver enkolpia'. As for 'the remaining ecclesiastical vessels and other articles, and the bejewelled Gospels, who could even attempt to name them all?'

How closely does this picture, with all the exaggerations added by its authors, correspond to the situation today? The treasures in silver belonging to each monastery not only constitute a fixed permanent asset but also represent a variable reality modified and enriched by the offerings of the faithful and reflecting the foundation's authority and impact as a centre of worship and veneration, which is nonetheless influenced by its everyday existence and by the successive turns of fortune's wheel. Beyond the care and the labours of the brotherhood, it depends first and foremost on what history holds in store for it, for good or ill.

Although the Ottoman occupation of Mount Athos was quiet and the monasteries were allowed to retain all they had acquired, the course of succeeding centuries, culminating in the 1821 Greek Revolution, proved ruinous to their accumulated wealth of sacred treasures. Apart from the havoc wreaked by such natural disasters as fire and earthquake, which periodically destroyed entire foundations, the Holy Mount suffered piracy, invasion and insurrection, with consequences which are recorded most eloquently in codices found in its archives: 'Of the calamities and perils which have from time to time befallen the Holy Mount, even in the present day, at the hands of brigands and of the destruction they have wrought.'

Raids, taxes and compulsory levies on the one hand, and endeavours to preserve their privileges on the other, all played their part in building up mountainous debts. The *zeteiae* ('Alms-begging') among Christians, the loans contracted on favourable terms, the acquisition of *metochia*, and the bequests and donations from affluent and devout prelates and secular leaders in other nations were not sufficient to meet the ever-growing needs, and the monks frequently had to resort to the pawning or sale of ecclesiastical vessels made of precious metals. A short chronicle in a codex in the Great Lavra bears witness to their distress: 'On the sixth day of the third month, in the Year of Our Lord 1785, our wretched community reached this state and even worse, that being indebted as a house to the extent of nearly one hundred purses, not to mention our debts as individuals, for this cause we sold our sacred vessels, these to be



followed by our *metochia*, O woe! woe! woe!’ It was only in rare and fortunate cases that such bankruptcy was averted by the beneficent intervention of friends and protectors.

A new period of tribulation for the monasteries and their treasures was ushered in by the insurrection in Chalkidiki and the installation of a Turkish garrison on Mount Athos in December of 1821. Many of the treasures – everything the monks were unable to conceal in crypts or spirit away for safekeeping to Hydra, the Peloponnese or the islands of the North Aegean – were plundered by the Turks or, in later years, melted down by the monks themselves in order to save the precious metal or to meet a debt. Nor were the ‘ordinary’ monasteries of Wallachia and Bogdania spared: ‘All the silver has been sold, and the copper and the animals and other property as well ... nothing remains to the Monasteries but their four bare walls.’

Nor did the treasures which had been secreted away always meet a better fate, despite the decision taken by the first Greek government to assemble them at its seat in Corinth (1822) and to catalogue them. Some items had already disappeared, while much of what finally remained at Hydra was sacrificed to the needs of the War of Independence of 1821. In 1830, by decision of the Holy Synaxis after the Turkish garrison had withdrawn from Mount Athos, the treasures were restored, in order to ‘render unto God what is God’s, in accordance with the pious wishes of their revered donors.’

For the treasures of Mount Athos the consequences of these trials and tribulations were beyond any question extremely serious, although we cannot catalogue the entirety of their extent in each individual monastery. Nonetheless, and in despite of all these adversities, the hierarchically senior foundations of the Great Lavra, Vatopedi and Iviron are still possessed of great wealth in the form of sacred relics.

In the Protaton and the several monasteries on Mount Athos, as in all the major shrines of the Orthodox world, votive offerings account for the bulk of the wealth in silver. Simple pilgrims and *kelliotes*, ‘venerable monks and humble hieromonks, glorious monarchs, devout, godly and illustrious rulers’, all sought with their gifts to ensure a permanent, continuous and personal contact with their patron saints ‘for the salvation of their souls and in memory of themselves and their parents, for all eternity’. Those of the faithful who were unable to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Mount in person would send their offerings, usually via the monks who travelled far and wide for ‘Alm-begging’ or who served their foundation on its network of dependencies.

It was in this context that in the fifteenth century and afterwards the rulers of the Danubian principalities and their entourage made gifts and endowments to the major centres of Orthodoxy and their *metochia*. These included – to name but a few – the chalice offered to the Protaton by Bogdan of Moldavia (1504-17), son of Stefan the Great, the reliquary of Nephon, Archbishop of Constantinople, bestowed upon the Monastery of Dionysiou in 1515 by Neagoe Basarab, ruler of Wallachia, the costly gifts made to the Monasteries of the Great Lavra and Iviron by Mateu Basarab, prince of Wallachia from 1632 to 1654, and the gilded Gospel cover offered in 1648 by Basil Lupus, ruler of Moldavia, to the Monastery of Golia at Jassy, a dependency of the Vatopedi.

Other benefactors of the Athonite monasteries were the high-ranking prelates, the bishops and the patriarchs, who had some association with the various foundations: some had been promoted from their ranks, some spent their lives there as foreign residents, while others chose to spend their final days there in retreat from the world. To these monasteries, ‘in accordance with time-honoured tradition’, they left their personal possessions, their books, their vestments and their regalia, ‘for the use of the foundation and for a perpetual memorial’. These include Bishops Gennadios of Serres and Makarios Papageorgopoulos of Thessaloniki from Corinth, associated with the Great Lavra and the Monastery of Vatopedi in the first half of the sixteenth



century, and Patriarchs Dionysios III Bardalis, benefactor of the Great Lavra, and Dionysios IV Mouselimis who, among other things, bequeathed his library to the Monastery of Iviron (17th c., 2nd half).

In the early years of this century, long after the days of the travellers and the writers of the *proskynetaria*, scholars whose principal interest was in Byzantine art discovered the work of the post-Byzantine silversmiths. However, in spite of increasing interest in Mount Athos the published work on its treasures in gold- and silver-work is no more than sporadic, and it is only within the past few years that the sacristies of the monasteries have begun to be opened to scholars and the first systematic studies published.

These recent studies are gradually bringing to light the wealth of these works, whose provenance covers a vast geographical area and bears witness to the monasteries' relations with the Balkans, the Danube basin, Central and Western Europe, Asia Minor, Georgia and Russia. While most of these items come from Constantinople and the major cities of Russia and Transylvania, from the seventeenth century on there are an increasing number of pieces from smaller, provincial centres, such as Stemnitsa in the Peloponnese, Kalarrhytes in Epirus, Sinope in the Pontus, Nikolitsa in Northern Epirus and Krusovo in Macedonia: these centres served the local population and provided both rural areas and the larger centres with skilled craftsmen. By the nineteenth century the principal sources of such work were Moscow, Vienna and Jassy. In addition to passing craftsmen, Mount Athos also had its own silversmiths, initially monks living in the various *sketae*, and from about the end of the eighteenth century laymen who had taken up a permanent residence in the market town of Karyes.

The works of the goldsmith's art still preserved in the monasteries on Mount Athos represent the artistic trends of successive ages as these were shaped in the major centres and gradually percolated through the provinces, where they were re-interpreted by the local craftsmen with inevitable local modifications. Many of them attest to trends developed during periods when different faiths and cultures shared a territory; but their principal value as historical documents is as an expression of the economic situation, the choices and the mentality of both their donors and of the monks who used them and incorporated them into the ritual of the Orthodox Church.

On Mount Athos, where Yesterday lives on, there exist countless ecclesiastical and other works in silver, many of which are still in use. This exhibition presents but a tiny fraction of their number, and it follows that this initial approach cannot permit either close-knit comparisons or broad syntheses. It does however represent a major window onto this marvellous world, and an important step for research into and the study of the history of the art of the gold- and silver-working.

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**Bibliography:** Komnenos 1701. Makarios 1772. Smyrnakis 1903. Kontoyannis 1926, pp. 144-52. Lignos 1931, pp. 279-83. Lignos 1932, pp. 83-109. Alexandros L. 1963 (1), pp. 113-261. Alexandros L. 1966. Oikonomidés 1976, pp. 1-10. Ikonomaki-Papadopolou 1980. Năsturel 1986. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 163-86. Patrinelis 1992, pp. 112-45. Ballian 1996, pp. 500-34. Ikonomaki-Papadopolou 1996, pp. 221-35.



### 9.34 Gospel Cover 1578-1605 Ivion Monastery

Gilded silver and semiprecious stones  
34 x 26 x 7.5 cm

The cover of the Four Gospels forms a case covering an illuminated Byzantine manuscript. Each face of the cover is divided into three main zones with six large panels, in which the Dodekaorton is executed against a plain, background. The scenes are identified by Georgian inscriptions. On the front cover, arranged vertically, are the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus and on the back the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis, the Koimesis, Pentecost and the Ascension. On the front cover, at the centre top, is a depiction of the Virgin Portaotissa set above a small double door which closes with a hook and when opened reveals the Georgian inscription: 'Virgin of the door, have mercy on the Katholikos Euthymios in both lives'. The donor stands at the left, full-length, wearing the vestments of a prelate and a halo, and points to the small door. There is also a long Georgian inscription on the piece of metal protecting the bottom of the book: 'I, the Katholikos of Abchasia, Euthymios Sakvarelidze, had this Gospel book covered with silver and dedicated it to the awesome and glorious Virgin Portaotissa, so that Christ will support me in both lives and deem me worthy to sit on his right, so that I may hear his desirable voice' (reading and translation into Greek by A. Mikaberidze). Euthymios I. Sakvarelidze (1578-1605), a Katholikos of Abchasia (a district in West Georgia including Imeretia, Gouria and Mengrelia) is known for his efforts to promote the transcription of Greek ecclesiastical texts into Georgian (Tamarati 1910, p. 400. Salia 1980, p. 82) and for his donation of a silver-revetted icon of St Basil (Sanikidze - Abramishvili 1979, fig. 50).

In addition to the main division into zones, both sides have smaller panels with individual figures of saints in what is clearly an expression of the donor's wishes. The three military Sts Theodore, George and Demetrios are depicted beneath the Annunciation. Three long narrow panels on the front contain

depictions of the founders of Ivion Monastery, Sts Efthymios, John the Athonite and George the Athonite, each holding a cross. On the back are four panels with depictions of the saints and prelates John Chrysostome, Nicholas, Basil and Gregory. Each face of the cover is bordered by a band with a ring-punched background adorned with five-leaf and trefoil palmettes inscribed in circles. In the centre of each side the bands are interrupted by semicircles which were probably originally studded with gems. The spine is covered by seven bands set lengthways, having a ring-punched background adorned with a winding tendril and half-leaves, and stylized cloud-scrolls pair of leaves. These last two ornaments are derived from Ottoman decorative art (Raby - Allan 1982, fig. 15b. Carswell 1982, pl. 70). The edges of the *Tetraevangelon* are protected by gilded strips, secured with hinges and fastened with locks. On the long side there are four panels with the Evangelists sitting in front of their lecterns. On the top are depictions of the Angel announcing the Resurrection and the *Noli Me Tangere*.

At first sight, the cover surprises one with its Byzantine style. The palmettes on the border and the plain background could well belong to a middle-Byzantine work, and the multi-figural scenes of the Dodekaorton recall Palaeologan models, with their slightly large heads set on the tall, slender figures, and the details drawn from the Classical tradition, such as the draped material in the Annunciation. This eclectic tendency to return to models of the twelfth to the fourteenth century can also be observed in other sixteenth-century silver objects in Western Georgia, which was still semi-independent at this period, though paying tribute to the Ottoman Turks (Amiranashvili 1971, p. 154. Salia 1980, pp. 288-92). The iconography of the cover, however, is not consistent with the known Georgian and Byzantine covers, which normally depict the Crucifixion and the Deesis or the Anastasis (Amiranashvili 1971, pls 78-9. Velmans 1979, pp. 121-9). Stylistically, the cover has features in common with slightly earlier or contemporary works, such as the cross by the craftsman Mamne (late 15th c.), in which the rocky landscape is rendered in the same linear fashion, with a delicate, relief line (Amiranachvili 1971, pls 94-7). On the revetment of an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria of



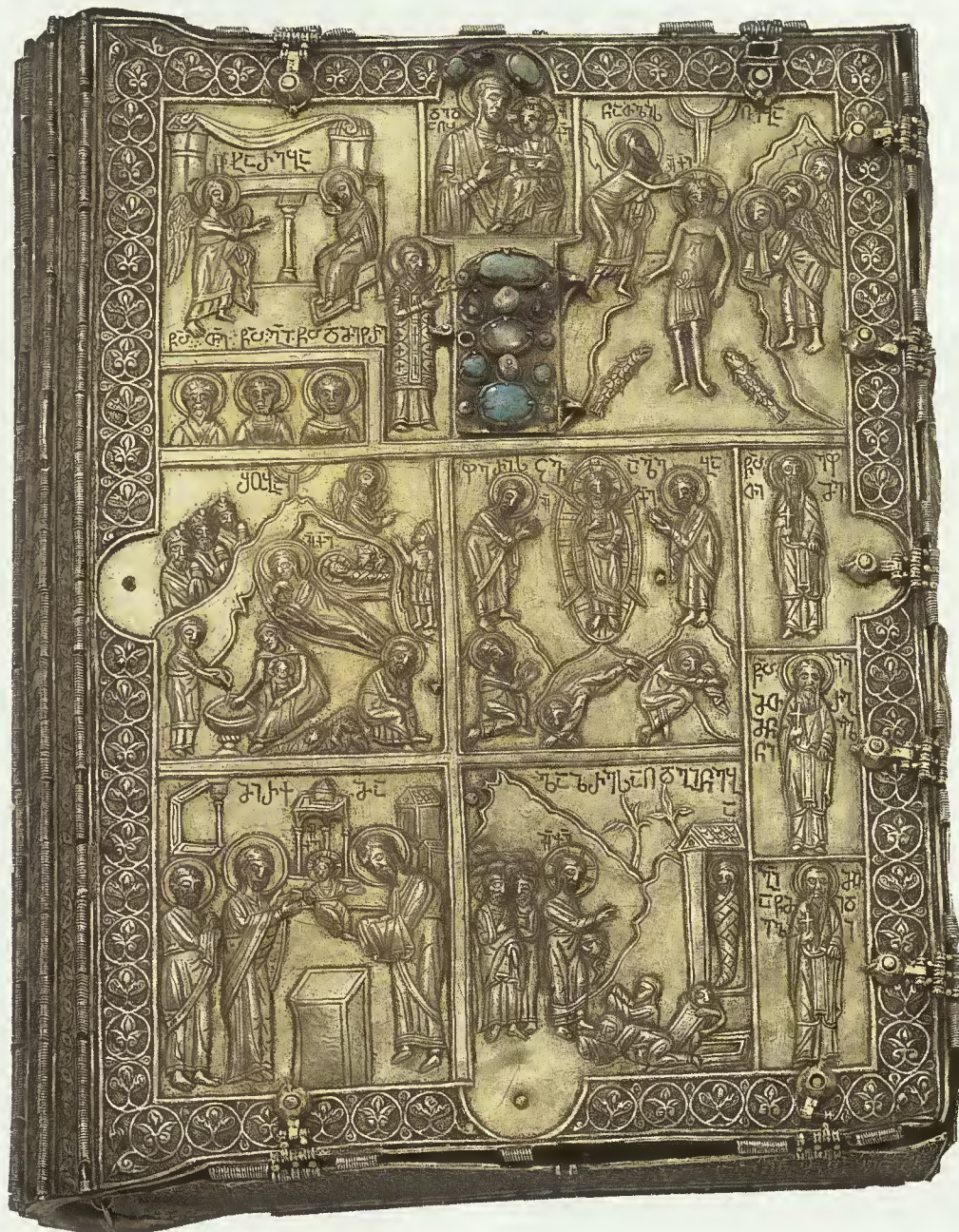
1586, donated by King George of Imeretia, can be detected the common model for the treatment of the Portaotissa, and also a similar ornament with opposed oblique leaves (Amiranashvili 1971, pl. 100. See also the icon of the Hodegetria of 1588, Sanikidze - Abramishvili 1979, fig. 64).

Between 1592-1604 monks from Iviron Monastery are known to have travelled to `collect

alms' in Georgia, and King Alexander of East Georgia saved the Monastery from serious debt (Gedeon(2) 1885, pp. 175-6. Salia 1980, p. 288). It seems probable that the icon was presented by the Catholic of Ambchazia when the monks passed through West Georgia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.





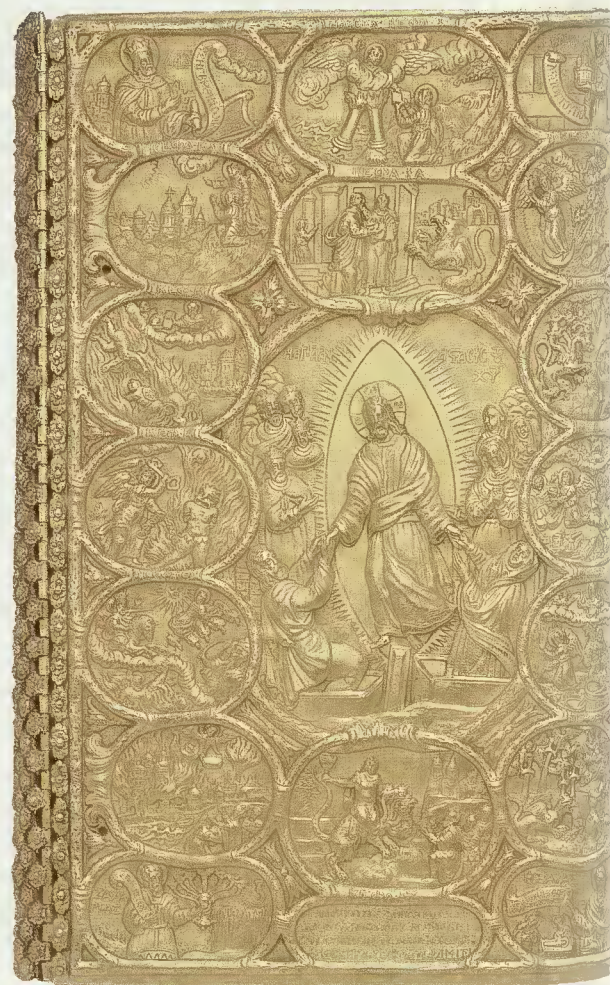
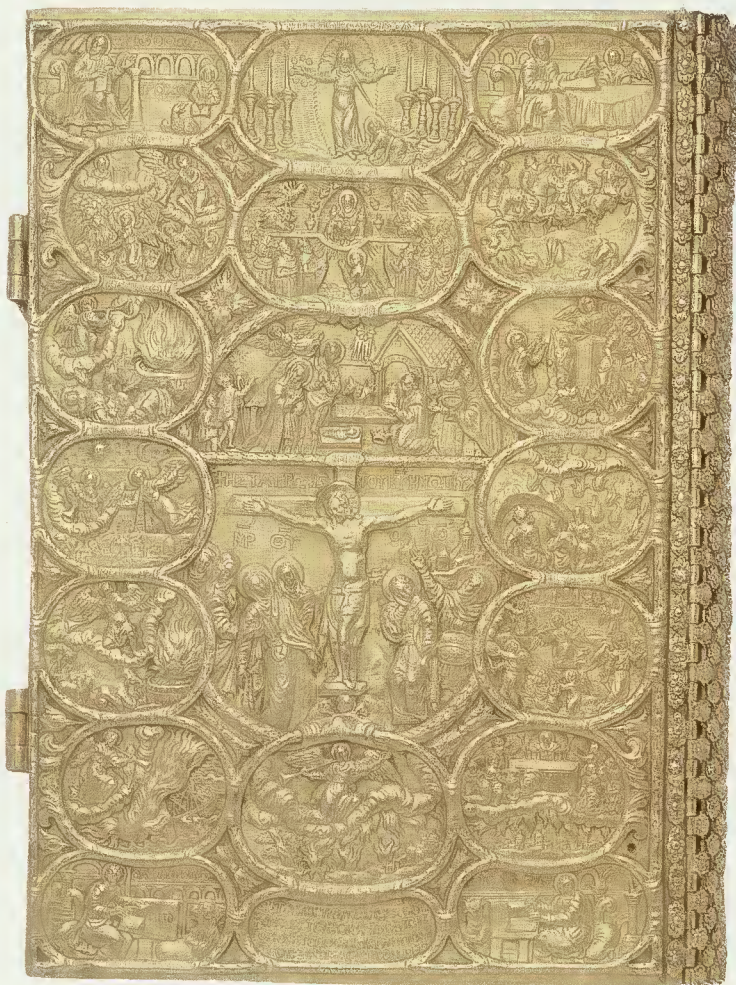
**9.35 Book cover** 1629  
 'by the hand of Loukas of Hungary-Wallachia'  
 and 'Iakovos, hieromonk of Simonopetra'  
 Simonopetra Monastery

Silver gilt, 37 x 25.5 cm  
 1677, Transylvania

The focal scenes on the panels forming this book cover are the Anastasis (front) and the Crucifixion (back), the latter being executed to a smaller scale, since it has to share the limited space of the panel with the Nativity, to which the katholikon of the Simonopetra Monastery is dedicated. The corners are occupied by the Prophets David, Solomon, Zechariah and Isaiah, and the Evangelists. On both sides the remaining space is filled with thirteen medallions depicting scenes from the Revelation, inspired by the illustrations in German

editions of the Bible in Luther's translation. The first edition with engravings by Lucas Cranach (Lothar 1522), subsequently reprinted with five new scenes (Luft 1529 and 1530), was repeatedly re-published in new and different versions, and thus served as a constant source of inspiration for many artists. The scene from Chapter 20 (79) in which the devil, essaying to besiege 'the beloved city', is defeated and 'cast into the lake of fire' struck a special chord, for it was associated with the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1529) in a period when the Turkish threat to Central Europe was still very real (see front cover, left side, ch. 20).

According to a short chronicle on page 371r, the first costly book cover made for the manuscript in 1657 'had by the inexperience of the goldsmith nothing of seemliness or of comeliness'; the hieromonk Gregorios of Simonopetra, therefore, sent it to Braşov, in Hungary, where in 1677 the original





cover was replaced with the existing one. Gregorios' contribution is commemorated in the inscriptions of the cover: (on the front) 'Remember O Lord those faithful servants who helped Demetrios with this Holy Gospel' and (on the back) 'Accept O Christ this offering from Thy humble servant hieromonk Gregorios, and have mercy upon us, for of Thine own do we give Thee.'

In addition to the stylistic affinities – Transylvania was a predominately Protestant region (Fodor 1994, pp. 18, 20) where the German iconographical models were readily available – the provenance of this cover is confirmed by the stamp and signature of the craftsman, with the monogram VA IC. Other works signed by the same artist, also with scenes from the Apocalypse, include Gospel covers in the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem (1671) and in the Cotroceni Monastery in Bucharest (1681). A fourth, similar, cover is preserved in the Monastery of Xeropotamou.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 166-7, figs. 85-8.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.36 Book cover 1671 (Phoenix Press, Venice 1848) Simonopetra Monastery

Silver gilt, 34.5 x 23.5 cm  
Anastasios Sougdouris, Venice

On the front panel Christ in an aureola has trampled down the gates of Hell and with a sweeping gesture is raising Adam and Eve, while the prophet-kings and the host of the righteous look on in awe. Seated above, within frames, are the full-length figures of the Evangelists Matthew and John, with their symbols. The whole is bordered by a vine with open flowers from which emerge the figures of saints, a motif not unusual in works of this type in this period.

The back cover is dominated by the figure of the dead Christ on the cross. On one side are the Virgin and the three women attending her, and on the other John and the centurion; behind the principal figures are a group of soldiers. Above, the Evangelists Mark and Luke with their symbols are framed against a background of imposing buildings which, representing

the city of Jerusalem, constitute an integral part of the Crucifixion. The whole is surrounded by an unusual Renaissance border, with the inscription: 'Τῷ Θε(ον) καὶ ἱερῶν εὐαγγέλιον Γέγονεν διὰ χειρὸς Αναστασίου Τοῦ Σουγδουρί του ἐξ ἰωαν(νί-νων) ἐνετίησιν 1671 σεπταμβ(ρίου) ιστ' (Made for the Holy Gospel by Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina in the year 1671, September 16). These two panels are strikingly different. While the scene of the Anastasis adheres faithfully to older, Byzantine models, the Crucifixion follows the type introduced in the second half of the fifteenth century by the painters of the Cretan School, here with the addition of details revealing a western influence: the loin-cloth on the figure of Christ, the helmets of the soldiers and the Renaissance city in the background (Eikones 1993, no. 166, p. 520). The border, inspired by contemporary engravings, highlights the dramatic staging of the scene, in which the predominant atmosphere is one of emotion restrained.

Anastasios Sougdouris of Ioannina was a descendent of a family of merchants, established in Venice since the sixteenth century. The sister of scholar Georgios Sougdouris had married Nikolaos Glykys, head of the publishing house of the same name; this marriage created close ties between the two families, and it was natural that Anastasios, a goldsmith, should be influenced by these Venetian connections. But the differences between his and contemporary Venetian silver-work, together with the lack of uniformity of style – although technical details suggest that the two pieces are not unrelated –, raise questions about where and when these two panels were made, and even suggest the possible involvement of a second craftsman. The dearth of comparable contemporary work from Ioannina, however, precludes comparisons – at least for the present. A chalice with a Slavonic inscription signed by Anastasios Sougdouris in the National Art Museum in Bucharest raises another question: that of mobility of craftsmen and artisans and the influences affecting their work (Deligiannis 1995, pp. 179, 216, 238). However that may be, the members of the Sougdouris family continued for several centuries to make names for themselves both as scholars and goldsmiths.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 165, figs. 83-4.

Y.I.-P.





9.36 Book cover: The Crucifixion.





9.36 Book cover: *The Anastasis*.



**9.37 Book cover**  
Iviron Monastery

early 18th c.

Silver gilt, enamel and stones, 36.5 x 26 cm  
N. Glycys Editions, Venice 1671

Each of the two panels of this Gospel book cover is revetted by a silver sheet divided into compartments of varying size, symmetrically arranged; these are bordered by narrow strips of deep blue or green enamel, decorated with filigree work in floral motifs and ornamented with coloured stones in round settings. Engraved on the rough ground of these compartments are scenes from the Dodekaorton, each with their identifying inscriptions. Displayed on the centre of the front cover is the Crucifixion, the Presentation in the Temple and the Nativity above, the symbols of the Evangelists Matthew and John to the right and left, the Annunciation (in two parts) beneath them, the Baptism and the Raising of Lazarus at the bottom. Occupying the same respective positions on the



back cover are depicted the Anastasis, the Entry into Jerusalem, the symbols of the Evangelists Luke and Mark, the Presentation of the Virgin – the only scene that does not belong to the Dodekaorton, here replacing the Pentecost –, the Ascension, and the Koimesis. The identifying inscriptions are repeated in twisted wire on the enamel borders. Filigree scrolls and enamel cover the spine.

Borders of similar style framing scenes arranged in the same way around a central, focal representation are found on three book covers dating from between 1701 and 1743, two of which, belonging to the Bačkov monastery, are ascribed to workshops in Philippopolis (Drumev 1976, pp. 97-8, figs. 32, 90-1). The combination of filigree work and silver sheet, either cast or engraved or sculpted, was common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the workshops of what is now Bulgaria. Also typical of the work produced in this area are the loose design, often without details, the rough ground, the iconography and the execution of the filigree decoration. To the same provenance also point other details of workmanship of the Iviron book cover, such as the filigree scrolls and the mounting of the coloured stones. These features are typical not only of the work produced in Philippopolis and in other workshops in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but also of earlier pieces attributed to the workshops of Čiprovtsi, a famous gold- and silver-working centre whose craftsmen scattered to other parts of Bulgaria and the surrounding region after the city was destroyed by Ottoman troops in 1688 (Drumev 1976, figs. 119-20, 258, 274. Iconomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, fig. 24. Sotirov 1984, figs. 8-9, 25, 39-46, 62-3). The Iviron book cover was most probably created in this general area, and it may be associated with the Rozinou Monastery, a *metochi* of Iviron near Melenikon.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

**9.38 Book Cover for a Gospel Book, 1777**  
printed in Venice 1773.  
Pantokrator Monastery

Silver, 38 x 28 cm

Each board is fashioned from a single silver



plate, divided into three almost equal parts by the composition of its relief and open-work decoration. The central section on the front cover, which is framed by rococo motifs, displays a relief scene of the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and a companion to the right of the cross, and St John with the centurion to the left. Flanking this central representation are the Entry into Jerusalem and the Annunciation. This section is separated from those above and below it by bands of open-work leafy tendrils. In the centre of each of these decorative bands are framed abbreviations: 'of Pantokrator' above and 'Cyril' below. The Evangelists John and Matthew, enthroned, occupy the upper corners of this front cover, flanking the Raising of Lazarus. Represented in the corresponding positions on the bottom row are Mark and Luke and the Lamentation.

The decoration of the back cover follows the same pattern: above, the full-length figures of David and Solomon, with the Transfiguration between them; beneath these, an open-work band with the relief abbreviation 'of Pantokrator'; in the middle

section, the Ascension, the Anastasis and the Baptism; in the lower ornamental zone the inscription 'Prior Ph.'; and at the bottom, the Koimesis, with the prophets Habakkuk and Jeremiah, enthroned, and the date 1777.

This gospel cover was yet another offering from Prior Cyril of Myriophyton (Thrace), and is evidently the work of the same craftsman who in 1777 made the metal part of the pair of liturgical fans for the monastery which are also on display in this exhibition (no. 9.65).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.-A. P.

### 9.39 Book Cover for a Gospel Book printed in Venice 1793 Pantokrator Monastery

1800

Silver, parcel-gilt, 36 x 27 cm  
Bakalakis of Mesolongi



A large oval medallion in the centre of the front cover displays the scene of the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St John standing on either side of the cross; behind John is the figure of the centurion. This scene is framed by a rococo border which runs around the perimeter of the medallion, giving it a suggestion of a cross shape. Smaller medallions in the corners contain busts of the prophets David, Moses, Jeremiah (HPM) and Isaiah (IC); these medallions are joined by silver strips decorated with stylised palmettes in relief. Four angel heads, each flanked by a pair of star-shaped rosettes, are set in the corners between the central medallion and the border; a seraph occupies the space above it, while beneath it is an elongated and slightly cruciform medallion engraved with the following inscription: '1800. Andreas Kechagias and his parents. Bakalakis of Mesolongi'. The arrangement of the silver ornamentation forms the customary cross against the dark velvet of the binding.

The medallions on the back cover are disposed in the same way, the central medallion displaying the Anastasis and the corner medallions the four Evangelists. In place of the dedicatory medallion is one of the same shape, but uninscribed.





9.39

On the inside faces, strips of silver with palmette bands in relief cover the three free edges.

The decorative composition of this Gospel cover is representative of a style prevalent from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1980, p. 9, fig. 4). The Bakalakis of Mesolongi mentioned in the inscription is presumably the craftsman who made the cover.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.-A. P.

**9.40 Book cover**  
(Phoenix Press, Venice 1863)  
Simonopetra Monastery

1849

Silver gilt and niello, 21.8 x 13.8 cm  
Thomas Isidorou Pentos of Krusovo

Worked in relief on the front panel are the Synaxis of the Archangels, who in this composition, rather than holding a medallion with the bust of Christ – according to the iconography of the subject







on the front cover represents the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St John standing on either side of the cross. Above the horizontal crossarm is written in minuscule letters the inscription 'the Crucifixion of', but without the name of Christ. The four medallions in the corners display busts of prophets, each holding a scroll and identified by his initial: Δ (David), Σ (Solomon), H (Isaiah); the fourth, depicted as a young, beardless man, is also identified as Δ. The central medallion on the back cover represents the Anastasis, and the corner ones the four Evangelists with their symbols.

A leafy tendril, also in relief, winds up the spine, and a similar motif ornaments the two closure tabs.

The inscriptions engraved in minuscule letters on the strips inside the covers tell us that the set was made for Archimandrite Daniel of Thasos in 1881, that it cost seven Turkish pounds, and that the total weight of the silver was 99 drams. Archimandrite Daniel of Thasos was the superior of the Pantokrator Monastery from 1860, and one of the most distinguished figures on Mount Athos in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The decoration was inspired by the work of Thomas Pentos of Krusovo, which may be seen in the

similarly small scale set of Gospel covers made for the Simonopetra Monastery in 1849 (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 185-6, fig. 102), although this is aesthetically less satisfying.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.-A. P.

#### 9.42 Chalice Xenophontos Monastery

ca. 1500

Silver gilt, silver and enamel  
Height 23.5 cm, base diameter 13.5 cm,  
rim diameter 10.5 cm

Engraved on the cup of this chalice, between the rim and the calyx, are three medallions with the representation of the Deesis: Christ, in bust and frontal is flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, who are portrayed in three quarters view; in the corresponding position on the opposite side of the cup are a cross of the Russian type, with three horizontal arms, and the instruments of the Passion. All the themes are accompanied by monogram inscriptions in Slavonic. Six lunceolate elements, like 'sepals', with filigree enamel in green and blue divide the calyx into six larger compartments. Covering these sections is a beaded filigree netting, patterned alternately with circlets within circles and with smaller circles filling the spaces between zig-zag bands. The calyx terminates in an ornately palmetted corolla. The stem between the cup and the knop and the knop and the foot is hexagonal, with an outer frame of twisted wire; engraved on each facet is the Latin letter I (for IESUS). Following the line of the sepals, six narrow open-work strips decorated with an ornate tendril motif in relief divide the flattened spherical knop into six sections, each of which has a sculpted double rosette framed by leaves. A hexagonal ring with a facing of intersecting filigree strips covers the seam where the stem meets the foot. The angular facets of the foot flow smoothly into the six lobes of the broad, stepped base. Covering the vertical face of the upper, ornamented part of the base is an open-work band of quatrefoils alternating with quatrefoils inscribed within lozenges. Twining tendrils with stylised palmettes are engraved on the angular facets forming the top of the foot;



beneath these, on the lobes, six-winged seraphs separate the figures of the Prophets Zechariah (the younger?), Habakkuk and Jacob. These are identified by Slavonic inscriptions, for otherwise there is little to distinguish them: all three are represented as young men, bodies inclined and arms raised in almost identical fashion, except that Habakkuk is turning his head towards the left and the others to the right. All are dressed in western style with mantles billowing out behind them.

The calyx with its palmettes, the faceted stem, the knop with its perforate relief decoration, and the multi-lobed foot with its broad, stepped base are all characteristic features of the late-Gothic style as it had developed in Hungary, and Slovakia and Transylvania, which at that time (ca. 1500) were under the Hungarian crown (Braun 1932, pp. 101-3, 107, 116). Of particular note is the beaded filigree netting, which is frequently used as an independent decorative feature, in a number of variants and combinations, with enamel, as in the Xenophontos



chalice, or with other techniques on several chalices made in this region in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Braun 1932, p. 150. Kolba - Németh 1986, p. 8, figs. 6, 8). In its filigree work, in the shape of the knop and the initials on the stem, this chalice resembles similar pieces in the Cathedrals of Esztergom (Hungary) and Bratislava (Slovakia), in the Monastery of Tatarna (Eurytania) as well as others from churches in Transylvania (Cséfalvay 1984, figs. 18-19, 21. Toranová 1982, nos. 86, 91, pp. 194-5. Koumoulidis et al. 1991, p. 105β. Roth 1922, I, pp. 66-9, II, pls. 59-60).

The prophets engraved on the base fit well to the central European style of the chalice. Engraved figurative decoration on surfaces of this shape was commonly used in the fifteenth century, often traced from an *anthivolon* (Fritz 1966, pp. 395-6). This may well have been the case with this chalice, and would account for the pronounced similarity of the figures, evidently executed by a goldsmith familiar with the latest developments in the art of engraving. Apart from such obvious elements as the seraphs and the Slavonic inscriptions, the cross and the Deesis on the cup of this chalice, both of high quality of craftsmanship, connect the Xenophontos chalice as regards its iconography with the Russian tradition, where these same motifs had been used to decorate the cups of chalices since the twelfth century (Rybakov 1971, figs. 73-6. Russkoj kul'tury 1988, figs. 302, 313). Finally, the stylised tendrils decorating the upper part of the foot are a motif characteristic of Gospel book covers produced in Moldavia around 1500 (Tafrali 1925, II, pl. XIII, fig. 58. Nicolescu 1968, no. 327, p. 269).

This chalice would appear to have been commissioned by a patron who wished his gift to be decorated with iconographic motifs characteristic of his own Orthodox tradition. With its solid construction, its purity of line and its varied decoration, this chalice is one of the finer examples of its type, and was probably a princely gift. Documentary evidence, although not contemporary, indicates that at the period in question there was a connection between Xenophontos Monastery and the Graiovescu family, Boyars of Oltenia (part of Western Wallachia, also known as the County of Severin; Năsturel 1986, pp. 259-60).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



### 9.43 Chalice

1504-17

Protaton

Silver gilt

Height 23 cm, rim diameter 12 cm,

base diameter 13 cm

About half-way up the bell-shaped cup of this chalice is a heavily cross-hatched band displaying the customary eucharistic inscription ('Drink ye all of it...') engraved in Slavonic. The stem of the chalice consists of two cylindrical sections above and below the plain knop; these are decorated with open-work quatrefoils inscribed within circles. The hexagonal foot broadens into a flattened, six-lobed base, the edge of which is decorated with a composite open-work motif of a scrolling vine and quatrefoils inscribed within circles. An elegantly designed inscription in Slavonic, worked in two rows on a heavily hatched ground running around the lower part of the foot, reads as follows: 'SII POT/IR S' "TVORI/ IO BOGDA/N' VOEVO/DA S(Y)N' S/TEFANA /NOEVODI V/NOU(K) RADOUL/A VOEVODI ID/ADE EGO V'" PROTATIE V/" SV(E)TOI GORI V'" (This chalice was made by Io-Bogdan Voevode, son of Stefan Voevode, grandson of Radul Voevode, and was given to the Protaton on Mount Athos, to the). The inscription continues, in plainer lettering, on a third line: 'HRAM' SV(E)TAGO P/REDITEČA' (Church of the Holy Prodrome).

The engraver evidently ran out of space, and was obliged to adopt a simpler style for the final element of the inscription, the name of the recipient church. Bogdan the Monophthalmos, Voevode of Moldavia (1504-17), was the son of Stephen the Great, and – like his father – supported the Protaton with various sponsorships as well as splendid gifts. According to a now lost inscription, he subsidised the construction work carried out in 1507/8, and possibly also the repairs to the narthex (1512), in the gallery of which is the Chapel of John the Prodrome (Năsturel 1986, pp. 295-6). In this way Voevode Bogdan continued the policy of his father, Stephen the Great. His name is thus recorded among the benefactors of the great pilgrim centres of the Orthodox world, who for centuries to come would continue to provide them with both financial support and priceless church silver gifts.



This elegantly proportioned chalice has several features typical of the international Gothic style, such as the bell-shaped cup, so characteristic of the fifteenth century, the quatrefoils inscribed in circles which, in this particular form, had been used since the middle of the fourteenth century, and the six-lobed foot, a shape as popular as the plain, undecorated knop was rare (Fritz 1982, pp. 138, 135, figs. 406 and 566, p. 146. Braun 1932, p. 107). The fret-work motif on the edge of the foot is a late-Gothic ornament that was widely used in Hungary and Transylvania from the mid-fifteenth through the sixteenth century (Fritz 1982, p. 135. Roth 1922, II, pl. 96, no. 1). The type of hatching underlying the inscription, already long used throughout Central Europe, occurs in Moldavia and neighbouring Transylvania, as well as in Hungary (Fritz 1966, p. 32. Nicolescu 1968, no. 215, p. 196. Roth 1922, II, pl. 41. Kolba - Németh 1986, no. 5, p. 16).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.





**9.44 Chalice** 15th c. and 1558  
Docheiariou Monastery

Silver gilt

Height 21 cm, rim diameter 12 cm,  
base diameter 13 cm

The chalice of Docheiariou Monastery was clearly made in two stages. In a later repair, a hemispherical cup with Ottoman decoration has been added to the Late-Gothic foot with its knop. Lobed medallions with split-leaf arabesques set against a ring-punched ground alternate with half-medallions and are bordered by two zones of inscriptions that encircle the cup at the bottom and below the rim. The inscriptions are in Slavonic, and the one below the rim is the liturgical inscription typically found in communion chalices: 'Drink ye all of this...' In the lower zone is the donor's inscription 'This chalice was dedicated to the church of St Athanasios in the year 7066 (from the foundation of the world, 1558 from the Birth

of Christ). (Translation I. Tarnanidis, K. Pavlikianov).

The hexagonal stem of the foot ends in a base with six lobes, while the knop, which penetrates the central cylindrical section of the stem, has eight bosses with the monogram of Jesus 'IHS[US]', a foliate cross, or glass paste. The shape of post-Byzantine communion chalices in the sixteenth century frequently follows Late-Gothic models, but in the foot of the chalice of Docheiariou Monastery the stamp of Gothic art is also apparent in the decoration. The six lobes on the foot are adorned with rich incised decoration of acanthus leaves, that fold back and wind vertically against a cross-hatched background. This style, which is characteristic of the *Gothique flamboyant*, is descended from manuscript illumination and first appears in the silverware of the second half of the fourteenth century in the larger area of the Rhine, being applied in particular to the lobed feet of western ecclesiastical vessels. In the second half of the fifteenth century, this decoration was copied and enriched in the works of the first German engravers, Israel van Meneckem and Martin Schongauer, leading to its almost continuous use in Central Europe down to the beginning of the sixteenth century (Fritz 1966, pp. 80-6, figs. 55-60, 99-100, 136, 155, 170, 181, 289, 310. Bimbenet-Privat 1993, pp. 116-8). Through its use in engravings this type of decoration enjoyed a further lease of life in the headpieces and initial letters of Russian sixteenth-century printed books, from where it passed into the Greek manuscripts of Matthaïos of Myra (Gratzïou 1982, pp. 27-31).

The flawless rendering of the Gothic decoration on the Docheiariou chalice points to a craftsman of German or more generally Central European training. By contrast, the Ottoman arabesque on the cup is standardized and lifeless. The inscription does not make clear in which church of St Athanasios the cup was originally made, and we do not know how it came into the possession of Docheiariou Monastery. The cup was probably added in the Danubian principalities, possibly Moldavia, whose prince, Alexandros Lapuceanu, a few years later funded the erection of the katholikon of Docheiariou Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.



### 9.45 Chalice

1587/8

Iviron Monastery

Silver gilt and enamel

Height 30 cm,

rim diameter 19 cm, base diameter 20 cm

This chalice has a wide, deep bowl set on a cylindrical stem with a small embossed knop near the middle. The stem rests on a small eight-lobed foot; narrow bands extending into rounded projections between the lobes mark the surface off into eight sections, while the foot in turn stands on a flat base of the same late-Gothic design. The surface of the bowl is divided horizontally into two zones and vertically into seven sections; depicted in the compartments thus formed is the Dodekaorton. Represented in the lower zone are the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis and the Annunciation, while in the corresponding positions in the upper zone are the Nativity, the Koimesis, the Ascension, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Pentecost and, finally, the Lamentation, which, as the principal scene, occupies a double section. The dead Christ is represented lying on a bier, attended by John, the Virgin and a woman holding a jar of myrrh. The ciborium in the background, flanked by seraphs, invokes the theme of Christ the Sacrificial Lamb, commonly used in eucharistic programmes in monumental painting and on gold-embroidered veils and silver plate (Walter 1982, pp. 220-1. Vei-Chatzidaki 1953, no. 39, pp. 27-9. Theochari 1986, pp. 24-5. Abramichvili 1986, figs. 226-8).

The liturgical character of this vessel is reflected in the inscription running around the rim:

‘+ ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΥΜΩΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΚΧΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΦΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ζης.’

(‘Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. 1587’). The iconographic programme is continued on the foot and base: the eight sections of the foot are decorated with seraphs, and the flat lobes of the base with alternating, facing pairs of Evangelists and martyrs.

The principal decorative motif on the knop is



a pair of ribbons, entwined to form knots and medallions against a ground of deep blue enamel. Standing out against the green enamel ground of these medallions are floral arabesques, with crossed tendrils or open flower motifs reminiscent of the *saz* leaf and rosette type (Atil 1987, fig. 81, p. 145. Raby - Allan 1982, pp. 29-30, fig. 5). The narrow bands separating the sections on the foot and base are decorated with palmettes or floral arabesques in low relief (Atil 1987, fig. 79, pp. 143-4. Raby - Allan 1982, fig. 21).

With its heavy semi-spherical bowl, small knop and small foot (minus the base), this chalice recalls types common in the early Christian and mid-Byzantine eras (Mundell-Mango 1986, nos. 2-3, pp. 73 and 75. Trésor de Saint-Marc 1984, no. 16 bis, p. 166), while its lavish pictorial decoration is reminiscent of late-Byzantine carving, particularly the characteristic steatite tablets, icon revetments and Gospel covers (Loverdou-Tsigarida 1996, fig. 393, p. 460, fig. 314, p. 371, and fig. 433, p. 484. Trésor de Saint-Marc, no. 19, p. 177). The workmanship on this chalice, however, is not of the same quality, although the inscription is very



carefully done. The flat base, with its late-Gothic survivals and its characteristic aniconic motifs, is typical sixteenth-century work.

With the exception of those from the Western - Roman - tradition, few older chalices with scenes from the Christological cycle are known, while the lack of comparable pieces from the first century after the Fall of Constantinople precludes comparisons and conclusions (Elbern 1977, pp. 306-10. Skubiszewski 1982, pp. 259-63). However, the weight given here to historical-narrative and dogmatic decoration may be an expression of processes which in an earlier age - probably in the late-Byzantine era - led to the creation of chalices of this type. Such morphological elements as the Late Gothic details, the knob with its aniconic decoration and the use of deep blue and green enamel, link it with a number of other pieces from approximately the same period, some of which are preserved in the Iviron Monastery; the question of their origin is still unresolved.

**Bibliography:** Thesaurori 1975, fig. on p. 18.

Y.I.-P.

#### 9.46 Chalice

1594/5

Dionysiou Monastery

Silver gilt and enamel

Height 22 cm, rim diameter 10 cm,

base diameter 13.2 cm

The cup of this chalice is decorated with engraved seraphs and, around the bottom, with arabesques of flowers and foliage which form a sort of calyx. On the faceted stem plain surfaces alternate with delicate floral motifs on an enamel ground. On opposite sides of the embossed knob, a pair of continuously and symmetrically twining ribbons form two medallions with foliate arabesques and crossed tendrils with anthemias, set against an enamel ground. A stepped collet marks the junction of stem and base. The upper part of the base is faceted in the same manner as the stem, but with the plain and decorated surfaces reversed, and broadens smoothly into a low eight-lobed base with sharp points between the lobes. Ornamenting the thick edge of the base is a fret of stylised palmettes. The scroll of tendrils

with foliate arabesques and anthemias that covers the decorated sections of the base is worked in flat relief, as is the inscription that runs around the edge; on the undecorated lobes, the lettering is enclosed within a medallion in the same style. The inscription reads as follows: 'Made by order and at the expense of Gabriel, who dedicated it to the Church of John the Prodrome in the year 1594/5.' An annotation (1603) in a book in the monastery mentions the name 'Prior Gabriel': this Gabriel and the donor of the chalice may well be one and the same (Kadas 1996 (2), p. 77). This type of chalice, with a flaring cup, a faceted stem and a lobed base with sharp points between the lobes is typical of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian work (Braun 1932, pp. 100, 118. Collareta 1983, fig. 4b). These late-Gothic features, in either a pure or a degenerate form, continued to be used from time to time until well





– flank an appliqué medallion with the Anastasis engraved in miniature and highlighted in niello, while holding above it a scroll with the identifying inscription. In the corners are similar, smaller medallions, with the figures of the Evangelists accompanied by their symbols. The two in the lower corners are not turned towards the centre as one would expect, but are facing outward, and may have been wrongly placed when the cover, which dates from 1849, was re-used for this 1863 copy of the Four Gospels. Dominating the whole from its position high in the centre is the Eye of the All-seeing Lord. The scene of the Crucifixion, displayed within a rococo border, occupies the entire surface of the back cover. In the four corners are full-length portraits of prophets holding open scrolls: David and Solomon above, Jeremiah and Daniel below. On the spine a rococo ribbon and a tendril twine to frame floral sprays. The book closes with two clasps in the form of medallions with the Apostles Peter and Paul, again highlighted with niello. Engraved just inside the cover is the inscription ‘by the hand of Thomas Isidorou Pentos of Krusovo 1849’. All the characteristics of Athonite iconography and decoration typically seen in the silver-work and engravings of the mid-nineteenth century are found in this Simonopetra cover. The minimalist representation of the Synaxis of the Archangels, the types of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, the appliqué medallions with their engraved miniature scenes, and the floral sprays are just some of these characteristic features (Papastratos 1990, nos.35, 46, 190-3. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, p. 238, fig. 45). Appliqué medallions of painted enamel, combined with a variety of other techniques, had been used in Central Europe for secular and ecclesiastical articles since the seventeenth century (Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst 1987, no. 161, pp. 272-4. Toranová 1982, p. 118, fig. 73). The art of enamel miniatures, like that of niello work, reached its acme in Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century and, used for appliqué medallions, either together or separately, was frequently employed to ornament book covers, chalices and many other objects (Kaljazina et al. 1987, fig. 101. Moršakova 1989, no. 65. Ballian 1996, p. 532, fig. 479. Šakota 1984, p. 238, figs. 39-40). Niello work did not demand the same skills as enamel painting, which may explain

its tremendous popularity in the Southern Balkans, where in the nineteenth century it was used for ecclesiastical vessels, furnishings and jewellery. Thomas Isidorou (or Sideri, or Sidri) Pentos, known particularly as an engraver, came from the traditional metal-working Wallachian centre of Krusovo, one of the many craftsmen who, as we know from inscriptions and archival evidence, perpetuated this craft on Mount Athos (Papastratos 1990, p. 44). The Simonopetra book cover is one of the finest examples of its kind. The carefully studied gradations of the relief and the pictorial, calligraphic, almost sophisticated rendering of the figures recall the work of the Kalarrhythian artist Tzimouris, and are in many ways similar to the work of the staurotheke in the Monastery of Xeropotamou. A book cover and a casket in the Monastery of Docheiariou are also known to be the work of Thomas Pentos (Ktenas 1930, pp. 125-7).

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 185-6, fig. 102.

Y.I.-P.

**9.41 Book Cover 1881**  
**for a New Testament**  
**printed in Cantabria 1851**  
**Pantokrator Monastery**

Silver gilt and niello  
 15.7 x 10 cm

The two tablets forming the front and back covers of this set are single sheets of hammered silver, raised and gilded, with five oval medallions placed symmetrically on each. They are attached to the spine plate by means of tubular components through which a slender metal rod is passed. The three free edges of each plate are folded over the hard outer cover of the book binding. The relief decoration is the same on both tablets: rococo motifs cover the surface and frame the appliqué medallions, four matching ones in the corners and a single larger one in the centre. The whole is framed by a narrow, raised cord, leaving undecorated a band one centimetre wide, to set off the whole composition.

The scenes on the appliqué silver medallions are highlighted with niello. The central medallion



into the sixteenth century, as we see in this chalice (Braun 1932, pp. 128-9). The style of decoration, however, comes from an entirely different tradition, for – with the exception of the seraph on the cup – the ornamental motifs used have a pronounced Islamic flavour: this is a combination of styles which is found in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chalices. Similar works are preserved in sacristies and museums throughout the Balkans, evidence of the co-existence of different religious and cultural traditions, of craftsmen from different backgrounds working together, the product of a commingling of styles and trends brought into contact by the movements of merchants, pilgrims, diplomats, etc. (Radojković 1966, p. 122, figs. 134-6. Šakota 1984, p. 193, fig. 28, p. 234. Nicolescu 1968, nos. 70-1. Ballian 1988-9, pp. 54-60, figs. 4-5. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, pp. 270-1, fig. 25). Some of these have been ascribed to workshops in Herzegovina, where the Italian influence was strong, others come from the Ottoman-occupied Danubian principalities

bordering on Central Europe, while the provenance of some has never been determined.

The Dionysiou chalice, with its delicate, sophisticated details, is the product of a judicious blend of features from different decorative systems. In many of its details (twining ribbons, broad arabesques with trefoil anthemias and crossed tendrils) it recalls the work of the Venetian bookbinders and the type of brassware known as *alla damaschina* (late 15th and 16th c.), some of which is now considered to have been imported into Venice from Syria, Egypt and Persia (Ettinghausen 1959, fig. 37. Gruber 1993, pp. 280-4. Pazzi 1993, fig. 498). Constantinople in the sixteenth century was a similar cross-roads of cultures (Rogers - Köseoglu 1987, pp. 37-41). These observations, let it be noted, are made solely to give some idea of the artistic climate and the influences which helped shape this chalice, not to suggest a provenance.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



#### 9.47 Chalice

late 16th c.

Iviron Monastery

Silver gilt with glass-paste stones

Height 30 cm,

rim diameter 14.7 cm, base diameter 18.5 cm

This chalice stands on a broad, low base with a border of alternating large and small scallops - a Late Gothic survival. Spiralling up from the centre of this base like an inverted waterspout is a conical stem, which passes through the knob and forms a rudimentary corolla on which the slightly flared bowl is set. Just below the rim of the chalice are two rows of square, flat, red and green stones, alternately spaced in plain, deep mounts. The knob, which appears to be round, is really a polyhedron, with rounded edges tapering towards the apexes. It is decorated with oblong stones - larger green ones on the rhomboid facets, and smaller red ones on the other surfaces.

Spiralling patterns like that on the stem of this chalice were frequently used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to decorate utilitarian articles in steel and brass, such as helmets and shields, basins,



ewers and sprinklers (Raby - Allan 1982, pp. 34-5, figs. 7b, 16b, 48. Atil 1987, fig. 100). A chalice in the Dečani Monastery (1567/8) with a knop similar to this one, although with even more pronounced western features and Ottoman ornamentation, has been attributed to a Serbian goldsmith (Šakota 1984, p. 193, fig. 28, p. 234).

Knops with smaller protuberant rhomboid surfaces were common, especially in Central Europe, in late-Gothic chalices (Roth 1922, pls. 18 and 24, 3 and 4). The Ivron chalice, however, is not necessarily part of this tradition, since polyhedral spheres of similar shape were also used in Ottoman art, while multi-faceted knops are one of the characteristic structural features of everyday articles and ecclesiastical plate - including chalices - from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Atil 1987, fig. 81, p. 145. Raby - Allan 1982, figs. 24, 51. Radojković 1966, figs. 135, 143, 176).

The most striking feature of this chalice is its slender line, so characteristic of Ottoman art, where decoration was considered less important than form, and form was based on proportion and balance (Petsopoulos 1982, p. 9. Raby - Allan 1982, pp. 27-8). The late-Gothic features are not sufficiently pronounced to colour the whole, and the dominant impression is of a style characteristically eastern. This is further reinforced by the use of coloured stones (a feature not uncommon in the decoration of chalices), which recall the rubies and emeralds used by the goldsmiths of the Sultan's court to ornament luxury items (Šakota 1984, p. 193, fig. 28, p. 234. Radojković 1966, fig. 136. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1988, fig. 43, p. 262. Atil 1987, fig. 54, pp. 123-4).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

#### 9.48 Chalice

post-1600

Simonopetra Monastery

Silver gilt, height 29.2 cm, rim diameter 12.8 cm,  
base diameter 17.1 cm

Braşov, Transylvania

Around the upper edge of the chalice's tapered six-lobed base runs a narrow fillet with a delicate flora motif. Foliate ornaments with pearls and

precious stones in flower-like mounts are set into the indents between the lobes. Ornamenting the slender, faceted stem is an embossed knop, with alternating lanceolated leaves and rounded projections framing gemstones in flower-shaped mounts. The gently flaring cup of the chalice has a double row of ornamental bosses, surmounted by a band of elegant palmettes in the late-Gothic style. The inside of the base bears the maker's mark, with the initials MG and a crown. From the second half of the fifteenth century embossed articles in gold and silver, especially standing cups, were a specialty of the city of Nuremberg, where some of the finest examples of the type were designed by artists like Dürer and crafted by goldsmiths like the Jamnitzers. Displayed as show-pieces, initially in Town Halls and later in the mansions of the





affluent, these works were tangible expressions of the wealth and power of a prosperous bourgeoisie. This type of article, and especially the goblets, which were customarily offered as wedding gifts, enjoyed a widespread popularity that not only extended far beyond Germany but also proved extremely long-lasting, with master goldsmiths like Petzolt of Nuremberg, for instance, continuing to produce work in this typical neo-Gothic style until the early decades of the seventeenth century. The Simonopetra chalice seems to belong to this later trend, although certain features betoken the influence of Transylvanian workshops. The hallmark with the initials MG and the crown indicates that it was made in Braşov some time after 1600, the date when the crown was established as the symbol of that city in the hallmarks used by its silversmiths.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 164-5, fig. 89.

Y.I.-P.

#### 9.49 Chalice

1621

Pantokrator Monastery

Silver, parcel-gilt, enamel, pearls

Height 31 cm, base diameter 8.5 cm

This chalice stands on a round, stepped foot, on which is engraved the following inscription: 'Remember too, O Priest, the patient artificer Konstantios, as if a sharer in the sacrifice'. The slender stem, of silver gilt like the foot, is decorated with narrow annulae and cast grotesque ornaments and volutes. On the small round knob about halfway up the stem, palmettes and split leaves in the *rumi* style stand out against a background of deep blue and green enamel. The body of the chalice is cylindrical in shape; its conical bottom and lid, decorated with late-Gothic palmettes on an enamel ground, create a pleasing balance in style and proportion. Again, the row of late-Gothic palmettes encircling the edge of the lid is repeated, this time inverted and without pearls, around the bottom of the cylindrical cup. Engraved on the body of the cup are trefoil panels, each surmounted by a cross and containing an engraved and gilded palmette. Engraved on the undecorated surface of the lid is the following

inscription: + 'Jesus Christ the bread of life by grace eternal sustenance to all the faithful. 1621'. The goldsmith's signature - 'Photis the humble maker' - is engraved on the vertical rim-piece that fits snugly inside the cup. The lid is surmounted by a pearl-decked cross, and is attached to the chalice by a chain. This unusually-shaped vessel, held by monastery tradition to have been in use as a chalice, was apparently inspired by the ecclesiastical ciboria and secular stemmed goblets (which were often lidded) of the Mannerist period in Central Europe (Fritz 1982, figs. 120 and 941. Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst 1987, fig. 17, p. 97. Kolba 1996, no. 17, p. 39).

The individual details, however, do not constitute a homogeneous style, but are rather drawn from a number of different traditions, converging on an area somewhere to the north of the Danube. The lid of a sixteenth-century pitcher in Eger (Hungary),





decorated in the Ottoman style, has a similar circlet of obviously late-Gothic palmettes, and its small handle in many ways resembles the base of the cross surmounting the lid of this chalice (Gerelyes 1994 (2), no. 75). Late-Gothic palmettes of the style seen here are found on chalices in Wallachia, as finials on the arabesque-decorated corolla supporting the bowl (Nicolescu 1968, nos. 102-3, pp. 115-6). Similar trefoil panels decorate an older Ottoman pitcher of rock crystal, while the engraved palmettes remind us that the indirect influence of Islamic art, which in Western Europe shaped one of the sixteenth century's most characteristic styles, persisted much longer in Hungary, and particularly in Transylvania (Atil 1987, fig. 58, p. 127. Gerelyes 1994 (1), pp. 61-5, figs. 7-8).

The goldsmith, Photis, who so modestly engraved his name on this work, may have intended it as a vessel to contain the consecrated bread. The Church of the Koimesis in Lindos (Rhodes) has a very similar chalice, signed by Photis in 1638: while the foot and stem are of the same design as in this example, and the base is engraved with the same inscription, the bowl of the Lindos chalice is round, and the engraved decoration represents seraphs.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.50 Standing cup Dionysiou Monastery

17th c.

Coconut husk, silver gilt

Height 21 cm, rim diameter 8 cm, base diameter 8.5 cm

This cup stands on a round base of coconut husk, bound with silver strapping. The stem is shaped like an urn, a feature typical of work from the Mannerist period (Hernmarck 1977, I, p. 107). The coconut husk bowl is secured by a set of silver straps ornamented with Renaissance motifs. To the surfaces framed by the strapping are affixed cast silver medallions with cupid motifs. A silver rim, also decorated in Renaissance style with arabesques and cast effigies (Hayward 1976, no. 278, p. 363. Gruber 1993, pp. 311, 313), is set at an angle to the bowl. It is not known whether or not the cup was lidded.

Standing cups made of precious metals, so

characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are chiefly associated with Germany, where the finest examples of the genre were produced. In a special sub-category are the composite cups, in which gold or silver mounts set off such materials as coconuts, ostrich eggs, shells and semiprecious stones; these were originally produced for the ruling classes, both ecclesiastical and temporal (Hayward 1976, p. 78. Hernmarck 1977, I, pp. 89, 109-10). Some of these rare and exotic materials, in certain cases brought in the cargoes of ships trading to distant continents, were considered to have peculiar properties, such as the ability to detect the presence of poison; others, such as coconuts, were highly prized for their shape. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the burgeoning trade with America was bringing articles made of coconut within the ambit of the prosperous middle classes of Central Europe. In the finest examples of this genre the husk is either





ornamented with scenes usually drawn from mythology or the Old Testament, or set off by an ornate mounting (Fritz 1983, pp. 9-18, 20, 55-6, figs. 13, 78-9). The standing cup in the Monastery of Dionysiou, one of the plainer examples, displays a certain originality of design, seen, for example, in the coconut husk base and in the medallions affixed to the bowl, a form of ornamentation more usually associated with metal-work (Hayward 1987, no. 19, pp. 81-3). While the decoration appears to be somewhat carelessly executed, the overall conception and the variety of motifs are reminiscent of some fine earlier models (Hayward 1976, no. 291, p. 365. Hayward 1987, no. 38, pp. 118-21). This standing cup may have come from Hungary, where the genre was particularly popular (Kolba 1996, no. 38, p. 60).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



### 9.51 Cup 17th c., 1st half Simonopetra Monastery

Coconut husk, silver, parcel-gilt; height 10 cm,  
rim diameter 8.1 cm, base diameter 6.6 cm

This goblet is formed of a simple hemispherical coconut husk, bound with silver and parcel-gilt strapping and mounted on a silver stem which broadens towards a multi-lobed base and displays

late-Gothic features. The metal rim bears the following inscription: '+NE/OΦY/ΤΟΣ/ΙΕ/ΡΟ/ΜΟ/ΝΑ/ΧΟΣ ΑΠ/Ο Τ/ΗΝ ΣΥ/ΜΟ/ΠΕ/ΤΡ/ΑΝ ΚΕ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΣ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Υ' (Neophytos, hieromonk of Symopetra and servant of Christ). The mounts on both bowl and stem are decorated with arabesques of mediocre workmanship. A second inscription, engraved inside the base, identifies the craftsman who made it: 'Λευθέρις παχατόρ από την βιοπολιν' (Made by Lefteris pachotar from Viopolis). This small goblet, the property of a monk called Neophytos, is one of a number of luxury articles described in the first half of the seventeenth century in a codex of the Monastery as 'ποτήρι καριδένιο, άσημοδεμένο, ποδάριο, καπνισμένο' (a goblet of coconut, silver-bound, stemmed, smoked), or as goblet from Hungary ('καυχί ούκριό') or Wallachia ('καυχί βλάχικο'); these *objets d'art* attest to the partiality of the monks of that age for particular types of vessels reflecting the tastes of the wealthy bourgeoisie of Central Europe. The stylistic features of this goblet match those described above, and suggest a provenance from the area where the proximity to Central Europe and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire shaped art forms accordingly. Similar goblets are found in several monasteries in Romania, where the Simonopetra had dependencies.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 164, fig. 82.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.52 Benediction cross 1593-1615 Iviron Monastery

Wood, parcel-gilt, enamel, turquoises and pearls  
27.2 x 10.5 cm, Ioannis, son of Frange

Represented on one side of the wooden core of this cross is the Nativity, framed by a full-length, seated Evangelist on the left, the Presentation in the Temple on the right, in the position usually occupied by another Evangelist, the Annunciation above and the Baptism below. Occupying the corresponding positions on the other side are the Crucifixion, two Evangelists, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Anastasis. All the scenes are accompanied by identifying inscriptions. The mount is covered with stylised lotus flowers and other flora and



geometrical motifs in filigree work, set off by an enamel ground in shades of green and blue. Multi-coloured stones alternate with small pearls in delicate mounts. The lateral surfaces display the initials 'Τ(όπος) Κ(ρανίου) Π(αράδεισος) Γ(έγονε)' (The place of a skull has become Paradise) and 'Α(ρχή) Π(ίστεως) Μ(υστήριον) Σ(ταυρός)' (the Cross of the Sacrament the beginning of Faith). The braided wire ring around the shaft of the cross and the heavy, multi-faceted knob on its end are typical of the crosses of this period. On the shaft is engraved the inscription: '+ this precious and life-giving cross was fashioned by myself Ioannis, son of Frange with the aid and at the costage of Archbishop Galaktion of Domenico and Elassona.'

This cross is of exceptional interest, as one of the oldest examples of a benediction cross decorated with filigree enamel. Goldsmith Ioannis, son of Frange, was a native of Domenico in Thessaly, as we know from another signed work of his, a processional cross dedicated to the Megalo Meteoro, also in Thessaly, and dated 1594/5 (Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, pp. 216-7), a work which resembles the Ivron cross in style and technique. Ioannis, son of Frange of Domenico, Photis Perpiras of Agia (1643), Demos of neighbouring Retsani (Metaxochori; 1663), and many others attest to the fact that the goldsmith's craft continued to be practised in Thessaly throughout the seventeenth century, and confirm the extensive use of the technique of filigree enamel which, with motifs inspired by Ottoman art, was very popular in provincial workshops at that time. Local research, however, has not yet been able to determine whether these Thessalian goldsmiths tended to practise their craft in small settlements, using them as bases to serve a large rural area, nor to what extent they were dependent on larger regional centres, like Trikala (Ballian 1992 (1), pp. 35-6).

The unsophisticated wood-carving of this cross is another point for stylistic and iconographic comparison, and a good basis for an exploration of the question of whether, like their Athonite brothers, the monks of Meteora also practised this craft (Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, pp. 30-1, 216-7. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, no. 34, p. 215).

It was as Archbishop of Domenico and Elassona, from 1593 to 1615, that Galaktion commissioned this cross from the goldsmith Ioannis, son of Frange

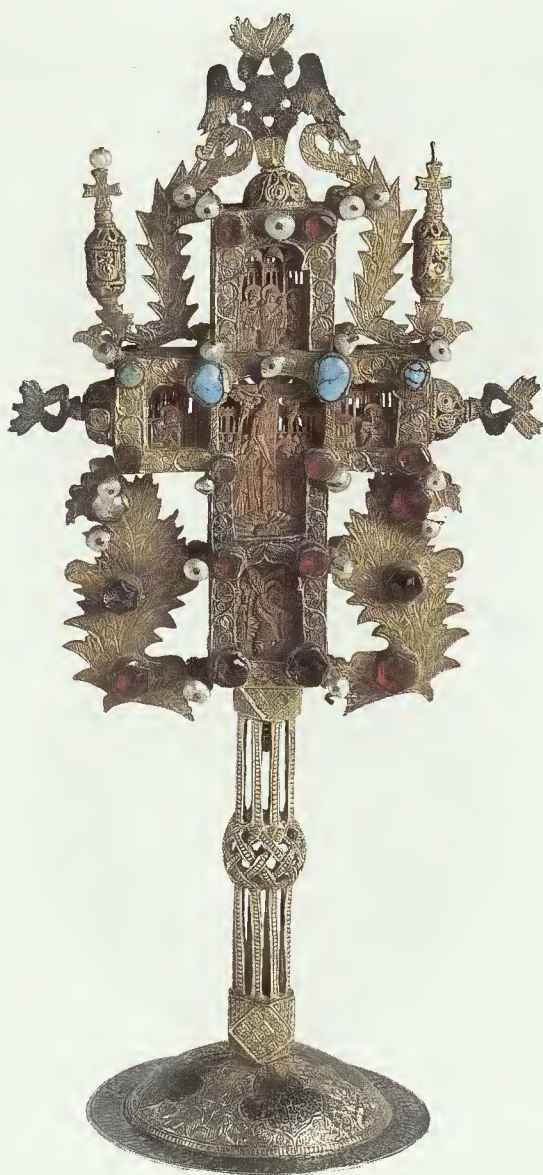


of Domenico. In 1615 he retired, and retreated to the Monastery of Ivron where, in 1625/6, he subsidised the building of a boatyard and other buildings (Velkos 1980, pp. 149-53. Gedeon 1906 and 1912, p. 17. Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, nos. 289-90, p. 93).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.





**9.53 Sanctification cross**  
Xeropotamou Monastery

1669

Wood, silver gilt, niello, turquoises,  
glass-paste stones and pearls  
26 x 12 cm, base diameter 8 cm

Represented on one side of this wooden cross are the Baptism, flanked right and left by Evangelists, with the Annunciation above and the Man of Sorrows below; in the same positions on the other side are the Crucifixion, Evangelists, the Presentation in the Temple and the Anastasis. In the Crucifixion on the

vertical arm of the cross is the signature of the sculptor: 'Work of Gabriel'. Ornamenting the silver gilt mount are vine scrolls with floral motifs, tiny daisies, glass-paste stones, turquoises and pearls. Attached to the lower lateral surfaces are laminate metal plaques in the shape of foliate dragons. Smaller dragons, similar in style, spring from the six-winged seraph surmounting the vertical arm and curve down to the upper surface of the horizontal arm; in their mouths they hold tiny lanterns surmounted by crosses. The narrow strips forming the shaft appear to have been braided into a collet halfway down. At the bottom they disappear into a polygonal knob secured to a round base, on which multi-lobed medallions with flowering tendrils accented with niello alternate with gilded surfaces decorated with tiny daisies. Around the edge of the base runs the inscription: '+ Gedeon. 1669 Month of November: 22'.

This type of cross, with lateral dragons made either of metal or of metal-mounted wood, was very popular and appeared in a number of variants from the late sixteenth century on (Greek Documents 1995, no. 56, pp. 84-5. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, p. 227, fig. 21. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 270, fig. 26). Although denatured, the dragons on the Xeropotamou cross still retain some of their original characteristics; in many other pieces they have degenerated into nothing more than foliate adjunctions only very vaguely reminiscent of dragons (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 275, fig. 35. Ballian 1996, p. 513, fig. 456). The sharp colour contrasts characteristic of Ottoman art are here expressed in the alternation of gleaming gilt surfaces and panels with delicate scrollwork highlighted with niello (Tesoros del Kremlin 1990, no. 36. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 273, fig. 23). On Mount Athos, this style is seen in numerous works from the second half of the seventeenth century. In a number of details the Xeropotamou cross closely resembles two contemporary crosses in the Vatopedi Monastery (Ballian 1996, pp. 508, 512, figs. 450-1). The decorative concept that inspired these works spread well beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire, becoming extremely popular in Russia when it was introduced to that country by emigrant Greek goldsmiths from Constantinople (Postnikova-Loseva et al. 1983, p. 76. Bobrovnickaja - Martynova 1989, p. 23 and no. 36).



In 1671 the donor of this sanctification cross, the hieromonk Gedeon, gave the monastery a second, similar one, apparently the work of the wood-carver Gabriel and the same goldsmith. A book cover decorated with scenes from the Apocalypse, also in the Monastery of Xeropotamou, was probably donated by Gedeon as well.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

#### 9.54 Sanctification cross 1671 Xeropotamou Monastery

Silver gilt, niello, turquoises, glass-paste stones and pearls, 27 x 9.5 cm, base diameter 7.6 cm

This wooden cross is carved in a heavily undercut relief, in some places perforated. On one side it displays the Baptism, flanked left and right by Evangelists, with the Annunciation above and the Transfiguration below; the other side has, in the same positions, the Crucifixion, Evangelists, the Presentation in the Temple and the Anastasis. Engraved on the vertical arm of the cross, in the scene of the Crucifixion, is the signature of the wood-carver: 'Made by Gabriel, priest'. A flowered vine decorated with tiny daisies, glass-paste stones, turquoises and pearls ornament the silver-gilt mount. Attached to the lower lateral surfaces are laminate metal ornaments in the shape of foliate dragons. Similar, smaller dragons curve from below the six-winged seraph surmounting the vertical arm to the upper surface of the horizontal arm. Held in their mouths are buds, which develop into small seraphs. Tiny daisies ornament the shaft, with its polygonal knobs and braided collet. On the round base stylised gilt tulips filled with daisies alternate with gilded surfaces decorated with flowered scrolls accented with niello. Around the edge of the base runs the inscription: '+ Gedeon, hieromonk, 1671 month of April'.

In this cross, as also in the cross donated to the monastery by the same Gedeon, hieromonk, colour contrast is a basic element in the artist's decorative concept, the main difference being that in this piece a dark background sets off the gilt surfaces with the daisies (Jablonskaja 1988, pp. 211-3, figs. 141 and 142b. Ballian 1996, p. 512, fig. 452).



Delicate, niello-accented tendrils, a revival of a similar ornament much used in sixteenth-century Ottoman illuminated manuscripts and ceramics (Petsopoulos 1982, p. 7, pls. 185 and 73), were a very popular decorative feature in Moscow in the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, and were frequently used in combination with floral Baroque motifs (Russkoj kul'tury 1988, p. 229, fig. 318. Sizova 1993, nos. 56-7, pp. 110-1 and no. 75, p. 121).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



**9.55 Sanctification cross**  
**Stavronikita Monastery**

1674

Wood, silver gilt, coloured stones, coral, enamel  
28 x 14 cm, base diameter 8.5 cm

The gem-studded enamel mounting of the wood-carved cross is screwed to a tall stepped base formed of three recesses and a flat foot. The open-work wood-carved core is adorned with scenes set behind a three-arched colonnade with fluted colonnettes. Front: in the centre is the Nativity, surrounded by the Annunciation, the Baptism, the Presentation in the Temple, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Presentation of the Virgin. Rear: in the centre is the Crucifixion, surrounded by the Transfiguration, the Descent from the Cross, the Anastasis and the Road to Calvary. There are a further eight scenes on the sides of the cross, three of which can be made out with some difficulty behind the flowers and domes on the mounting: Pentecost, the Raising of Lazarus and the Flight into Egypt. The characteristic relief inscriptions that usually identify the scenes in wood-carved works are absent here. The first recess of the seven-sided of the base has a wood-carved core with a series of lozenges containing seashells, a zone with quadrilateral panels and, finally, a zone with arched panels crowned by seashells. Amongst the wood-carved representations can be made out scenes from the Passion, the Trial and miracles: the Washing of the Feet, the Last Supper, the Embracing of Peter and Paul, Christ and the Samaritan woman, the Mockery of Christ, the Road to Calvary, the Hospitality of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Abraham (?). The following inscription is engraved on the base: 'The present Holy Cross through the expense and toil of the most holy hieromonk Papa C(hatzi) Ioakeim of Stavronikita, 1674'.

The cross of Stavronikita Monastery is of particular interest in that its wood-carved core is a late, albeit corrupted, example of a special category of sixteenth-century wood-carved crosses that exhibit strong Western influence and are reported to be either the work of Greek craftsmen living in Venice, or more generally works of 'Italo-Cretan' art and construction. The main features of the sixteenth-century crosses are the architectural form of the base, which is Gothic in conception, the large number of multi-figural scenes from the Old and New Testaments, identified by

inscriptions, and the mixed nature of the iconography, which follows both post-Byzantine and western models. About 25 such crosses have so far been identified, five of which bear the signature of the wood-carver Georgios Laskaris, while a sixth cross, of Stavrovouniou Monastery on Cyprus, is attributed to the same artist by a later inscription (Rózycki 1994, pp. 83-116. Ballian 1996, p. 512. Pontani 1996, pp. 379-421). Several of the crosses are in the sacristies of Italian churches, and in four cases, the cross has Latin instead of Greek inscriptions. The scenes drawn from Christ's Passion and the Old Testament, and the inscriptions identifying them, seem to reflect the popular Greek editions of biblical texts that circulated in the sixteenth century (Pontani 1996, p. 401). Beneath the distinctly western style of the crosses can be detected a connection with Palaeologan miniature sculpture in the multi-figural, miniature scenes and the relief majuscule inscriptions (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 48-9. Cf. no. 9.24). A similar approach can also be seen in works of Late-Gothic miniature wood-carving from Northern Europe, the best known example possibly being the miniature tabernacle that may have belonged to the Emperor Charles V (Tait 1981, pp. 26-31, figs. 14-6). At the top of this is a pelican carved in the round, a feature that is preserved in several crosses with stepped bases. It is not clear whether the wood-carved core of the Stavronikita cross is contemporary with or slightly earlier than the gilded mounting. On the evidence so far, this is the earliest cross of this type to be published with a provenance in Mount Athos, thereby supplying a connecting link with seventeenth-century miniature wood-carving (see no. 9.58). Archive research has demonstrated that wood-carved crosses and iconostases were made by Cretan craftsmen and distributed in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Mount Athos (Kazanaki-Lappa 1974, pp. 251-83). Cretan wood-carvers probably also made smaller crosses with or without a stepped base (see also Chatzidakis 1985, p. 25). Further investigation, however, will show whether the great acme of miniature wood-carving in the seventeenth century, which is traditionally attributed to Mount Athos, was instigated by works of Cretan craftsmen, and whether it followed a similar pattern of distribution to Cretan painting.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.









**9.56 Benediction cross**  
Ivion Monastery

1676

Wood, silver gilt, enamel and gemstones (?), 20 x 6 cm  
Constantinople

Displayed on the wooden core of this cross are tiny but very detailed representations of the Dodekaorton. The Nativity occupies the centre of one side, with the Presentation in the Temple on the left, the Baptism on the right, the Annunciation above, and the Transfiguration and the Anastasis below; in the corresponding positions on the other side are represented the Crucifixion, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Koimesis, the Ascension, the Raising of Lazarus and the Pentecost. The lateral narrow surfaces of the wooden core are also carved: on the right there are the scenes of the Healing of the Blind Man and Christ and the Samaritan Woman, together with the Evangelists John and Matthew, and on the left the Incredulity of Thomas, the Elevation of the

Cross, and the Evangelists Luke and Mark.

The border framing the cross has a delicate geometric motif in opaque white and translucent green and red enamels. Polished rubies in tulip-shaped settings embellish the whole. The junction of the cross with its handle is decorated with small gilt flowers against a background of champlevé enamelwork in deep violet. The gently curving handle, slightly overlarge for the size of the cross, is covered with white champlevé enamelwork decorated with interlacing gilt stems with naturalistic flowers in deep green, translucent enamel. A band of black enamel about half-way up the handle displays the inscription: 'ΔΙΟΝΙΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ 1676' (Of Patriarch Dionysios 1676).

This benediction cross is yet another example of the refined work produced by the goldsmiths of Constantinople in the second half of the seventeenth century. The handle with its graceful curves, in an age when provincial craftsmen still tended to use facets, is a precursor of the style which was to dominate the eighteenth century. From the fifteenth century on, the use of white enamel on a curved surface, combined with the techniques of champlevé and translucent enamels, produced some of the world's masterpieces of jewellery (Somers Cocks 1980, pp. 14-16. Hackenbroch 1986, fig. 3, p. 19 and fig. 10, p. 43). Similar to this cross are the regalia of Czar Alexei Michailovitch (1662), which were manufactured in Constantinople (Martynova 1995, p. 49. Chernukha 1988, pp. 350-1, fig. 237). The western-inspired naturalistic floral decoration, with its anemones and narcissus (Hackenbroch 1986, figs. 25-6, pp. 70-3), adds a touch of freshness to the whole.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

**9.57 Benediction cross**  
Ivion Monastery

1676

Wood, silver gilt, enamel and niello, 19.8 x 7.7 cm  
Michalakos Frantzis, Constantinople

The wooden core of this benediction cross is carved in very heavily undercut and perforated relief. Against an opulently detailed architectural



background are represented the Baptism of Christ, framed left and right by the Evangelists John and Luke and above and below by the Annunciation and the Transfiguration. The corresponding positions on the other side display the Crucifixion, the Evangelists Mark and Matthew, the Presentation in the Temple and the Anastasis. The haloes and many other details have been highlighted with parcel-gilt and touches of colour. The metal mount is covered with champlevé enamel in a lovely turquoise shade which sets off the gilding of the floral motif. Single scrolled tendrils ornament the front and back of the mount, while the decoration of the lateral surfaces makes use of larger, naturalistic flower motifs. The same technique has been used for the calligraphic inscriptions on the mount, even those referring to the wooden part of the cross. A floral pattern decorates the graceful curves and bulbous end-piece of the elegant metal handle. Engraved on a cylindrical gilt knob just below the middle of the handle is the dedicatory inscription, its nielloed lettering set out in four lines: 'This holy cross was offered to the venerable Monastery of Iviron by the most holy and learned Dionysios Byzantios, Patriarch of Constantinople, in memory of his parents Stamatios and Mariora, 1672 March 1.'

Like his other gifts to the monastery, this cross is proof that Patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis was a man of both wealth and taste. The graceful mount is an elegant and harmonious blend of turquoise and gold. An equally delicate floral decoration worked in the same technique and with the same combination of colours ornaments the face of a mid-seventeenth century wall clock in the Topkapi (Anatolian Civilisations 1983, no. E. 268, p. 263). Clocks were luxury articles, brought from abroad by foreign diplomats who presented them as gifts to high-ranking officials; such items, together with the wares imported by the foreign merchants and artisans established in Galata, were by the middle of the century contributing to the spread of Western-European styles, including the floral baroque. The mount of this cross from the Monastery of Iviron is one of the finest examples of this type of work (Hackenbroch 1986, no. 25, pp. 70-1 and no. 27, pp. 74-5. Sturm - Winter-Jensen 1982, p. 17, fig. 12. Kurz 1975, pp. 54-5, 60). The elegant perfection of the design, the quality of the



craftsmanship, the sureness of the engraving and, most of all, the type of lettering in the inscriptions make it virtually certain that this mount is the work of Michalakis Frantzis, the same who in 1677 was commissioned by Patriarch Dionysios IV to make the staff now preserved in the Monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos as a gift of the Patmian Patriarch Neophytos VI (1747), although initially dedicated by Patriarch Dionysios to the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, pp. 227-8, fig. 30). A similar cross, dated 1680, is preserved in the Tatarna Monastery in Eurytania (Koumoulidis et al. 1991, fig. on p. 113).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



**9.58 Sanctification cross**  
17th c., second half

Protaton

Wood, silver gilt with niello and precious stones  
37.5 x 12.5 cm, base diameter 13.5 cm



The wood-carved cross is set in silver gilt mounting and supported on a hexagonal base of the same material, formed of three recesses with projecting ridges between them, a flaring foot and a spherical knop. The faces and sides of the cross have scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ, in some of which Slavonic inscriptions can be made out beneath the mounting: Front: on the horizontal arm of the cross is the Presentation in the Temple, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Ascension, on the vertical arm the Nativity with the Annunciation in a smaller panel, the Baptism and Pentecost (?). Rear: Jesus before Anas, Christ before the King, the Flagellation and the Mockery of Christ, on the vertical arm are the Betrayal with the Agony in the Garden in a smaller panel, Christ before Pilate, Christ before the King, the Crucifixion. The sides of the cross have depictions of the Lamentation, the Transfiguration, the Presentation of the Virgin, the Hospitality of Abraham (?), the Koimesis, the Road to Calvary, the Nailing on the Cross, and the Descent from the Cross. On the base are busts of martyrs, pairs of full-length saints wearing the vestments of prelates, and busts of saints.

The meticulously worked gilded mounting of the cross is engraved with stylized small flowers of Ottoman origin, and the various levels of the base are adorned with arabesques, winding half-leaves, obliquely confronted leaves and tulips. The levels and panels of the decoration are separated by a chain pattern, and an additional silver band with a chain against a background of niello encircles the edges of the cross. According to the inscription engraved on the inner cylindrical stem by which the cross is attached to the base, the cross was originally dedicated to the Great Lavra: `+Andronikos, formerly Postelnikos, dedicates this cross to the Lavra`).

The Protaton cross, like that of Vatopaidion Monastery (Ballian 1996, p. 512, fig. 451) is a development of the sixteenth-century wood-carved crosses (see no. 9.55) and combines a wood-carved stepped base with a gilded mounting of Ottoman type, characteristic of seventeenth-century crosses. This type did not endure, for the stepped base was replaced by the base of the



blessing cross, the iconographic programme with its detailed narrative of Christ's Passion was gradually confined to scenes of the Dodekaorton and, finally, the emphasis was shifted to the elaborate precious mounting. The great flowering of miniature wood-carving on Mount Athos led to the dissemination of this art to the whole of the Orthodox East. Crosses with wood-carved scenes and Slavonic inscriptions have been located in the sacristies of monasteries in the Balkans (Radojkovi 1977, p. 38, fig. 41), and the earliest known example of a wood-carved cross is that owned by the Voivod Stephen the Great (1503), now in Putna Monastery in Romania (Tafrali 1925, I, no. 2, II, pl. VIII, no. 2).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.

### 9.59 Sanctification cross      late 17th c. Dionysiou Monastery

Wood, silver gilt  
30.4 x 16.6 cm

Wooden cross with three horizontal arms, one large and two small, standing on a silver gilt base; the forty-two subjects carved on the two surfaces make the Dionysiou Monastery cross one of the most interesting sanctification crosses on Mount Athos, from the point of view of its iconographic wealth. On the sides can be seen acronyms standing for 'the place of the skull is become a paradise' and 'the Beginning of Faith, Mystery, Cross', as well as the abbreviations for 'Forerunner' and 'Dionysiou'. On the top face of the vertical arm is the abbreviation of the name of the wood-carver who made the cross: Kallinikos, to whom are attributed two more crosses kept in Dionysiou Monastery.

The wooden core is occupied by elaborate multifigural scenes that are characteristic examples of Athonite wood-carving, for which there is early evidence (1698, 1706; Gedeon 1885(2), p. 331. Ballian 1996, p. 507). These meticulously worked scenes reveal direct and indirect influence by

Cretan iconographic models and by the Venetian-occupied, as in, for example, the highly dramatic curve of Christ's body in the Descent from the Cross, which can be traced in icons of Cretan art on Mount Athos, such as the signed work by the Cretan painter Ioannis Apakas of the late sixteenth





century in the Great Lavra, with its highly dramatic features (Chatzidakis 1987, fig. 33. Byzantine Museum 1997, p. 60). It would also be fruitful to investigate the direct influence exercised by Cretan woodcarving through the distribution of Cretan wood-carved iconostases and iconostasis crosses in the Eastern Mediterranean and Italy (Kazanaki-Lappa 1974, pp. 251-83. Kazanaki-Lappa 1991, pp. 219-39).

On each side can be seen twenty-one scenes from the iconographic cycle of Christ and the Virgin, as well as Evangelists and saints set in rectangular or arched panels formed between twisted columns. The scenes are accompanied by 'mixed' — majuscule and minuscule — inscriptions. The border surrounding them is occupied by a repeated chequer-board pattern. Characteristic features are the miniature treatment and the 'stage-setting' backgrounds, which call to mind Renaissance models — a frequent source for Cretan iconography.

The following scenes can be made out on one side, vertically from top to bottom: the Transfiguration, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism, the Birth of the Forerunner, and the Koimesis. On the first horizontal arm, from left to right, are: the Three Youths, the Samaritan Woman, a healing miracle, and the Holy Trinity. The large horizontal arm has, from left to right: Matthew of Canaan, Elizabeth, Jesus addressing Mary Magdalene, and St John Chrysostome. On the final horizontal arm, from left to right, are: the Baptism of St John the Baptist, the Decapitation of St John the Baptist, a scene of an angel leading a figure, with no inscription, and St John the Theologian.

On the other side of the cross, arranged vertically from the top, are: Pentecost, the Ascension, the Anastasis, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Raising of Lazarus. On the first horizontal arm, from left to right: Sts Peter and Paul in front of a church, the Healing of the Blind Man, the raising of the widow's son, and Sts Constantine and Helen. On the large horizontal arm, the *Noli Me Tangere*, the Entombment, The Road to Calvary, the Custodia, the 'Chairete' and Sts Peter and John. On the third horizontal arm, from the left: St

Mark, a healing miracle, Zacchaeus, and St Luke.

Clear Cretan influences can be traced in other individual scenes, such as that of Pentecost, with the apostles sitting on a horseshoe-shaped bench, divided into two groups led by the two main apostles, Peter and Paul, with buildings supplying the backdrop behind them. Towards the bottom of the icon is an aged bearded figure wearing royal garments and a crown, personifying the World, who holds a soft curving cloth with scrolls wrapped in it. This iconographic scheme began to be formulated after the Iconoclastic controversy (Grabar 1968, pp. 615-7), and was transmitted via the tradition of Palaeologan art to the Cretan School, initially in the fifteenth and then in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Papageorgiou 1969, p. 56. Papageorgiou 1991, fig. 135. Chatzidakis 1962, fig. 78. Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 42. Eikones 1993, no. 153).

The Dionysiou Monastery cross probably 'copies' the iconographic programme — though further enriched — of the epistyle of an iconostasis, such as the one dating from the sixteenth century in Pantocrator Monastery, with its thirty-one scenes known from Palaeologan art which are repeated consistently in the repertoire of the Cretan School on Mount Athos (see no. 2.76).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

## 9.60 Sanctification cross 1707 Ivion Monastery

Wood, silver gilt, enamel, gemstones and pearls  
35.5 cm x 20.3 cm, base diameter 10.6 cm

Carved on one side of this cross is the scene of the Baptism, with a pair of Evangelists left and right, the Presentation in the Temple above and the Transfiguration below. Adjunctions on the ends of the crossarms and in the upper corners frame busts of prophets, while another surmounting the cross displays Christ in the type of the Angel of the Great Will. On the reverse, the corresponding positions are occupied by the Crucifixion,



Evangelists, the Presentation in the Temple, the Anastasis and prophets. A pair of wooden dragons bearing medallions with prophets and angels occupy the area beneath the horizontal arms. All the surfaces of this silver-gilt mount are covered with filigree ornamentation in mainly floral motifs, filled with enamel in a rainbow of colours. Inscribed inside the base is the inscription 'This cross belongs to the Monastery of Iviron and was embellished in Moscow by its Hegumen Master Akakios Galatzianos in the year 1707 on the 8th of June.'

Documentary evidence tells us that wooden crosses of a similar type had been used on Mount Athos as altar and processional crosses since the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Greek Documents 1995, no. 56, pp. 84-5, and nos. 57-9, pp. 85-8). The cross from the Iviron Monastery, although somewhat smaller than usual, falls into this category. On the basis of existing examples, however, and without further local research, more extensive observations are impossible.

Seventeenth-century Russian filigree enamels generally display a wide range of colours and a considerable variety of techniques: both these features are in evidence here. The colourful enamelwork – the emerald, characteristic of the sixteenth-century tradition, blending with raised areas of blue, green, white and black – stands out against the gilt ground; and the strong colour contrasts created are heightened by deft overpainting with yellow and deep violet brushstrokes (Kaljazina et al. 1987, pp. 16-17, fig. 18. Pissarskaia 1974, no. 46, p. 84). The cluster of white enamel dots on the adjunctions on the ends of the arms look like small pearls. This technique, characterised by cast ornaments set in enamels, has been applied mainly on the lateral surfaces and the base of the cross (Kaljazina et al. 1987, p. 17, figs. 15, 17). Moscow, the Kremlin workshops in particular, produced magnificent works of art, not only pieces destined for the members of the imperial family, but countless others as well, articles both secular and ecclesiastical, which today adorn Orthodox sacristies in places including the Monastery of Iviron, the Monastery of St John on the island of Patmos, and the Putna Monastery in Romania



(Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, p. 233, fig. 20). The donor of this cross, 'Master Akakios the musician', from Galatista, was the hegumen of the Monastery of St Nicholas, an Iviron *metochi* in Moscow, from March 1699 to December 1706 (Gedeon 1906 and 1912, pp. 36, 40).

**Bibliography:** Thesauroi 1975, fig. on p. 18.

Y.I.-P.





**9.61 Benediction Cross**  
**Gregoriou Monastery**

Wood, silver, glass-paste stones  
42 x 21.5 cm

Cross consisting of a wood-carved core and an engraved silver mounting with open-work, cast and engraved elements.

The wood-carved core of the cross has scenes on both sides drawn from the Dodekaorton. Similar crosses are mentioned in inventories of holy vessels, such as the entry in the Vatopedi Monastery inventory

dating from 1727: 'crosses of the Dodekaorton, very large, decorated with silver'; Ballian 1996, p. 508). On one side, running vertically from top to bottom, are depicted the Annunciation (the characteristic elements being the lectern with the vase of flowers and the gates of heaven open at the top, allowing a triangular ray of light to enter, which touches the Virgin's hand), followed by the Nativity, with the Mother of God 'swaddled' in the foreground and Christ, only half visible, both of them projected within an oval frame with a lacy outline; the two birds with spread wings form a graphic detail, while above the 'cave' an angel with spread wings descends swiftly like a bird. To right and left of the Nativity, on the silver mounting, are two candlesticks with stepped bases holding lighted candles. There follow the Transfiguration, part of which is hidden behind the silver mounting, and the Entry into Jerusalem; an interesting detail here is the human figure climbing a tree in order to get a better view. The left arm of the cross has a depiction of the Baptism and the right the Presentation in the Temple. On the other side of the cross, the corresponding positions of the vertical arm are occupied by the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis and the Koimesis, with Pentecost on the left arm and the Ascension on the right.

The wood-carved core is set in a silver mounting which ends at the bottom in a conical socket designed to be fixed to a wooden base when it is used as an altar cross, or a wooden pole when it is carried in procession. There are signs of repair and welding at the point where the mounting is joined to the base. The silver mounting is topped by a cross, the flaring ends of which have tulip flowers inside them, while there are open-work curls and seashells in the angles of the arms. The top and side edges of the horizontal arms of the mounting are bordered by lacy curl-patterns. The sides of the mounting have Ottoman-type flower vases with curling branches. The wood-carved scenes are set within rectangular or arched frames in the flat parts of the silver sheathing, which are interconnected by systems of small broken tubes; these silver sheets are covered with undulating curling shoots in the rococo decorative style. At the four corners of the two main scenes of the Nativity and the Crucifixion are plaques with stippled outlines and a glass stone at the centre. Striking winged confronted dragons with scaly bodies, symbolizing paradise,

1769



extend along half the vertical axis of the cross, their heads supporting the lower surfaces of the horizontal arms. The type of the cross with dragons at the sides, made of wood with a silver mounting, or of metal, occurs in a large number of variations from the late sixteenth century onwards (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, pp. 227-8, fig. 21. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 270, fig. 26). Curling shoots also extend along the stem of the base, where the following majuscule inscription can be read: 'Dedicated by Basiliki and Antonios 1769'. In contrast to the wood-carved core with its 'Cretan' models, the mounting, with its individual decorative elements, betrays a close relationship with the art of Constantinople. These luxury dedications, with their imposing size and precious materials, are incontrovertible witnesses to the economic prosperity of the Christian communities, many members of whom distinguished themselves at this period as merchants and 'dealers' in the general area of the Balkans.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

### 9.62 Sanctification cross, 18th c., 2nd half Simonopetra Monastery

Silver gilt, enamel, gemstones and pearls  
23 x 11.3 cm, base diameter 8.6 cm

One side of the wooden core of this cross displays the Nativity and five scenes around it: Christ and the Samaritan Woman, the Healing of the Blind Man, the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple and the Presentation of the Virgin; on the other side and in the same respective positions are: the Crucifixion, the Raising of Lazarus, the Baptism, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Anastasis and the Descent from the Cross. The gilt mount is ornamented with geometrical filigree motifs and, in the corners, enamelled heart-shaped pendants. Affixed to the ends of the crossarms and the lateral surfaces are complex foliate ornaments in intricate filigree work, decorated with red glass-paste stones, green enamel flowers and pearls. The filigree ornaments are repeated on the shaft and on the round base.

This cross is a typical example of a large and



varied group, mostly dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, in which filigree work, alone or with enamel, is the predominant characteristic. While such seventeenth-century features as lateral ornaments and shaft knops or collets continue to be used, they have either taken on different forms or, like the enamels, been metamorphosed into delicate but over-elaborate filigree ornaments that are in the end obtrusive rather than decorative, shifting the focus of attention from the wood-carved core to its mount. A number of such works are preserved in the sacristy of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem; another similar piece, in the Monastery of Vatopedi, is signed by a Kalarrhytan goldsmith (Ballian 1996,



p. 528, fig. 473). Filigree work, common in Western Europe since the late seventeenth century, was used both for jewellery and for larger costly objects.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 168, fig. 95.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.63 Altar and processional cross 1777 Pantokrator Monastery

Silver, parcel-gilt, and glass-paste stones  
62.3 x 36.8 cm

This cross has trefoil arms, a knop ornamented with flutes and a fretwork band, and a conical socket which is fixed to a wooden base when the cross is to be placed on the Altar and to a wooden



rod when it is to be carried in procession. One side bears a representation of the crucified Christ, with medallions of the Evangelists, in bust, and their symbols at the ends of the arms; and the other the Anastasis, with medallions of prophets. In the four corners and on the lobes of the trefoils are tiny cast, gilt cherubs framed by Renaissance ornaments surmounted by glass-paste stones. Small gilt lions on Rococo mounts are fixed to the sides of the vertical arm. Running obliquely around the conical socket is the engraved inscription: 'Belonging to the prehegumen of Pantokrator, of the town of Myriophyton, 1777'.

The trefoil finials, with their Renaissance ornaments, and the flutes on the knop are reminiscent of the Italian works which, from the second half of the fifteenth century on, inspired painters, goldsmiths and wood-carvers in the Latin-occupied regions (Goi 1992, no. VII.2. pp. 186-7. Sophocleous 1994, no. 85, pp. 117-8. Chatzidakis 1985, pls. 140, 166). Western influence is evident in certain details of the iconography, such as the type of the Anastasis and the marked curvature of Christ's body in the Crucifixion; these features, as well as the association of these scenes with the prophets and Evangelists or their signs, are typical of early silver crosses from the Southern Aegean and Cyprus, and may be found, in precisely the same synthesis as here, on book covers from the first half of the eighteenth century (Koutelakis 1996, fig. 41. Fokas 1989, no. 110, pp. 316-8). In time, and with many variations, this type of composition became the most commonly used. Although inferior in quality, this cross from the Monastery of Pantokrator in both craftsmanship and iconography in many ways resembles a cross in the Church of Evangelismos in Platanos, on Leros, as well as another, later, cross belonging to the Greek Orthodox community in Trieste (1819); all three probably reflect a common model, although likely at several removes (Crusvar 1992, no. X.14, p. 285). Western influences reached the East by different routes, of course, and were assimilated at varying rates and to varying degrees.

This relatively fine for the period piece of work was one of many offered to the monastery by its prehegumen, Cyril of Myriophyton, who as treasurer also carried out extensive works at the monastery





9.64 Hexapterygon (liturgical fan).



(Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 173, p. 54; nos. 174 and 178, p. 55; nos. 180 and 184, p. 56; nos. 186 and 187, p. 57; nos. 194 and 196, p. 59).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.64 *Hexapteryga*

1661

Dionysiou Monastery

Silver, parcel-gilt, enamel, corals and pearls  
36.5 x 24 cm  
Russia

A large silver disk forms the body of each of these two *hexapteryga* (liturgical fans), a conical socket at the bottom serving to admit a wooden shaft. In the centre of each face is a silver-gilt seraph: the head, worked in low relief and touched with niello, is applied upon the fan. The upper and

lower pairs of wings are folded and crossed; the middle pair are spread wide, behind the outstretched arms and the hands brandishing swords. The shoulders are decorated with beading and a pattern of tiny rosettes. The plumage is suggested by alternating vertical and horizontal hatching, creating ribbons of lozenges, the pattern on the middle wings being slightly different from the rest. The field surrounding each seraph is covered with a fret of flora arabesques of the type known as *rumi*, characteristic of Ottoman art (Petsopoulos 1982, pp. 7-8, figs. 49, 53). Crowning each disk is an enamelled cross decorated with pearls, coral beads and a floral motif in the corners, and displaying the instruments of the Passion; this is a variant of a Russian ornament (Postnikova-Loseva et al. 1983, p. 43 and fig. on p. 44). The dedicatory inscription, punctuated by six small gilt seraphs in three-quarter view, all facing the centre, occupies the perimeter of each disk, on both sides: a. 'Supplication of the servant of God Ginis of Dobrena and his wife Dimitro and their children Georgios and Nikolaos in the year of Our Lord 1661', and on the same side, at the neck of the shaft: (undeciphered), and b. 'And with the contribution of the venerable hieromonks Nikephoros and Niketas of St Dionysios' Monastery of John the Prodomos lying under the Little Flower.' The socket for the staff is fixed to the solid lower part of the disk. Etched into the bulbous gilt collar just under the disk are narrow slightly oblique vertical strips decorated with tiny stylised palmettes.

Liturgical fans displaying six-winged seraphs developed from older, early Christian, silver models, which indeed are still being made (Mundell-Mango 1986, nos. 31-2, pp. 147-54). These gilt seraphs, with their finely wrought details, seem to hover above the darker fret-work of the ground. The swords they brandish – in the place of the more usual banners or sceptres – are modelled on seventeenth-century Russian or Turkish blades (Larčenko 1988, pp. 156-7, fig. 110. Jablonskaja 1988, pp. 211-2, figs. 141-2). They recall scenes of apocalyptic character in Russian iconography (Shchennikova 1990, pp. 62-3, fig. 182) and remind that the cherubs, frequently confused with seraphs, and the flaming sword are placed as guardians of the gate of Paradise (Genesis 3: 24. Popov 1993, fig. 173). Similar fret-work arabesques, but richer





and more luxuriant, are found on an older Russian *hexapterygon* (1656), now in the Kremlin (Vishnevskaya 1995, p. 148). This ornament, like the tiny palmettes on the Dionysiou *hexapteryga*, bears witness to the impact of the art of the East on Russian silver and goldsmith's work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gold aus dem Kreml 1989, no. 22. Tesoros del Kremlin 1990, no. 10). The tiny daisies decorating the tops of the shoulders, especially in conjunction with spiralling tendrils highlighted with niello, seen on a number of other works as well, attest to the close links between Russian and Constantinopolitan art during this period (Sizova 1993, p. 121, fig. 75. Kurz 1975, p. 57, fig. 16). The oldest known *rhipidia* (fans) with fret-work arabesques (1601) are preserved in the Patriarchate in Constantinople (Soteriou 1938, p. 63, fig. 18). *Rhipidia* in the Chozoviotissa Monastery on the island of Amorgos (1682) and in the Benaki Museum in Athens (1705) prove that this type of ornamentation was still being used in the early eighteenth century (Koutelakis 1996, fig. 33. Ballian 1992 (2), no. 32, pp. 67-9). The *hexapteryga* in the Monastery of Dionysiou are products of an age in which the Russian Church was very powerful, and Russia itself maintained close contacts with Mount Athos (Vishnevskaya 1995, pp. 134-9. Greek Documents 1995, p. 42).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y. I.-P.

### 9.65 Pair of *rhipidia* 1774 and 1777 Pantokrator Monastery

Silver parcel-gilt, copper parcel-gilt,  
horn and glass-paste stones  
58 x 36.5 cm

Each of these *rhipidia* (liturgical fans) is formed of two silver disks bound together back-to-back and secured to a conical tubular handle, which is also a socket for a wooden pole. Set into the centre of each fan is a focal ornament in the shape of a single section of horn, carved on both sides.

**A - Side one:** The cross-like, stelliform ornament in the centre, which has greatest dimensions of 9.5

x 9.5 cm, is decorated with eight relief scenes set within circles formed by a single leafy vine-like shoot; these in turn encircle a single larger 3 cm medallion, on which is represented the Koimesis. Four of these outer medallions are 1.5 cm in diameter, the others 2.3 cm. Represented in the four smaller ones are one archangel, Jonah emerging from the mouth of the whale, and two of the Evangelists; depicted on the larger ones are the scenes of the Baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, and the Anastasis. A narrow fillet decorated with a leafy tendril motif frames the whole, following the stelliform shape of the mount. Outlining the silver-gilt mount is a row of glass-paste stones in cast and gilded settings. The relief decoration of the remainder of the surface is arranged in two concentric circles, defined by two cord-like gilt rings. At the top of the inner circle (diameter 23.5



Rhipidion A - Side one.



cm), which includes the central horn ornament, is the bust of Christ emerging from a cloud, both hands raised in blessing; at the bottom, a plaque surmounted by the bust of an angel displays the abbreviated relief inscription 'Cyril'. From this plaque, shoots with leaves and flowers climb over the surface of the circle to the cloud at the top. Set among the branches are the figures of the four Evangelists, each holding an open scroll and a quill pen, and each with his symbol behind him. The outer circle, a strip 3.8 cm wide, has eight cornucopias with sheaves of flowers, separated by seraph- and angel-heads alternately. All the figures on both sides of both fans are gilt.

**Side two:** On both the silver bands and the central appliqué the decoration follows the same pattern as on the first side. In the middle of the central appliqué is the scene of the Nativity, with the cave, the Three wise men on their mounts, the angels and shepherds, and Joseph, meditating. In the small medallions are David, Jesse (recumbent), and two prophets, and in the larger, the Virgin Zoodochos Pege (Fountain of Life), the Adoration of the Magi, Christ and the Woman from Samaria, and the Flight into Egypt. The inner circle of the metal section is again dominated by the figure of Christ at the top, in the same attitude as on the first side; the plaque at the bottom contains the abbreviated inscription 'of Pantokrator', while the figures of the Evangelists have been replaced by the Prophets David, Solomon, Isaiah and Moses, enthroned and holding open scrolls. Screws hold the two disks together, and the perimeter of the fan is covered by a thick metal strip fashioned like a cord. To this are affixed fourteen cast ornaments in the form of double-sided busts of angels; alternating with these are twelve calyxes, each with a glass-paste stone representing the pistil of the flower. The fan is surmounted by a moulded, double-sided, gemmed cross. At the base of the double disk is the sphere, ornamented with a relief floral decoration. On either side of the disk a pair of copper lions, backs to the centre and roaring, firmly secure the sphere to the disk. The handle passes through the sphere, and is fixed to the rim of the disk by a small screw concealed in the decoration. Winding obliquely around the handle are, alternately, a band with a floral decoration and one engraved with the following

words: 'Property of Cyril, Prior of Pantokrator, from the town of Myriophyton'.

**B:** The metal parts of the two fans are virtually identical, with the ornaments obviously cast from the same moulds and only minor differences of detail in the freehand work. On the central ornament of horn the decorative pattern matches that of the first fan, but the content is different. On one side, the central medallion contains a representation of the Transfiguration, and the inscription around its perimeter (two of the words are elided) describes it as the property of Cyril of Myriophyton, Prior of Pantokrator. The smaller circles contain the figures of the Eternal Father, a prophet and two Evangelists, and the larger the Annunciation, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Healing of the Blind Man and the Presentation in the Temple. On the second face, the central medallion contains the scene of the Annunciation, with the same inscription as on the first side, this time correctly written. Displayed in the smaller encircling medallions are Solomon and three more prophets, and in the larger the Lamentation, the Anastasis, the Raising of Lazarus and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The handle has no ornamental floral band; its inscription is intact, and is the same as that on the first fan.

The Cyril mentioned in the inscriptions was the dominant figure in the Pantokrator Monastery during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and was responsible for much of the construction and decoration that was carried out in this period (Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 532-3), as well as providing the foundation with a number of portable treasures (see no. 9.38 e.g. the Gospel book he dedicated as a penitence in 1777, a work obviously of the same craftsman).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

I.-A. P.

### 9.66 *Rhipidion* Protaton

1844

Silver, parcel-gilt  
22.7 x 2.3 cm

A seraph carved in relief and gilded, parcel-gilt rococo ornaments (rocaille), and a rounded fringe,



many elements of which are missing, decorate both sides of the disk of this small *rhipidion* (fan). The inscription on the handle is engraved on three bands, separated by open flowers, also engraved: '1844. Property of the Protaton. Due to the contribution of Makarios, hieromonk, and the *synodeia*'.

This work, like many other mid-nineteenth-century pieces, displays a number of local variants of typical rococo motifs (Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst 1987, p. 185, fig. 90. Bodur 1987, no. a94, p. 130). This *rhipidion* is held by the archdeacon in the Protaton on certain occasions.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



9.66

### 9.67 *Artoklasia* Protaton

1746

Silver

Height 40 cm,

disk diameter 41 cm, base diameter 20 cm

Occupying the centre of the *artoklasia* disk, on a separate plate of silver, is a representation of the Virgin and Child in low relief; carved into the rim of this disk is the inscription: 'Ἡ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΑΡΤΟΚΛΑΣΙΑ ΥΠΑΡΧΗ ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥΣ + ΔΕ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1746' (This *artoklasia* is the property of Our Lady of Karyes of the Protaton and was made in January of the year 1746). The representation is surmounted by a church-shaped ciborium, rising over a supporting arcade with slender colonettes. The roof of the ciborium is divided into eight segments, decorated with fine flora motifs, each with a small cast hexagonal cupola. A moulded ornamental garland overhangs the arcade from the edge of the ciborium, with small angels placed above each column. Surmounting the ciborium is a conical cupola with a cross, decorated with flowers and foliage. The iconographic programme of the *artoklasia* proper occupies a band outside the central disk, its figures standing out against a rough ground and framed by an arcade carved in relief. Flanked by the full-length figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist in supplication, Christ is represented blessing in the Multiplication of the loaves and fishes miracle (Matt. 14: 13-22). He is holding a small loaf, from a dish with five loaves and two fishes resting on the lap of a tiny figure on the left. On the opposite side are depicted Sts Anne and Joachim, the parents of the Virgin, standing between the Prophet David and Stephen, the first deacon, who is holding a censer and an incense casket. This proclaims Mary's descent from the royal house of David, and establishes a link between the Incarnation and the eucharistic character of the vessel (Papamastorakis 1989-90, pp. 226, 230). The remaining positions beneath the arches are occupied by the twelve apostles, identified by monogram inscriptions.

Affixed to the broad rim of the disk are six sockets: three decorated with a pattern of foliage





on a rough ground and holding flasks for oil, wine and wheat, and three in the form of dragon's heads, for candles. A scroll of flowers and foliage decorates the surface between them. The disk rests on a cylindrical stem with a wide annula, decorated with spiral pear-shaped bosses, each displaying a foliate motif in low relief; this ornament is repeated on the rounded foot. Engraved on the narrow rim of the flat base is the inscription: 'ΣΗΝΔΡΟΜΗ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΞΟΛΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΝ' (With the aid and at the expense of the *kelliotae* monks).

The celebration of the *artoklasia* (breaking of the bread), or the 'blessing of the loaves', is connected with the symbolic significance of bread and takes place during the latter part of the service of vespers on major feast days or on the feast day of the saint commemorated, which, in monastic tradition, is celebrated with a pernoctation (Fountoulis 1963,

pp. 286-9). In commemoration of Christ's blessing of the five loaves, the officiating priest blesses five loaves, as well as the oil, wine and wheat, which are dedicated to the church. *Artoklasia* disks of this and other types were produced in the seventeenth century by silversmiths in Serbia and Bulgaria (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 273, fig. 34. Nikodemos L. 1988, fig. on p. 73. Radojković 1966, figs. 148, 152, 161. Sotirov 1984, figs. 40-2).

This *artoklasia* dish displays a variety of styles, in both iconography and execution. The arcade of figures against a rough ground recalls pieces from an earlier era, the work of silversmiths from the Bulgarian centre of Čiprovtsi, who after its destruction in 1688 scattered throughout the region (Zalesskaja 1996, fig. 1a). The stylised floral scroll on the rim, however, resembles both in form and style the work of eighteenth-century Vlach craftsmen (L'art



albanais 1974, no. 408. Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art 1986, no. 226). The moulded ornaments and the arcade under the ciborium, with its ornamental full-length angels, closely resemble comparable features on a 1644 casket presented to the Great Lavra by the Wallachian ruler Matteu Basarab, while the hexagonal cupolas reflect features of Romanian architecture (Nikodemos L. 1988, fig. on p. 72. Deliyannis 1995, figs. on pp. 173-4. Sotirov 1984, figs. 47-8). Finally, the floral decoration on the surface of the ciborium and on the foot, although rendered with a certain fluidity, has a pronounced calligraphic quality, quite unlike the corresponding decoration on the disk.

The lack of stylistic unity, indeed the simultaneous presence of so many different styles in the same piece, could be explained if we accept that this *artoklasia* was made in two stages – first the disk proper, and later the ciborium and the foot – and that it incorporated elements from earlier pieces. This is borne out by the fact that the inscriptions on the base and the disk are obviously the work of two different craftsmen. An *artoklasia* with similar characteristics and the date 1777 is kept in the Skete of St Anne.

**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 22, p. 9.

Y.I.P.

### 9.68 *Artoklasia* of Patriarch Cyril V

Mid-18th c.

Skete of St Anne

Silver

Height 40, diameter 32.5 cm

The disk of the *artoklasia* is supported on a cylindrical foot with a wide circular embossed base with alternating bulges and depressions, where there are hammered leaf-shaped panels with individual tulip-shaped patterns. The layout and design are similar on a dated font from Constantinople - 1756 - now in the Benaki Museum (T.A. 360; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1980, fig. 22). Above these are small triangular motifs with a lattice pattern, curling tendrils and rosettes. Inside the paten the main figure of Christ and the Apostles are set in a broad,

central band beneath three-lobed panels with an Islamic arch that rest on delicate colonnettes at the top part of which are radiate, seashell motifs. Christ is depicted in the iconographic type of the Great High Priest, holds a Gospel book in his left hand and extends his right in a gesture of blessing. He is flanked by the Apostles, in two groups forming a circle, beginning with the leading figures of Peter and Paul; the bodies of all the apostles incline slightly towards the figure of Christ. The apostles are identified by majuscule, misspelt inscriptions. The broad, flat rim of the paten, which recalls similar rims on ecclesiastical dishes, such as the dated dish from the heirlooms of the refugees, Benaki Museum, Athens, no. T.A. 665; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1980, fig. 45) has delicate chased floral decoration in the rococo spirit, with curling tendrils, opposed seashells either side of multi-leaf rosette shapes, and birds with spread wings. At intervals on the broad rim are set three flasks with bulbous bodies, high necks and embossed lids. Their function is to hold the oil, wine and bread blessed by the priest; the breaking of bread, the blessing and distribution of five loaves and the offering of a quantity of the basic food stuffs of traditional communities was practised in monasteries during vespers, though later it was also combined with





the eve of major festivals (Trembelas 1928). The bodies of these flasks have large, multi-lobed medallions of Ottoman style, though they are filled not with arabesques but with dense, chased floral decoration. The particular shape of the flask, which usually had a sinuous, S-shaped handle, was found very widely in the sixteenth century and is said to go back to Persian brass models of the Timourid..., with applied silver and gold decoration. The shape is also found in precious vessels in the Ottoman 'studded' style (Raby-Allan 1982, fig. 7c, pl. 18. Atil 1987, fig. 52) and in pottery, as well as in similarly shaped objects — *mastrapades* — in monastery sacristies that were used to carry the boiling water of the divine liturgy (the boiling or hot water that symbolized the water that issued from the Crucified Christ together with his blood). These objects were associated with the metal-working tradition of the subjugated Christians, and the view has been expressed that they were made in Constantinople or some other Balkan centre (Pyles Mysteriou 1994, p. 268).

Three dragon's heads, also set on the rim of the paten, support three candlesticks ending in the shape of an open flower. At the centre of the paten is a metal appliqué with a depiction of the Virgin and Child, covered by a church-shaped ciborium with trefoil arches carried on twisted columns; at the centre of the base each of these openings, beneath the central arch are Late-Gothic palmettes. On the roof of the canopy are radiate, embossed, amygdaloid medallions containing floral motifs in symmetrically placed groups of three. At intervals along the edge of the roof are nine 'lanterns' surmounted by Greek crosses; the peak of the roof has small cast circles and is crowned by a large 'lantern' with openings in the sides; this is topped by a filigree flower with an open-work cross emerging from it, from the bottom of which spring radiate dragons; on the side arms of the cross are birds holding rosettes. The *artoklasia* in the Skete of St Anne comes from the same workshop as the dated (1747) *artoklasia* in the Protaton and is of special interest in that it combines a variety of technical and stylistic influences; it may probably be attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

## 9.69 *Orarion*

### Iviron Monastery

Velvet, brocade, silk, silver parcel-gilt

Length 276 cm, width 11 cm

Moscow

This vestment is made of red velvet, lined with a multi-coloured brocade fabric and finished with tassels of red and blue silk. Stitched to it, to cover most of the surface of the material, are twenty-one (originally twenty-two) appliqué round medallions alternating with twenty-two oblong metal sheets, the long sides of the latter cut away to accommodate the curved edges of the former. Sewn to the neck-piece are two more sheets, for practical reasons hinged, each decorated with a filigree cross containing the inscription 'Jesus Christ Conquers'. These two metal sheets are engraved with the following inscriptions: a) '+ With the aid of Archimandrite Solomon in March of the year of Our Lord 1676 and in the city of Moscow' and b) '+ At the expense of Christos and his wife Maria and their children Romanos, Michael and Maria, whose souls remember O Lord'.

Stamped on the metal sheets flanking the neck-piece are the disks of the sun and the moon; the sheets at the ends of the vestment are stamped with rosettes, and the intermediary sheets with confronted pairs of seraphs. The circular medallions bear representations of Christ, the Virgin, prophets, Evangelists, apostles and archangels, which alternate with crosses decorated with rosettes and trefoil finials on the ends of their arms. From the centre outwards, the order of the figures is as follows: on one side St Luke, the Prophets Aaron and David, the Archangel Michael, St Peter, the Virgin in the type of the Vlachernitissa, the Prophet Zachariah, and St John the Evangelist; and on the other St Mark, the Prophet Solomon, St Paul, Christ Enthroned, Moses, and St Matthew. All the figures are identified by a Slavonic monogram.

The *orarion*, a deacon's vestment, usually gold-embroidered, symbolises an angel's wings, and is therefore customarily decorated with angel-deacons and celestial powers, together with the opening words of the *Epinikios* hymn they sing around the Throne, the 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts',





Monasteries of Vatopedi and Iviron (Radojković 1966, figs. 183, 184, 184a. Šakota 1984, fig. 9, p. 277. Šakota 1988, p. 198, fig. 13. Skovran 1980, fig. 30. Ballian 1996, figs. 462-3, pp. 516-7).

The Iviron *orarion*, which has one of the most elaborate iconographic programmes known, is a product of the great Russian tradition of embroidery and metalwork. Miniature icons of precious metals, sometimes embellished with niello or enamel, framed with gemstones and seed pearls, were used from the fourteenth century on to ornament priceless ecclesiastical vestments and secular articles (Rybakov 1971, figs. 113-8. Manušina - Nikolaeva 1983, figs. 36-8, 56, 76, 85). Unfortunately, the Iviron *orarion* has not been preserved in its original form and thus remains unknown what the original material was, whether there was any additional decoration in other materials, and even whether the metal sheets have been arranged correctly.

Archimandrite Solomon, with whose assistance the vestment was made in March 1670, according to the inscription, was the Hegumen of the Monastery of St Nicholas, a *metochi* of the Iviron Monastery in Moscow, from 1667 to May 1670. In 1683 he is mentioned as prehegumen of the Monastery of Iviron (Gedeon 1906 and 1912, pp. 18-19, 35, 39-40).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.70 Candlestick late 16th-early 17th c. Skete of St Anne

Wood with bone inlay  
Height 117 cm

which is also sung during the terrestrial Liturgy (Pallas 1954, pp. 180-4. Theochari 1986, p. 20). *Oraria* like this one, with appliqué metal elements, often cast, displaying both figurative and non-figurative decoration, are less common; known examples of this type date from the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, and are preserved in monasteries and museums in Serbia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, as well as in the

The long stem of this candlestick, square at the ends and cylindrical in the middle, is made from a single piece of wood. Squares and circles of bone are set, alternately, into hollows in the wood. On the cylindrical part of the shaft they are framed by a diamond-patterned tress of the same material, while on the squared ends they are bordered by parallel lines. Black lines painted on the inlays form eight-petalled rosettes, some with concentric circles



9.70



at the heart (cf. Han 1966, fig. 35). The hemispherical wooden base is painted in red, yellow, black and white, in floral and geometrical patterns imitating the concentric circles on the inlays. The same bright colours are used in the inlay decoration of Ottoman furniture as well as the episcopal throne and the wooden *choros* in the Piva Monastery (1601) in Montenegro (Atil 1987, figs. 107, 109-10. Han 1966, fig. 38. Skovran 1980, pls. XX-XXI, cf. also figs. 11-13 with the painting of intarsia work). The wooden shield may possibly have been added during repairs to the candlestick.

The intarsia work on the cylindrical shaft shows extraordinary skilful workmanship, with glue and tiny rivets used to secure the inlays to the hollows in the wooden surface. In general terms, the characteristic feature of the ornamental inlay work found on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ecclesiastical furniture and other similar items is the tiny size of the inlays used; by contrast, the tiles used in the decoration of Ottoman furniture in this same period were relatively larger. A further difference would appear to lie in the Ottoman use of marquetry, a process in which patterns are formed by the insertion of pieces of wood, shell or ivory into a wood veneer that is then applied to the surface of a piece of furniture (Dictionary of Arts 1996, 20, p. 645): no examples of ecclesiastical items from this period with marquetry decoration have yet been found.

A number of craftsmen are commemorated in inscriptions above the doors of the Monastery of Vatopedi (1567), on the throne of Patriarch Ieremias II (1577; see no. 9.88), and on the doors of the Monastery of Iviron (1597 and 1622; Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, nos. 235-6, pp. 72-3): Ignatios and Ioasaph, Lavrentios of Athens, Theophanis, monk. Father S. Gerlach, one of the priests accompanying a Habsburg delegation to the Sublime Porte in about 1576, noted that small chests and other items decorated with inlaid work were being manufactured in Athens (Vacalopoulos 1964, p. 311 n. 4). While this is an interesting observation, there can be no doubt that the primary agents in the popularisation and spread of intarsia-decorated ecclesiastical furniture were the various monastic centres, and first and foremost Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.





**9.71 *Dikerotrikera*** 18th c., 1st half  
Skete of St Anne

Silver

Height 31 cm, base diameter 9 cm

Each of these cast silver candlesticks has a slender stem fixed to a circular base and surmounted by a cross. Blossoming branches – two on one candlestick and three on the other – spring from each stem and terminate to sockets shaped like rosebuds, from which only the lower part has survived.

*Dikerotrikera* such as these were usually ornamented with dragons, the candle sockets either held in their mouths (17th c.) or balanced on their heads (18th c.). The oldest have either no base at all, or a very rudimentary one: this is seen in certain

pieces in the Piva Monastery in Montenegro, for example, or in the Church of the Koimesis in Lindos on the island of Rhodes (Skovran 1980, no. 44, pp. 245–6). Here, in these *dikerotrikera* from the Skete of St Anne, there are no dragons, the sockets are of an older type, and the bases are probably not original, for they are of decidedly inferior quality. However, a number of technical and decorative details, such as the open flowers and the delicate tendrils, suggest a probable date in the first half of the eighteenth century, although the lack of similar pieces for comparison precludes any certainty (Koutelakis 1996, fig. 44). The two *dikeria* (with two branches) symbolise the dual nature of Christ, and the *trikeria* (with three branches) the Holy Trinity; with these the officiating bishop blesses the congregation after the chanting of the Sanctus



(Kourkoulas 1991<sup>2</sup>, p. 74). Oral tradition ascribes this pair to Patriarch Cyril V Karakalos (1748-51 and 1752-7) who retired to the Kalyve of Hagioi Apostoloi, belonging to the Skete of St Anne, after he was dethroned in 1757 (Gritsopoulos 1965, cols. 1193-7. Alexandros 1904, p. 254).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

other neighbouring regions (cf. Radojković 1966, figs. 79-80, 87). The open or three-petalled flowers with incised details which are visible above and behind the turrets are Ottoman-inspired. Finally, a Western-European influence is seen in the tablets placed between the turrets, which display female figures, their bodies more revealed than concealed by their antique dress, standing *contrapposto*



### 9.72 Katzi

Protaton

Silver, parcel-gilt  
24.4 x 44 cm

late 17th c.

This censer has a hammered bowl, a cast lid with an architectural formation, and a long handle made from a foliate openwork ornament riveted to a base plate of the same shape. It sits on a short, cylindrical foot, secured beneath the handle to a hammered tubular shaft ending in a dragon's head. There are two later interventions of poor workmanship on the shaft and foot.

A number of different styles are apparent in the decoration of this *katzi*. The architectural formation of the lid with its pointed turrets and small riveted 'balusters' is typically late Gothic, of a type frequently found in work from Serbia or

beneath arches surmounted by Baroque volutes. The most likely sources for these motifs are to be found in books printed in Western Europe, and particularly those published in Venice, whose title pages usually displayed an ancient Roman portal, flanked by allegorical or mythological figures, framing the title of the book (cf. Koumarianou - Droulia - Layton 1986, fig. 28. Goldschmidt 1974<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66-70).

Figuring on the handle is the representation of the 'Prophets from above', in a typical late-Byzantine variation combined with the Tree of Jesse (Mouriki 1970, p. 248. Ballian 1992 (2), no. 10, where the inscription labels the characteristic iconography of the Tree of Jesse as the 'Prophets from above'). Here, a tendril spirals around the Virgin and Child, forming medallions framing busts of prophets, most of whom hold closed scrolls. One is represented holding an object, while another,



of a deacon, as depicted in eighteenth-century engravings, stands before a domed church holding a censer in one hand and raising a closed book in the other (Papastratos 1990, no. 520). On the other side St Romanos, also robed as a deacon, stands in front of a typically Athonite church holding a censer in his right hand; in his left hand, covered by a linen scarf, is a casket in the shape of a church. On the narrow end representing the western wall of the church are four square panels decorated with open flowers. Just below the arches representing the colonnade and around the drum of the central dome is engraved in large letters the name: 'of Nikephoros', while on the bottom of the casket is the inscription: '1810/January 15 / at the expense of those who love Christ and under the guidance of the *epistates* and of Master Iakovos, Prehegumen of Vatopedi, and his fellows'.

The casket, now empty, is borne by the deacon when he burns incense through the church on official occasions; the large white linen cloth worn over his left shoulder betokens the *mandelion* (scarf) which was part of the liturgical dress of deacons in the earliest Christian centuries, as depicted in the representation of St Romanos. The pyxis-like incense burners which deacons formerly carried under a white linen scarf seem to have been replaced in about the sixteenth century by caskets of this type (Pallas 1954, pp. 161-6. Chatzidakis 1986 (1), figs. 67-8. Millet 1939, pls. CIV and CV).

The decoration of this casket includes a number of typical nineteenth-century motifs, such as the open flowers on the front. While the goldsmith has obviously tried to render the construction details as realistically as possible, his efforts are not always entirely felicitous. Most successful are his depictions of churches on the sides of the casket, which create the impression that they are representations of actual buildings. An annotation in a codex in the Protaton, dated July 1810, records the donation of this box which weighs 1128 grams, and the names of all those mentioned in the inscription as associated with its production. The Nikephoros named on the dome may be the hieromonk Nikephoros who commissioned a number of ecclesiastical articles for the Protaton in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Kourilas 1949, pp. 165 and 159-62).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

Y.I.-P.

## 9.74 *Katzi*

Dionysiou Monastery

Silver, parcel-gilt and niello

26 x 40.5 cm

Mount Athos

19th c., 2nd half

Lanceolate leaves in flat relief, typical of the neo-classical style, decorate the bowl in which the incense is burnt, and which rests on a round base decorated with similar motifs. The tall lid, surmounted by a cross, has an undulating surface on which undecorated areas alternate with fret-work of floral sprays. The broad plate forming the handle has a cylindrical support which terminates in a cherub sculpted in the round, holding a small round bell – one of a total of seven on the *katzi*. In the centre of this plate is an appliqué oval medallion, with a niello-highlighted miniature of the Birth of John the Baptist, the saint to whom the katholikon of the Monastery of Dionysiou is dedicated. St Elizabeth is depicted sitting on a canopied bed, beside a table ready laid. On the left, Zacharias, 'dumb and not able to speak', is writing on a tablet the name of the new-born child who, wrapped in swaddling clothes, is held by a serving-maid. In the background are the maids in attendance on Elizabeth. The medallion is framed by a lush relief border of acanthus leaves and floral sprays. A bust, worked in relief, of John the Baptist holding a staff in the shape of a cross ornaments the end of the plate.

The *katzi*, a type of censer with a handle instead of suspended from chains, is found in paintings of funerary scenes from the middle Byzantine period on; this particular example is typical of those made in the mid-eighteenth century. It is used mainly in monasteries, by the brother in charge of the church, on occasions prescribed by the *Typikon* of each foundation.

This *katzi* from the Monastery of Dionysiou is thoroughly representative of the nineteenth-century work produced on Mount Athos. Medallions with scenes rendered in miniature are frequently found on book covers dating already from the early decades of the nineteenth century and are described with the term *savatia* (*savad* = niello), since the use of niello highlights their details





(Delialis 1960, no. 11, p. 206, pl. η'). This work also illustrates the close association between engraving and silverwork, not only in their manner of rendering scenes, but also in their iconography, which often reveals a western influence. The canopied bed (*padiglione*), for example, is a detail frequently found in engravings and icons of similar representations, which in turn reflect older, Renaissance interiors: in fact, in the Birth of John the Baptist or of the Virgin, one of the maid-servants is pictured carrying a basket of fruit on her head, just as on this *katzi* (Papastratos 1990, no. 139. Vocotopoulos 1990, no. 128, pp. 160-1, fig. 64. Thornton 1991, pp. 121-9, figs. 131, 126 and 35).

These appliqué medallions are usually framed by small, stylised flowers, as in this example, or by a repeated foliate motif. They are encircled by ribbons and deep-cut relief work – here somewhat rigid and severe –, foliage and floral motifs –

usually tiny rococo roses, a favourite Ottoman decorative theme in this period –, and combined with neo-classical features. The revival of older trends seen in European works in gold and silver in the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the rococo style which continued to enjoy an extremely long-lived popularity, were found in the workshops of Asia Minor and the Southern Balkans with the inevitable adaptations and variations (Brett 1986, pp. 34-7, figs. 1228-9. Moršakova 1989, fig. 75. Ballian 1992 (2), no. 44, p. 84). This was a period when the craftsmen who worked in gold and silver tended to move from one district to another, which explains the pronounced resemblances between household and ecclesiastical objects in the same style as this *katzi* made on Mount Athos, and others from Monastir in Macedonia and South-western Bulgaria (Radojković 1974, nos. 71-2, pp. 70-1. Janc et al. 1973, no. 49, p. 47. Drumev 1976, pp. 111-12,



probably one of the Evangelists, is holding an open book. Surmounting the whole is the figure of Christ enthroned, while the seraph at the bottom, represented with long, feathered legs, is holding up a pair of sceptres (cf. Chatzidakis - Sofianos 1990, p. 203). The whole is framed by a border of finely-wrought, leaves with engraved veining and

evolution of this style may be seen in the 1735 and 1737 *katzia* in the Monastery of Vatopedi, which are better balanced and where the dragons, here clumsily hammered, are cast in elegant curves (Ballian 1996, figs. 470-1).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.



curled tips, set on the diagonal and punctuated by tiny rivet-heads. This border is similar to one used on a pair of *katzia* made in Trikala in 1663 and 1664, today preserved in the Monastery of Barlaam at Meteora and in the Church of St Nicholas on the island of Andros respectively (Drandakis 1963, pl. 355γ. Ballian 1992 (1)). That this *katzi* is of later manufacture is evident in the architectural formation of the bowl-censer, which is quite different from the smaller-bowled late-Byzantine style still used by the Trikala workshop. The subsequent

### 9.73 Incense casket Protaton

Silver  
25 x 26 x 11 cm

1810

This casket is made in the shape of a five-domed church, with a small extension at one end: this is probably intended to suggest a portico, represented by a low colonnade. On the side of the box corresponding to the north wall of the church, the figure of St Stephen, richly dressed in the vestments



figs. 60-1, 127-8). The Monastery of Dionysiou has a second *katzi*, identical to this one.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

**9.75 Incense casket**  
**19th c., second half**  
**Dionysiou Monastery**

Silver, parcel-gilt  
31.5 x 30.5 x 19 cm

Incense casket in the shape of a five-domed church, made of partially gilded silver, with cast, engraved, chased and open-work decoration. The casket stands on four cast lions (as is usually the case with candelabra) set obliquely at the four corners. The church rests on a rectangular base with an engraved, curvilinear floral motif. Along the base and at the top of the outer wall of the casket is a repeated, gilded seashell motif with a rich foliate border. At the four corners are gilded fluted columns supported on high bases with acanthus leaves and crowned by 'Corinthian' capitals, also gilded. On the curving roof are five small domes with lacy outlines, supported on tall drums; the domes are crowned by crosses. Close to the front edge of the roof, a model of a dove rises in the centre, above a cross. On one of the short sides is a portico with a triple vaulted roof. The portico roof is supported by plain, delicate columns with high bases and capitals in the form of bobbins; the Annunciation is depicted on the two leaves of the door at the entrance: the figures of the archangel and the Virgin take the form of cast appliques fixed in place by small nails. In the sanctuary apse the figure of St Stephen occupies a seashell frame, flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. In the centre of one long side is a similar medallion bordered by open-work floral patterns in rococo style, containing, at the left, Dionysios, the founder of Dionysiou Monastery, dressed in the habit of a monk, and at the right, Niphon II, Patriarch of Constantinople 1486-89, 1497-98, 1502, and a *hosios* who was a monk in Dionysiou Monastery, where he ended his life in

1508 (Gritsopoulos 1966, cols. 455-6). He is depicted frontally and wearing the vestments of a prelate. Dionysios holds a knotted rope in his right hand, and Niphon raises a gospel book in his left; both hold a model of the *katholikon* of Dionysiou Monastery, enclosed in a fortified complex; next to the *katholikon* is the dominating structure of the belfry with its clock (Papastratos 1990, nos. 468-9).

The iconography is inspired by Western models, especially in the large medallion on the other long side, the border of which consists of large undulating acanthus leaves and palmettes; it depicts the Birth of John the Baptist, to whom the *katholikon* of Dionysiou Monastery is dedicated. At the left, Elizabeth sits languidly on a bed with a canopy (the motif recalls earlier Renaissance models), resting on a long tubular cushion, next to a table on which luxurious tableware is depicted. At the other edge, at the right, Zacharias sits on a seat with a high backrest with curving ends and writes the name of his new-born son on a tablet; the swaddled child is held in the arms of a servant girl. The medallion is bordered by open-work floral motifs and bouquets of roses. A similar casket in Dionysiou Monastery is inscribed with the name of the craftsman: 'by the hand of Naum Nikolaos 1859'. Other works by Naum are still preserved in Dionysiou Monastery, and his name is inscribed on caskets/reliquaries dating from 1813 and 1818, when he was still an apprentice; during the period 1853-63 he again worked on Mount Athos, signing his work as Naum Nikolaos (Ballian 1996, p. 528 and n. 79).

The features of this casket, and of objects made at this period in general, include the prevalence of western iconography, the arrangement of motifs in cartouches, and the rich rococo decoration of curling tendrils, 'wind-blown' floral motifs, small embossed roses, seashells. This was revived, suitably adapted, both in the workshops of the Southern Balkans, as in the casket in the shape of a church made at Jassy in 1843, now in Vatopedi Monastery (Ballian, 1996, p. 531, fig. 478), with continuous decoration encircling the base, 'Corinthian' columns at the corners, and oval medallions on the long sides, and also in those of Asia Minor: here it is found in a selection of similar medallions and



individual decorative motifs on the revetment of the reliquary (1796) of Hosios Christodoulos on Patmos, made in a Smyrna workshop, or the book cover (about 1815) donated by Chrysanthos, *protosynkelos* of Smyrna (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, p. 270, fig. 53, p. 268-9, figs 50-1). The strongly decorative trend of this period is frequently accompanied by a certain monumental approach that finds expression in the reuse - with the necessary variations - of elements drawn from ancient Greek architecture, often filtered through Russian Neoclassicism; from the early sixteenth century

onwards, the latter was to influence the silver and gold output of the Greek world in general.

The impressive casket in Dionysiou Monastery, with its rich gilded elements, is probably to be connected with the general euphoria and optimism called forth by the freedom of religion accorded to the Christian populations in the middle of the nineteenth century. The privileges granted to them led to the creation of precious, dedications of large dimensions (Ballian 1992(2), p. 101).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

K.K.-Z.







**9.76 Hanging lamp** late 17th c.  
**Protaton**

Silver, parcel-gilt with glass-paste stones  
Height 13.5 cm, maximum diameter 9 cm

This lamp, in the shape of a truncated cone, is made of four cast open-work panels joined by vertical solid strips decorated with glass-paste stones in hexagonal mounts. The top is encircled by an ornamental band of late-Gothic anthemia, and the

bottom by a plain strip on which is engraved the following inscription: 'SIE KANDILO MONASTIRA HILANDARA PREDLOŽI / PRELOŽI IER(O)MONA(h) V ASILIE V L(e) TO ZTISU (Š)' (This lamp was dedicated to the Monastery of Chelandari by the Hieromonk Basil in the year seven thousand). The perforated cast bottom is decorated with anthemia. Suspended from it by a small multi-faceted ring is a filigree cross, but this is a later addition. The lamp hangs from chains, fastened to three multi-faceted rings, which are also of later manufacture.

Figurative compositions decorate the cast-work panels, with degenerated arabesques of flowers and foliage filling the empty spaces. Represented on the first panel is the Crucifixion, with an identifying inscription in Slavonic. The second and the fourth, which are identical, represent a saint and a hierarch under broken trefoil arches supported on columns. Above, between the arches, is a two-headed eagle, and the whole is surmounted by a medallion with the Virgin in the type of the Vlacheritissa. Around the edge of this medallion is engraved, in Greek, a quotation of a *megalynarion* from the Lesser supplicatory canon 'Thou who above the heavens...'. The third panel displays St George killing the dragon.

The Protaton hanging lamp is one of a large group of works sharing similar features of iconography and technique, which were made in Serbia in the second half of the seventeenth century. Most of the works in this group are hanging lamps, and their style seems to reflect an earlier tradition. Of those which are inscribed, a few bear the name of the goldsmith Neško Prolimleković of Požarevac, some were made by Vuk of Bečkerek (Zrenjanin), a well-known center of metal-work since the sixteenth century, while others are ascribed to Sarajevo workshops (Radojković 1966, pp. 135-6, figs. 161, 164, and pp. 109-10. Postnikova-Loseva 1971, figs. 29-30, pp. 89-90. Šakota 1984, pp. 185-6). Some of those without identifying inscriptions may safely be ascribed to one or another of the above centers, while others, generally later works made of copper alloys, seem to be the products of different workshops, for this type of hanging lamp was still being produced, in a number of variations, in the nineteenth century (Šakota 1984, p. 186).

This lamp is very similar to one in the Dečani Monastery, and two others in the Armoury in the



Kremlin in Moscow. Of these, one bears the date 1666, while the other is signed by Father Sabbas, who is known to have been working in Bečkerek in 1677 (Šakota 1984, p. 213, and fig. 105, p. 258. Postnikova-Loseva 1971, figs. 23-8, pp. 86-8). Moreover, engraved on the Moscow lamp is part of the date from the creation of the world (as it also appears on the Protaton lamp), but it is incomplete, with only the symbol for 'seven' and the word for 'thousands'. The works produced by Father Sabbas, which are not among the finest examples of their type, display weaknesses in both design and execution. The figures are difficult to identify, the inscriptions on the cast-metal sections are not clear, while most prominent on many examples are motifs of the 'saz leaf and rosette' type and *rumi* style arabesques. The popularity of this type of lamp, however, was both widespread and long-lived; the Dečani Monastery has a fair number of representative pieces, in various iconographic variants, while single examples may be found in monasteries and museums in Serbia as well as in monasteries throughout the Orthodox world, such as the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai (Bečkerek, 1672 and 1677), and the Meteorite Monastery of St Stephen (Šakota 1984, figs. 101-7, p. 258. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1980, fig. 63, p. 35). The Protaton hanging lamp, as the inscription mentions, was originally dedicated to the Monastery of Chelandari.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.77 Enkolpion-reliquary 1507-17 Vatopedi Monastery

Silver gilt, height 6 cm

This almost perfectly square silver gilt enkolpion has been fashioned to resemble the characteristic Byzantine reliquaries with a sliding front (Byzance 1992, nos. 236-7, 249). The frame and suspension ring are made of fine smooth wire, braided into a tress on the back and forming a fret of loops between chains on the front. This geometric border resembles both fifteenth-century Russian work (Kovarskaya et al. 1984, no. 6), and the sixteenth- to seventeenth-

century mounts for carved wooden crosses (Skovran 1980, pl. XVII, fig. 18. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, fig. 93), and may be considered a survival of a characteristic feature of late-Byzantine metalwork. The niello inscription around the sides of the enkolpion reads: 'Makarios Metropolitan of Corinth and Exarch of the Peloponnese and all dependencies of Nikaia.' Metropolitan of Corinth in 1507, Makarios was translated to the throne of Thessaloniki in 1517 and died in the Monastery of Vatopedi in 1546 as Michael, monk (Glavinias 1973, pp. 167-77).

Portrayed on the back of the enkolpion is Christ Enthroned, wheels beneath his feet, the Virgin and St John by his side. According to the accompanying inscription: 'The synaxis of the celestial hosts, the synaxis of all saints'; but in fact it is rather a synoptic representation of the Synaxis of All Saints which, borrowed from the iconography of the Last Judgement, here constitutes a Deesis with hosts of angels, saints and the righteous (cf. Chatzidakis 1985, nos. 127, 162).

The front side of the enkolpion has a composite bizonal representation of the Anastasis, in an iconographic type much better suited to monumental painting and compressed with difficulty into this small area. The scene of the Anastasis is separated from the celestial sphere by an arch culminating in a sharp point, above which are represented a host of angels on the left and John the Baptist with the prophet-kings on the right, a group which





properly belongs in the lower zone. The host of angels, the first one holding the cross of Calvary and the lance and reed, the symbols of the Passion, usually occupies the entire celestial zone, and is associated with the eschatological interpretation of the Anastasis as a precursor of the Last Judgement. In Palaeologan monuments this composite iconography seems to depend on the ecclesiastical and philosophical scholarship of the donors and prelates (Deliyanni-Dori 1994, pp. 399-435). This certainly applies to Metropolitan Makarios, who as a genuine bibliophile was a *rara avis* for the age in which he lived. It is characteristic that what we know of his life comes to us mainly from the short chronicles in the manuscripts he collected and bequeathed to the Monastery of Vatopedi, along with his episcopal enkolpion.

**Bibliography:** Ballian 1996, pp. 505-7, figs. 445-6.

A.B.

### 9.78 *Enkolpion* Dionysiou Monastery

early 16th c.

Ivory, silver mount

Height 7.5 cm, width 6 cm, thickness 1.5 cm

Carved on the ivory tablet of this *enkolpion* are the scenes of the Dodekaorton, occupying individual rectangular panels arranged in three rows of four. The exceptionally high relief is the result of deep undercutting, and the scenes are actually sunk into the thickness of the ivory. The tiny area of each individual panel means that the scenes are rendered somewhat summarily, especially those with many figures. Characteristic features are the short bodies and large heads, while the figures of Jesus and the Virgin are highlighted by their relatively even larger heads. The scenes unfold under pointed arches, with the identifying inscriptions (in Slavonic) carved in relief above them.

With the exception of the pointed arches, all the other technical and stylistic features of this *enkolpion* were already in evidence in the late-Palaeologan period, in ivories, objects made of steatite and wood-carvings (Weitzmann 1972, no. 31. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 48-9. Thesauri



1973, p. 44). The continuity of this tradition may be seen in later Russian and post-Byzantine wood-carving, so much of which is decorated with miniature scenes of the Dodekaorton, with their characteristic relief inscriptions (Pyles Mysteriou 1994, no. 84). The pointed arch, however, is a Gothic feature, reminiscent of the Gothic arch motifs so characteristic of post-Byzantine crosses from the sixteenth century on (Radojković 1977, figs. 32, 34, 40, 41. Chatzidakis-Sophianos 1990, p. 217. Rózycki 1944).

On the front of the *enkolpion* a twisted cord frames the individual scenes; it is decorated with pearls and stones set in deep mounts with angular projecting claws securing the gems. Mounts like these were used as settings for gemstones in sixteenth-century Russian work (Gold aus dem Kreml 1991, nos. 4, 38). On the back of the silver case is engraved a Cross of the Anastasis, with the skull of Adam underneath its stepped base. The circle inscribed with an X covering the junction of the upright and the main cross-piece is a figurative rendering of the Crown of Thorns (cf. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pl. 84, A-26. Thesauri 1973, fig. 174). The inscriptions 'I [ησοῦς] N [αζωραῖος], I [ησοῦ]C X [ριστό]C,NIKA' (Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus Christ,



Conquers) fill the spaces between the arms of the cross, on a ground either hatched or cross-hatched. The Slavonic inscription engraved on two bands at the bottom of the *enkolpion* ('Enkolpion of Nephon') is upside-down; the first band is gilded and has a stippled ground.

Tradition ascribes this *enkolpion* to Patriarch Nephon (1486-9, 1497-8, 1502) who, having reorganised the Church in Wallachia, retired to the Dionysiou Monastery, where he remained until his death in 1508 (Actes de Dionysiou 1968, p. 18. Năsturel 1986, pp. 142-4). While the Slavonic inscriptions on the *enkolpion* are consistent with a date during his sojourn in Wallachia, the workmanship of the piece is crude, and difficult to relate to the two other treasures left by Patriarch Nephon: the magnificent episcopal *sakkos* from Bursa (see no. 11.1) and the famous reliquary, a gift from the Wallachian Prince Neagoe Basarab in 1515.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.

### 9.79 *Enkolpion* 1644 and 1705 Dionysiou Monastery

Bone, silver-gilt mount  
Height 11.5 cm, width 9.2 cm

Both faces of this bone *enkolpion* are divided

into six panels, containing figures of the Virgin with apostles and saints, in supplication. Dominating the front is the Virgin in the type of the Vlacheritissa; and beneath this are three hierarchs (St Gregory, St John Chrysostom, and St Basil), followed by St Nicholas and St Sabbas. At the top of the other side, St Peter and St Paul face each other in the two panels at the top, one holding a scroll and the other a Gospel book. The remaining panels contain portraits of the warrior saints dressed in martyr's robes: St Theodore Teron, St Demetrios, St Theodore Stratelatis, and St George. These half-length figures, which all have large haloes, are executed in fairly high relief; they are identified by incised Greek inscriptions, and are differentiated by their dress, their hair and their beards. The composition of this *enkolpion*, with the Virgin and the Apostles Peter and Paul in the upper zone, in a form of Deesis, and the hierarchs and warrior-saints following in hierarchical order, is characteristic of small *enkolpia* intended for personal use (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, pp. 65-7).

The silver gilt mount forms a sort of open-work case, bound by twin rings and with a filigree ribbon encircling each face of the medallion and framing each separate panel. The rings, which are set into the thickness of the *enkolpion*, bear Slavonic inscriptions: one of them commemorates the Monastery of the Koimesis and gives the dates ZPNB (7152 counting from the Creation = 1644) and ΑΨΕ (1705); the other reads in translation as follows: 'This priceless and irreplaceable *enkolpion*,





this treasure from the horn of the wild unicorn, was purchased by my humble self, Archbishop Matthaios, completed at my own expense, and presented to the Monastery of Bistritsa'. The Romanian Monastery of Bistritsa, in the Wallachian province of Vilcea, is known from a number of other important silver articles, such as the Gospel covers dedicated by known benefactors (Nicolescu 1968, nos. 330, 337, 347). The Slavonic inscriptions on the *enkolpion*, and the inclusion among the hierarchs of St Sabbas, the founder of the Serbian Church, are not surprising. It was not until the final quarter of the seventeenth century that the Romanian Church began its gradual abandonment of Church Slavonic, a process which was completed by the middle of the following century (Elian 1992, p. 19).

Of particular interest is the reference to the unicorn. The horn of this mythical beast was widely believed to be a sovereign remedy, and a specific against poison, until the end of the eighteenth century (Ballian 1996, p. 504). These magical properties, which were known to the ancient world, entered popular folklore in the Middle Ages with the translation and dissemination of the famous *Physiologus*, a second-century Greek bestiary (Strzygowski 1899 (2)).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.

### 9.80 Episcopal *enkolpion*, 18th c., 2nd half Simonopetra Monastery

Wood, silver gilt, enamel, glass-paste stones and corals  
Diameter 9 cm

This round *enkolpion* has a carved wooden core encased in an openwork frame. On the one side, the round openings of the mount reveal the Virgin and Child, with worshipping angels, seraphs and prophets among the tendrils of a vine: this is the iconographic theme of the 'Prophets from above', illustrating the relevant hymn. The other side has Christ in the type of the True Vine, accompanied by his disciples. Filigree enamel work covers the silver-gilt frame. The floral motifs of twisted wire framing the figures may echo the tendrils of the

vine shoot carved in the wood. A foliate motif in filigree is repeated around the edge of the medallion, each surmounted by a coral bead; two green glass beads hang from the bottom.

The theme of the 'Prophets from above' refers to the prefigurations of the Virgin in the prophecies foretelling the Incarnation, and was first represented in monumental painting. It became extremely popular, and was one of the themes most frequently chosen for the decoration of panagiaria and episcopal *enkolpia* (Mouriki 1970, pp. 241-8). In this *enkolpion* it seems to have been rendered in a version combining elements from the Tree of Jesse (Radojković 1977, figs. 52a-b). Indeed, the figure of the Virgin in the type of the Tree of Jesse or the Rod out of the Tree of Jesse was frequently used in combination with Christ as the True Vine on wood-carved *enkolpia* in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Radojković 1977, figs. 54-5). Variations on the subject of the 'Prophets from above' are found in the iconography of liturgical vestments, frequently accompanied by lines from the hymn, which is chanted while the prelate dons his liturgical vestments and regalia (Vei-Chatzidaki 1953, nos. 35-6, pp. 23-4, pl. II').

In both style and workmanship, the frame of





this enkolpion resembles the filigree enamel work characteristic of the second half of the eighteenth century (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 277, figs. 41-2).

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, pp. 168, 185, fig. 97.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.81 Episcopal enkolpion, 18th c., 2nd half Simonopetra Monastery

Wood, silver gilt, gemstones and enamel  
15 x 9.2 cm

Portrayed on one side of the wooden core of this enkolpion is the Annunciation, and on the other St George on horseback slaying the dragon. The core medallion is mounted in a star-shaped silver-gilt filigree frame with heart-shaped enamel ornaments.

An ornate foliate motif in delicate filigree work, embellished with pearls and glass-paste stones, is repeated around the edge. Suspended from the bottom is a faceted gemstone of a rich purple colour (amethyst?), set in a mount decorated with broad leaves: this may have been a later addition.

Subjects, such as the Annunciation, associated with the role of the Virgin in the Incarnation may in the iconography of episcopal enkolpia and panagiaria be combined with portraits of warrior saints, such as St George (Radojković 1977, figs. 71a-b. Provatakis 1976, pp. 54-9, pl. II). In this enkolpion the shallow, linear carving of the figures, so characteristic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, is closer to engraving than to sculpture. The filigree mount in many ways resembles that of the sanctification cross in the same monastery, and is reminiscent of a number of similar Western-European works of an earlier era.

**Bibliography:** Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1991, p. 168, fig. 96.

Y.I.-P.





**9.82 Episcopal enkolpion 18th c., 2nd half  
Protaton**

Wood, silver gilt and glass-paste stones, 13.5 x 12 cm

This enkolpion has a round double-sided sculpted and perforated wooden core mounted in a diamond-shaped silver-gilt frame. At the bottom of one side is the recumbent figure of the prophet Jesse, from whose body rises a vine with symmetrically curving branches terminating in medallions of different sizes. The six small medallions in the lower part of the scene, three on either side of the stem, frame prophets holding open scrolls. The larger medallions in the middle display the scenes of the Annunciation and the Transfiguration, and that at the top of the tree the Baptism, with two prophets in the smaller medallions flanking it. The same arrangement is repeated on the other side with, in the larger medallions, the Lamentation, the Anastasis and the Crucifixion, and Jonah and the whale replacing Jesse. The triangular surfaces of the frame next to the core are covered with a lacy fret of beaded wire, with red glass-paste stones in the corners

adding a touch of colour. Of the three colourless stones suspended from the outer corners of the enkolpion, only two remain.

In the Eastern Church the theme of the Tree of Jesse has a prophetic character, is associated with the Virgin and her role in the Incarnation, and is enriched with scenes from the liturgical calendar structured around the great events in the Life of Christ. The prophets portrayed are those who foretold the Incarnation and the redemptive sacrifice of Christ (Taylor 1980-1, pp. 165-70). The Annunciation, the Baptism and the Transfiguration, the three principal scenes pictured on one side of the enkolpion, are three epiphanies, and represent the period before the sacrifice; they correspond, that is, to the first part of the Liturgy (Hermeneia of the Liturgy 1978, pp. 13-14). The Transfiguration stresses the dual nature of Christ, with the Virgin, as the representative of the generation of the new dispensation, and John the Baptist, as the representative of the old, interceding for the salvation of mankind (Weitzmann 1990, p. 65). The sacrifice of Christ, the Crucifixion, is followed by the Lamentation and the Anastasis; these scenes,







### 9.83 Episcopal enkolpion

late 18th-early 19th c.

Protaton

Wood, silver gilt, gemstones and pearls

8.5 x 6 cm

On one side of this star-shaped enkolpion the round lights in the encasing frame reveal, carved on the wooden core beneath, representations of Jesse, bottom, the Presentation of the Virgin, left, and the Presentation in the Temple, right, and, flanked by seated Evangelists, the Annunciation. On the other side, the corresponding positions are occupied by Jonah in the mouth of the whale, the Anastasis, the Baptism and the Transfiguration, again flanked by seated Evangelists.

The frame is a six-pointed star of silver-gilt, covered with beaded filigree ornaments and enriched with gemstones and pearls, many of which, unfortunately, have been lost: only one of the stones ornamenting the centre of each side are still in place.

This enkolpion displays the tendency in the iconography of the Eastern Church to associate the Tree of Jesse not only with the role of the Virgin in the Incarnation, but also with the liturgical year (Taylor 1980-1, pp. 169-70). The scenes on one side of the enkolpion, those above the figure of Jesse, belong to the Mariological cycle. We do not know whether the remaining positions contained portraits of prophets, for the frame does not permit a clear view. On the other side, the scenes belong to the Christological cycle, which here closes with the Anastasis and is associated with the prophetic character of the Tree of Jesse through Jonah, who prefigures Christ's resurrection.

Enkolpia resembling this one in iconography and/or form are preserved in museums and collections in both Greece and Serbia (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou 1978, p. 114, fig. 5, Radojković 1977, figs. 56, 71a-b). This may possibly be the 'star-shaped enkolpion of silver filigree with pearls and a silver chain' described in a codex in the Church of the Protaton as having been dedicated to the church in 1812 (Kourilas 1949, p. 165).

represented on the other side of the enkolpion, are associated with the second part of the Liturgy (Hermeneia of the Liturgy 1978, pp. 13-14). Opposite the Crucifixion is an allegory of the Anastasis in the figure of Jonah who, like Christ in Hades, remained for three days in the belly of the whale. The Liturgy re-enacts the Life of Our Lord, and it is natural for the officiating prelate to wear an enkolpion reflecting what is being celebrated.

The Protaton enkolpion is one of a number of wooden pectorals, mostly seventeenth- and eighteenth-century work, made in monastic centres from the general Balkan area. Their iconographic programmes are closely related, and are surely susceptible to more than one reading (Taylor 1980-1, pp. 168-9. Radojković 1977, fig. 66. Tzaferis 1985, fig. on p. 58). The mount of this particular enkolpion, with its beaded filigree work, shares a number of structural features with other similar mounts, for crosses and pectorals, dating from about the middle of the eighteenth through the first decades of the nineteenth century (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, p. 277, figs. 41-2).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.



### 9.84 Rod of the *Protos*

Protaton

Silver and niello, length 116.3 cm



This rod has a smooth, rounded wooden shaft with a silver-sheathed head. Engraved on the flattened top of the sheathing is a stylised sketch of Mount Athos, with the identifying inscription and the date 1856. Just beneath the rim are displayed the names of the twenty Athonite monasteries, engraved four by four on five panels. The remainder of the ornamentation consists of a series of bands set obliquely round the shaft and decorated alternately with a reticulate and a floral pattern, both typical rococo motifs. A little below the head, two engraved plates riveted to the shaft serve to anchor a half-ring of twisted wire, to which a tassel is attached when the rod is in use (Meletzis 1996, fig. 10). All the engraved ornamentation is accented with niello.

The names of the monasteries are engraved on the shaft in groups of four, in the order in which each quartet assumes the annual *epistasia*, or administrative stewardship. Successively, the first named in each group – that is, the representatives of the Great Lavra, Vatopedi, Iviron, Chelandari and Dionysiou – bears the title of *Protoepistatis*, presides over meetings of the Holy Community and supervises the work of the administrative committee. As a symbol of his authority and of the unity of the Holy Mount, he holds the rod of *Protos* (Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 327-8. Ktenas 1929, pp. 249-50, Charter of the Holy Mountain 1979<sup>3</sup>, pp. 41-2). The rococo motifs ornamenting the head of this rod are part of an artistic vocabulary shared by painters, goldsmiths and

1856

engravers across the northern Helladic world, and particularly those on Mount Athos – where the same craftsmen were sometimes both engravers and goldsmiths –, until well into the nineteenth century, as in this present example (Les Orfèvres de Nantes 1989, no. 133, p. 259 and no. 184, p. 292. Garidis 1996, p. 57, fig. 69. Papastratos 1990, no. 15).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.85 Episcopal staff

Iviron Monastery

1662

Wood, silver gilt, enamel, niello, ivory and other materials  
158.7 x 17 cm

Constantinople

The head of this staff, with its twin dragons, is carved in ivory and ornamented with a crescent of nephrite and gemstones (?) in floral gilt mounts. On the strip binding the head to the shaft is the inscription: 'Property of that Dionysios, Bishop of Larissa, who was called Byzantios, 1662'. The staff is entirely covered with inlays of mother-of-pearl and tortoise shell in a pattern imitating the 'scales' on the back of a snake. It is made in five sections, the joins covered by faceted collets, each decorated with a floral motif in gilt on a light blue ground of champlévé enamel. In the centre of each facet is an ornament, alternately a gemstone (?) set in a floral gilt mount or a gilt rosette on a green enamel ground. The tip of the staff is sheathed in silver, its facets alternately gilt with a gilt floral motif and silver with a dense floral scroll highlighted with niello.

In this period, in the episcopal staffs as also in all the symbols of office of the higher clergy features characteristic of the art of Constantinople are usually displayed. Since the sixteenth century exotic and precious materials like ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoise shell and nephrite had been highly appreciated in the Sultan's court for the manufacture and ornamentation of costly and sumptuous furnishings (Rogers 1985 (1), pp. 320-4. Rogers 1985 (2), pp. 339-40. Atil 1987, pp. 166-7). The same opulence and desire for display is reflected in the ornately jewelled and inlaid articles fashioned of a variety of materials, such as the ivory hilts made for swords and daggers (Atil 1987, pp. 118-9, 159, fig. 93).





9.85

Niello and champlevé enamelwork in delicate floral patterns further contributed to the glowing prism of colours and, as the techniques *par excellence* characteristic of this second half of the seventeenth century, reflected the spirit of the age.

This staff belonged to Patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis when he was still Metropolitan of Larissa (1622-71). Demetrios Comnenos-Mouselimis was a scion of a noble and wealthy family from Constantinople, one of those which, according to seventeenth-century sources of 1671 and 1695, had settled in the imperial capital around the time of its Fall and had managed to retain all their privileges (Apostolopoulos 1980, pp. 46-8, 59-62, 70). A man of undisputed intelligence and scholarship, he adopted the name Dionysios on his elevation to the episcopal throne of Larissa, and subsequently served five times as Patriarch (1671-94). In 1678 he donated his entire library to the Monastery of Iviron; many of the monastery's treasures were his gifts (see nos. 9.56 and 9.57; Gedeon 1883-4, pp. 480-1. Smyrnakis 1903, p. 479).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

Y.I.-P.

### 9.86 Episcopal staff Skete of St Anne

1730

Wood, silver gilt, ivory and other materials, 155 x 5.7 cm

Inlay work decorates the ivory head of this staff: foliage in silver gilt and flora mounts set with red and green stones. Bound around the neck is a gilded strip engraved with the following inscription: 'Staff of Neophytos of Patmos, Bishop of Caesarea, 1730'. The shaft is made in five sections, inlaid with strips of mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell pegged in place by large round-headed silver nails, and joined by four spheric collets ornamented with filigree and enamel, unfortunately considerably damaged. The end is tipped with metal.

While the ornamental use of broad-headed nails is a common decorative feature in eighteenth-century staffs (Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1988, p. 233, fig. 28), gemmed inlay work like that decorating the head of this staff would seem to be more typical of the second half of the seventeenth century. In this



particular example, the inlay ornamentation that covers much of the surface of the head lacks the delicacy of earlier work. Without a sufficient number of dated pieces with similar features, however, it is impossible to tell whether the head of the St Anne's staff is contemporary with the shaft or whether it originally belonged to an earlier work.



The staff belonged to the Patmian Patriarch Neophytos VI Papagiannopoulos, a monk in the Monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, when he was still Metropolitan of Caesarea, in Cappadocia. He died in exile in the Patmos Monastery (1747), to which he had, shortly before his death, bequeathed many treasures (Florentis 1980, pp. 60-1 and n. 1, p. 61). How this staff came to be in the Skete of St Anne remains unknown.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

## 9.87 Girdle with buckle 1772 and 1774 Pantokrator Monastery

Cloth, silver, parcel-gilt, length 9.2 cm

Woven into the girdle are the Jerusalemite iconographic subjects typical of the period: a depiction of the Dome of the Rock, with votive lamps suspended above it, as in the illustrations in pilgrims' guides to the Holy Land, and the inscription: 'Property of Cyril, Prehegumen of Pantokrator, 1774' (Šakota 1988, p. 169, figs. 97-8. Ballian 1992 (2), no. 31, p. 66. Kadas 1994, p. 781, figs. 9-10). The two halves of the buckle are round; the closure, a frond-like hook which passes through a ring, is balanced on the outer sides by delicate cast open-work ornaments. One half of the buckle displays the scene of the Crucifixion, depicted as taking place simultaneously outside the walls of Jerusalem, which are visible in the background, and within the city, for the ornate architectural setting which frames the scene represents the Church of the Anastasis; this rendering is inspired by earlier engravings and pilgrims' books (Kadas 1994, pp. 777-9, figs. 1 and 3-5. Papastratos 1990, no. 567). On the other half, Christ in the familiar scene of the Anastasis rises up above the trampled gates of Hell, rather than the sarcophagus, in front of a building which represents the Dome of the Rock. Engraved on the back of the buckle is the inscription: 'Property of Cyril of Myriophyton, Prehegumen of Pantokrator, 1772'.

Ecclesiastical scholars have given a number of interpretations of the symbolism of the girdle as a liturgical vestment. One is that the girdle is a reminder of the priest's vocation, a symbol of temperance, spiritual vigilance, and the spiritual strength that comes directly from God, as expressed by the verses recited by the priest as he dons it (Psalm 18: 32-33: 'It is God that girdeth me with strength...'; Kourkoulas 1991<sup>2</sup>, pp. 54-5). This girdle, as the woven inscription tells us, was made in Jerusalem in 1774 especially for Prehegumen Cyril; we do not however know when the buckle, made two years earlier, was attached to it. This type of buckle, with a figurative relief decoration, seems to have been common from the eighteenth century on (Pandurski 1977, fig. 291). Here, the evident weaknesses in design and workmanship





cannot conceal the fact that the craftsman was basing his work upon a very fine model. The personal belongings and other gifts bestowed upon the Monastery of Pantokrator by Cyril of Myriophyton, in the Propontis region of Eastern Thrace, reveal him as one of its wealthiest monks and rank him as one of its greatest donors.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Y.I.-P.

### 9.88 Wooden icon-stand with inlaid bone decoration Dionysiou Monastery

1547

Height 114 cm, length 51 cm, width 45.5 cm

The ornamentation of the icon-stand consists of tiny bone inlays and pieces of wood of different types and shades. Compartments of stellar ornaments made from microscopic lozenges or triangles of bone alternate with compartments in which little rectangular bone inlays are set in a check pattern, each square containing a green-painted ornament. On the upper surface, where the icon rests, a repeated stellar pattern is surrounded by a border of crosses. The area containing the double guilloche that adorns both the vertical sides and the upper surface is of light-coloured wood.

The technique, which traces its origins to Egypt under the Mamelukes (Kühnel 1950, pp. 59ff.), spread to Constantinople particularly after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1512. It was also well received in northern Italy and Venice, where

furniture with inlaid geometric patterns, known as *alla certosina*, began to be made at the end of the fifteenth century (Feulner 1927, pp. 122-3. Dictionary of Arts 1996, 10, p. 178). The Italian furniture seems to have assisted the spread of the technique both to Constantinople (Rogers - Ward 1988, p. 157) and to the Balkans. On Mount Athos itself, in Chelandari Monastery, a rare example survives in the form of a 'Savonarola' chair (Rorimer 1928. Han 1966, fig. 60).

The year ZNE (AD 1547), represented by inlaid light-coloured wooden letters, makes the Dionysiou icon-stand one of the earliest ecclesiastical specimens of this technique (cf. the throne of Prochoros,





Archbishop of Ochrid, 1528, in Han 1966, figs. 1-2). This early phase is characterised by exclusively geometric ornamentation, which, after the middle of the century, was enriched with Ottoman-type decoration. The next two examples, chronologically speaking – the doors of Vatopedi Monastery (1567) and the patriarchal throne of Ieremias II (1577) – are decorated with Ottoman-type floral and vegetal repertory (Moni Vatopediou 1996, I, fig. 40. Ballian 1988-9, figs. 10-12).

The manufacture of the icon-stand in 1547 coincides with the year that the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery was completed by the ruling Prince of Moldavia, Petro Rares (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 508), and decorated with frescoes by the Cretan painter Zorzis. The craftsman, or rather the group of craftsmen who made the icon-stand also produced other items, such as a small hexagonal table dated to 1546 and the doors, apart from the Royal Doors, and large window shutters in the inner narthex and the narthex (Kadas 1997, p. 54): that is to say, five double shutters and the single door to the chapel, all done in the same inlay technique as the icon-stand and with variations on the same geometric ornaments. It seems reasonable to suppose that this impressive commission was paid for by the ruling Prince of Moldavia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.

### 9.89 Paten 1622, Indiction V Protaton

Silver, parcel-gilt, diameter 45 cm

The relief image on the central boss is of St Nicholas, seated on a cushion on a high-backed throne, feet resting on a foot-stool, right hand raised in blessing, left hand holding up a closed Gospel. Above him, on either side, are miniature busts of Christ and the Virgin, offering the saint a book (Gospel) and an omophorion, the symbols of the episcopal office he had lost, when during the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea he cuffed the heretic Arius. On the left is a miniature portrait of Pantazis, the donor, represented on his knees offering his

gift to the saint: normally, he should be pictured at the saint's feet, but this would have been impossible in the space available. The boss is framed by a border in the Renaissance style. All around this central boss, and aligned with the focal figure of St Nicholas, scrolls a vine, developing in gentle relief the thematic motif of Christ as the True Vine and a variant of the Virgin as a Rod out of the Tree of Jesse. Broad flutes mark the rise from the flat bottom of the plate to the rim, where the pattern of flutes is repeated on a smaller scale. The elegantly designed inscription facing outwards and running around the outer edge of the rim reads as follows: '+ This paten was commissioned by the venerable Pantazis, son of Akakios, the monk, and his mother Theodora and given to the Church of St Nicholas the Miracle-worker in Kontoskali in the year 1622, fifth indiction. By the artist Const(an)tine (or Constantius?) St... (?) of Na...ios.'

Initially dedicated to a church honouring St Nicholas, this paten displays as its central theme a portrait of the saint in the traditional type of Cretan painting (Vassilaki 1994, pp. 242-3, figs. 2-4). Christ as the True Vine (John 15: 1-2) appears to have been introduced to iconography by fifteenth-century Cretan painters (Eikones 1993, no. 119, pp. 475-6). On this paten, Christ is portrayed full-length, seated not on a vine root but on a shoot which branches out to both sides, twining around the apostles and then around the prophets surrounding the figure of the Virgin, thus uniting the two themes. The theme of the Rod out of the Tree of Jesse is based on a prophecy in the Book of Isaiah, which is held to prefigure the Virgin and the Incarnation, and was developed as a genealogy in order to establish her as a descendant of the royal line of David (Aspra-Vardavaki 1992, pp. 36-42). In the variant used on this paten Jesse is not shown, nor is the Virgin portrayed holding Christ, who is however present – at the top of the paten – within the same axis. These two themes were frequently used together in the decoration of triptychs, vestments and wood-carved enkolpia (Muñoz 1906, p. 44, fig. 22. Theocharis 1990, pp. 258-9, figs. 24-5. Radojković 1977, figs. 54-5). In this particular instance the theme of the Rod out of the Tree of Jesse is associated with the eucharistic character of the vessel, which was apparently originally used



for the Breaking of the Bread: the points around the rim where three candles would have been fixed are still visible, although the candle-holders themselves are gone.

The silversmith of this paten, whose name unfortunately remains undeciphered, has created a powerful, complex and finely crafted work of art, which a certain asymmetry in the rendering of the lower part of the saint's body does nothing to diminish. The evident influence of the Cretan School in stylistic and iconographic features reminiscent of Renaissance and Mannerist works, such as the border of the central boss and the formation of the rim, suggest that the goldsmith probably learned and/or practised his craft in Latin-occupied Greece (Koumarianou - Droulia - Layton 1986, fig. 214. Hayward 1976, fig. 80. Pazzi 1993, figs. on pp. 53 and 97). The theme of Christ as the True Vine may

be seen on a stamped Gospel cover in the Church of St Basil, Corfu (Tsitsas 1994, fig. on p. 191), while the representation of the donor as a suppliant is found on a stamped paten of Cretan manufacture in the Chozoviotissa Monastery on the island of Amorgos.

While the Church of St Nicholas in Kontoskali mentioned in the inscription is not listed as one of Constantinople's more important churches, at least in its more recent history, we do know that until 1683 the Feast of St Nicholas continued to be celebrated there. How it came into the possession of the Protaton is not recorded, but it continues to be used on the great feast days for the distribution of the *antidoron* (Gedeon 1904, pp. 130-1, 282).

**Bibliography:** Millet - Pargoire - Petit 1904, no. 20, pp. 8-9.

Y.I.-P.





9.90 *Choros*, 14th c., late 16th-early 17th c.  
Pantokrator Monastery

Copper alloy

Length of each section, with double-headed eagle, 94 cm

Some time in the twelfth century a new type of fixture began to illuminate the domed churches of the Byzantine world: this was the *choros*, a multi-lateral frame which was suspended beneath the dome and was fitted with prickets or hanging lamps or *polykandela* (Bouras 1981, pp. 480-1). The same period also saw the introduction into the churches of Western Europe of the great hoop chandeliers made in the model of Heavenly Jerusalem, like the magnificent one made for the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (Haussherr 1977, nos. 537, 592). The *choros* from the Monastery of Pantokrator is typical of the late-Byzantine openwork *choroi* cast in bronze, still found in a number of Serbian monasteries, some intact and some fragmentary (Todorović 1978, pp. 28-36). Its eight horizontal sections, each consisting of two broad bands joined by a central arch, are assembled by hinged corner-pieces in the form of two-headed eagles. These, in turn, are surmounted by hinged vertical elements in two identical sections, to which the chains for its suspension were fastened. The stylistic features of this *choros* show that it was based on two different models dating from two different periods. Under each arch a pair of winged dragons face each other across a cantharus surmounted by a cross; the flanking bands are decorated with a scroll of vine shoots with rosettes, palmettes and a fringing of leaves; and an appliqué ornament patterned with a floral arabesque covers the body of the double-headed eagle. On both sides engraved details on the leaves and flowers betoken an attempt to give them a certain naturalistic volume. The style was inspired by the illustration of Ottoman manuscripts and ceramics, and suggests a date towards the end of the sixteenth or, at the latest, very early in the seventeenth century (Rogers - Ward 1988, nos. 31, 138. Anatolian Civilisations 1983, E 130. Raby - Allan 1982, no. 3).

The vertical suspension elements, on the other hand, are quite different: their composite flora motifs, stylised and without additional engraved details, may be likened to fourteenth-century



Byzantine models (Bouras 1981, fig. 7; cf. Todorović 1978, fig. 8 and Campbell 1985, no. 194). Each is formed of a basal quatrefoil rosette framing three-petalled lilies, and a broad band with a pattern of lyre-shaped motifs in facing pairs. An identical rosette, crowned by a cross, surmounts the central

arches on the lateral sections.

The problem posed by this *choros* is that the pieces preserved in the monastery are different in either thickness or scale. Further, a similar *choros* preserved in Dionysiou Monastery – intact and still *in situ* (Kadas 1997, pp. 48-9) – has lateral elements displaying a similar floral ornamentation and iconography, and vertical straps either like known examples in Serbian monasteries or

resembling those on the Pantokrator *choros*. It would seem likely, therefore, that these *choroi* may have been built up from existing elements, which the craftsman perhaps tried to reproduce. His principal contribution, however, lay in the lateral sections, which record the style of the period in which they were made.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.



## 10 CERAMICS



**10.1 Phiale (holy water font), 16th c., 2nd half  
Pantokrator Monastery**

Earthenware with Iznik decoration, height 34.5 cm,  
base diameter 22.5 cm, rim diameter 32.5 cm

This phiale of red clay has a hemispherical bowl and a high conical foot, with a raised half-annulus where bowl and foot meet. Its painted polychrome decoration (Lane 1957, p. 54: Iznik III. Sarachane

2, 1992, p. 245: Iznik IIIA), executed on a green ground, has scenes and decorative motifs outlined in black and highlighted in red. On the outside, both the bowl and the foot are covered with figures of animals and mythological beings, all in motion: deer, hares, dogs, confronted Harpies, four-footed anthropomorphic creatures eating pomegranates, birds, cocks, swans. Scattered among the figures are leaves and petals; these are not merely decorative, but form an integral part of this painted world, for



here and there the animals are playing with them. A succession of white circles with swirls of red stand out against the red ground of the bands ornamenting the rim and the raised annulus of the phiale. Just above the annulus is another band, with light blue 'palmettes' on a white ground. A green and blue band zig-zags around the lower edge of the foot: the upper chevrons thus formed are coloured in red, the lower blue with red dots. The interior surface of the phiale is white: around the rim runs a band where large rounded quadrilateral lights alternate with smaller, four-lobed ones, framing red lotus flowers with blue dots at their centres and blue quatrefoils, respectively. In the centre of the bowl

## 10.2 Inkstand of late 18th c. Hosios Nikodemos the Hagiorite Vatopedi Monastery

Painted slipware (faïence)

Height 4 cm, upper surface diameter 10 cm,  
base diameter 7.5 cm

Made of red clay, this small box has eight slightly concave sides, to provide a better grip, and a wide circular opening in the top which probably closed with a lid. Two receptacles projecting beyond the top surface on one side accommodated penholders. Entirely covered



is a large circular boss bearing, on a green ground and among a pattern of leaves, three hunting dogs, two facing forward and the third moving to the right.

The shape of this phiale imitates that of a metal vessel. While figures of animals and mythological creatures are uncommon in Iznik pottery (Lane 1957, p. 58, pl. 42A), pieces similar in decorative technique have been found in excavations of kilns at Nikaia (Aslanapa - Yetkin - Altun 1989, p. 247). This phiale was probably intended for a Christian customer (Saraçhane 2, 1992, p. 246).

with white slip under a colourless transparent glazing, the inkstand has a painted polychrome decoration of floral motifs finely outlined in black: the upper surface has eight trefoils in blue and yellow alternately, while the sides have many-petalled flowers and green leaves.

The inkstand is believed to have belonged to Nikodemos the Hagiorite (1749-1809), a distinguished monk and the author of many theological treatises who lived on Mount Athos from 1775 until his death.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Ch. B.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Ch. B.



**10.3 Phiale (holy-water font), 18th/19th c. or later  
Simonopetra Monastery**

Engraved and painted slipware

Height 18 cm, rim diameter 27 cm, base diameter 12.5 cm

Made of red clay, this phiale has a hemispherical bowl with a high conical foot. Both its interior and exterior surfaces are covered with white slip. The interior surface is decorated with a casually sketched sgraffito design that has been rather uncertainly incised with a medium-width needle: three concentric circles, the outer (wider) one segmented by pairs of parallel lines, form an annulus in the centre of the bowl; this is overlain by a Greek cross formed of two segmented strips, one twice the width of the

towards the rim and spilling over onto the outside. The glaze covering the interior and exterior surfaces of the bowl has a slight yellowish tinge.

The sgraffito and painted decoration of this phiale is a typically Byzantine technique (Bakirtzis 1980, p. 148). The decorative motifs produced by the sgraffito decoration – typical of eighteenth/nineteenth century pottery – are somewhat cursory, uncertain and indistinct in style (Delivorrias 1994, pp. 78-80). The indiscriminate mixture of motifs familiar and unfamiliar to the Byzantine decorative repertory, which are rendered, however, in accordance with the Byzantine technique of pottery, suggests a much later dating (Catalogos Avramidi 1990).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Ch. B.



other, whose cross-barred ends extend beyond the circumference of the annulus. Within the four quadrants and resting on the outer perimeter of the annulus are four circles: one of these is ornamented with a quatrefoil rosette and two with fire-wheels, while the potter's hesitation has given the fourth a motif which is something between the two. A rich brown enhances the sgraffito decoration, with delicate ribbons of colour running from the centre

**10.4 Dish formerly walled  
in the Kathisma of Hagios Simon.  
Simonopetra Monastery**

1679

Polychrome painted slipware

Height 5 cm, rim diameter 25 cm

This dish, of reddish-brown clay with a low annular base, has a white slip under a transparent, colourless glaze. Its polychrome painted decoration of floral





motifs outlined in black is typical of the style favoured by the 'Rhodian' potters (Lane 1957, p. 54: Iznik III, the 'Rhodian' style): a slender stem of blue hyacinth in the centre, flanked by a pair of red tulips with green leaves. Around the rim runs an inscription, executed in black capital letters, reading: '+ Hieromonk Makarios, of the island of Melos, 1679'. This dish is one of a pair; the other – carnations replacing the tulips, same inscription –, which also comes from the Kathisma of Hagios Simon, is in fairly poor condition in the sacristy of the Monastery of Simonopetra. A pair of dishes of similar manufacture, decorative technique and origin are set into the wall on the first floor of the west wing of the Monastery of Pantokrator, flanking a marble plaque with an engraved inscription commemorating the renovation of the wing in 1744 'ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμωτάτου κυρίου καὶ Τριανταφύλλου καὶ νέου κτήτορος' (by the reverent Kyr Triantaphyllos, and new donor). These dishes are decorated in green and blue, the motifs again outlined in black: one displays an array of fish

and other sea creatures, and the other birds (?). The rims of both dishes bear an inscription, in black capitals, reading: '1678 + Of hieromonk Neophytos'. The pair of dishes in the Monastery of Pantokrator are mentioned by Smyrnakis: 'lovely Rhodian dish from approximately 1700' (Smyrnakis 1903, p. 532). The fact that the dishes were manufactured in 1678 while the marble plaque commemorates an event which took place in 1744 shows that the plates thus set into walls were not always contemporaneous with the buildings they ornamented; this is also seen in the recently restored northern section of the west wing, in which dishes of older, more recent and quite modern manufacture were walled as decoration.

These four dishes of Pantokrator and Simonopetra Monasteries, dated 1678 and 1679, suggest that Mount Athos had dealings with a center of 'Rhodian' pottery, where orders were placed by individual monks.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Ch. B.







## Church Embroidery

The Byzantine world cherished a special fondness for the luxurious textiles made in the palace workshops for Court and Church. The law set their value as equivalent to gold, their export was forbidden and their production and sale strictly controlled. Frequently these costly draperies were given as gifts to adorn the holiest part of the church, the altar. On special occasions – the great feast days, for example, or the visit of a foreign embassy – the eparch was responsible for decking the city with sumptuous hangings borrowed from the palace and the principal churches; he in turn would enlist the assistance of the city's goldsmiths and cloth merchants, who would bring out their very finest articles, to be displayed together with the imperial and ecclesiastical treasures.

Today, it is difficult for us even to imagine the wealth of magnificent gold-embroidered textiles that were amassed in the imperial court and the churches: hung from the facades of public buildings on festive occasions, they contributed the brilliance of their purple silks and gold and silver threads to the pomp and splendour of Byzantine ceremonial. The delicacy of their materials, the deliberate destruction of so many to recover the gold used in their manufacture, fire, war and depredation (especially in the wake of the conquest of 1204) – all took their toll of these masterpieces of Byzantine minor arts. Those that have survived are ecclesiastical vestments preserved in the monasteries of the Balkans and the treasuries of the West. These latter were not necessarily part of the booty of the returning Crusaders; many such treasures reached the West perfectly legitimately, since Byzantine missions abroad, foreign embassies to Constantinople, the accession of the ruler of a subject state and the negotiation of a treaty were all occasions on which a Byzantine emperor could parade before foreign eyes the wealth of his realm.

Most of the surviving embroideries belong to the Palaeologan era; there are a very few older articles, but none from before the twelfth century. Echoes of those that have been physically lost are preserved in the texts that gave some idea of their history and beauty. Although there has been considerable interest in the study of church embroideries since the 1950s, monographs on the subject are still too few to form a picture of the evolution of this art form.

In monumentality of composition, clarity of line and harmony of colour these works are on a par with paintings. They reveal an art perfect in design and execution, and a grace born of transcribing traditional religious motifs to textile. There is, however, no indication of any active collaboration between painter and embroiderer, nor does such a study seem feasible for the moment. Remarkable indeed is the vitality the needleworker was able to impart to his creations with the modest means at his disposal. These expert craftsmen, fine artists in gold and silver thread, these *acu pictores* ('painters with the needle') as they are described in the texts, seem to have drawn their inspiration from religious paintings and panel icons. The decoration of an *epitrachelion* (stole), for example, with the Deesis and the ranked hierarchs, may well be as fine as that in the apse of a church. The representations on these vestments, dictated by a theologian and frequently designed by an experienced painter, take shape at the hand of the embroiderer with his needle and gold thread. Like a liturgy, they transport us from the mundane to the mystical.



Painters and embroiderers often reach the same heights, and when the same technical perfection is present these masterpieces are no longer mere *objets de vertu*, but genuine works of art.

Comparison with painting is not entirely valid however, for these works are set apart by the gold that glisters everywhere among the coloured threads. It is in the work of the goldsmith that parallels should be sought for these embroideries, with their coruscating brilliance and low relief. Furthermore their small size and intended function, serving the same liturgical needs, brings these two genres closer together. To produce an *aer* like the one from Chelandari (no. 11.24), the embroiderer needed only to transfer to cloth the iconographic composition of the patens. Objects like the reliquary in the Stroganof Collection, with its depiction of the Christ lifeless venerated by two angels, may well have served as models for the embroidery of *aers-epitaphioi*.

Although it has not yet been studied, the influence of goldsmithry on gold-embroidery is undeniable. Just as the miniaturist at a certain period strove to emulate the goldsmith – and especially the enamelist –, so too did the embroiderer succeed in assimilating this technique to the point where medieval texts compare the skills of the two arts. In many cases the same phrases are used to describe processes applied to textiles and noble metals alike: ‘interwoven with gold’, ‘ungilded’ and ‘à-jour’ are applied equally to both arts. Like the goldsmith – and especially the enamelist – the embroiderer in gold endeavours to set his figures off against a background of imperial purple, violet or deep blue. The same attention is devoted to coloured silks, carefully selected to moderate the brilliance of the gold. Frequently the whole surface is embroidered with fine gold wire: these grounds diapered with arches, lozenges, rinceaux, etc., recall the chased ornamentation on articles of metal-work, or filigree work, or even the metal icon revetments.

Both arts make use of gemstones, pearls, enamelling and semiprecious stones. Even the inscriptions neatly set into the borders, or more often filling empty spaces in the ground, are reminiscent of the products of the goldsmith’s art.

In the middle years of the fifteenth century the great centres of Byzantine culture fell, one after the other, into the Ottoman hands: Thessaloniki (1430), Constantinople (1453), Epirus, Mystras, Trebizond (1460). With them disappeared the wealthy ruling class that commissioned gold embroideries. It was not long, however, before the conqueror sought to restore his capital to its former brilliance, resettling there, from Trebizond and its environs, some five thousand families chiefly merchants, artisans and builders. These were soon followed by others, voluntary migrants who wanted to share in the opportunities offered by the nascent city. Greeks and Armenians decorated the gold-embroidered uniforms of the pashas and beys, while master craftsmen newly converted to Islam initiated the Ottomans into the secrets of their profession.

Church embroidery continued in the new social and political climate in the subject territories. The Orthodox clergy not only retained all the privileges it had acquired from the Byzantine emperors, but these were frequently increased. The jurisdiction of the Great Church of Christ was extended to all the Orthodox peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Revenues from vast land-holdings, tax exemptions and gifts from the faithful, enabled it to become a lavish patron of the luxury arts. The patriarchal court and the numerous clergy of the Balkans and the Near East needed vestments: in the devotion of the enslaved Orthodox people the art of the gold-embroiderer flourished.

There were three principal foci of Orthodoxy in the Ottoman world in those centuries. Depicted in a sixteenth-century wallpainting in the Moldavian monastery of Dobrovat, a *metochi* of the Zographou Monastery, these were the Lavra of St Sabbas in Jerusalem, the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, and Mount Athos. The eyes of the entire Orthodox world, and especially its enslaved peoples, were turned towards these three centres. The great merchants who amassed huge fortunes, the members of the new ruling class who rose to prominent positions in the service of the new regime, the Orthodox Russian and Romanian princes, all made regular donations of



both money and gifts. The sacristies of these monasteries still contain precious votive offerings that made the long journey from distant Orthodox lands, were paid for by foreign potentates and frequently produced by Greek craftsmen. Unfortunately, relatively few of these treasures are known, and those only through the accounts of travellers such as Marcu Beza, N. Kondakov and G. Millet. Millet, a member of the 1918-20 French Mission to Mount Athos, paid attention to embroideries too, bringing to light a number of exceptional pieces preserved in Athonite monasteries, and for others publishing the inscriptions that are equally valuable to academic research. No systematic study of these votive offerings has yet been made.

The works exhibited here were acquired in one of three ways: as gifts, as bequests or, more rarely, by purchase. It is not always easy to assign each piece to one of these categories, for few of them bear any indication of their origin. This would have been recorded in the codices of the monasteries or in the diptychs, in the case of distinguished donors. Many of these archival documents have been lost to the combined enemies of time and tribulation: the fires, looting, piracy, swindling taxation, fines and confiscations that reduced the monasteries to poverty. This is yet another chapter in the history of Mount Athos that still awaits diligent study.

The aura of sanctity surrounding the centre of Orthodox Christendom that was Mount Athos held a powerful attraction for the Romanians. The Orthodox world that had been deprived of its legitimate protectors found sanctuary, succour and support in the Russian Czars, and even more so in the rulers of the Danubian principalities. The voevodes became the new patrons and second founders of the monasteries, repairing and re-decorating their buildings, relieving them of their overwhelming burden of debt, offering icons, vessels, reliquaries, sumptuous vestments, books and manuscripts, even estates in far-away places. All these were given upon the condition that the names of their donors, 'like those of the saint founders', be inscribed during their lifetime in the *Proskomide* and the great *Synodikon*, and after their death commemorated with *kollyva* (ritual food for the dead), liturgies and *agapae* (solemn feasts of brotherhood), as was customary for Orthodox emperors.

The monks of Athos repaid this support in many ways. The leading order, the monastic brothers, sent out Alms-begging missions, known as *zeteiae*. The *zeteia* was not a form of organised mendicancy: on the contrary, the most eminent monks took part in these missions, carrying with them to Moldavia and Wallachia, Kiev and Moscow, manuscript Gospels and liturgical books, as well as chronicles of princes and archbishops, which gave great pleasure to their wealthy patrons. Many of these monks spent years in Russia and the Danubian principalities, contributing significantly to the spiritual life of those distant lands.

The exhibition includes four products of this coexistence. Two were made in Moldavia: the *podea* from the Monastery of Gregoriou (1500), with the Presentation of the Virgin, apparently a gift from Stefan the Great, and the *epitaphios* from the Monastery of Vatopedi (1651/2), a gift from the Voevode Basil Lupus. The other two came from Wallachia: the *epitrachelion* from the Monastery of Simonopetra (early 17th c.), very similar to the Preda Buzesti stole at Meteora although without the portraits of the donors – very often portrayed on vestments from Wallachian workshops – and the famous Blad Ventila *podea* from the Monastery of Koutloumousiou, with portraits of the donor, his wife and their son; P. S. Năsturel sees in this *podea* the account of a family drama harrowing the Wallachian court at that time.

On a number of other vestments, all from Greek workshops, the donors are named without being portrayed: these include the hieromonk Simon, the priest Constantine, and Prior Païsios the Ivirite. Through Prior Païsios we learn of the existence of an embroidery workshop in Sinope, the source of a number of embroidered vestments dating from the seventeenth century, some in the Monastery of Iviron (gifts of Patriarch Dionysios IV) and some in the Monastery



of Dionysiou. Sinope at that time, and until the nineteenth century, was the principal Ottoman port on the Black Sea, where the Turks had established a large shipyard there. In order to attract Greeks from the Asia Minor coast and the Aegean islands, they offered them substantial tax relief. During this same period the city also had a flourishing goldsmiths' workshop. Greeks coming from Asia Minor to Constantinople also flocked to the city of Bursa, which was the centre of the silk trade; its merchants dealt not only in locally produced silk, but also traded cargoes brought in from Syria and other parts of the East. The tradition of sericulture and silk-work continues to this day in this region.

The art of embroidery seems to have benefited from this prosperity, for by the middle of the sixteenth century orders were being filled not only for Greek patrons but also for the boyars of the Danubian principalities and the Russian nobility and clergy. Patriarch Ieremias, an *omophorion* of whose is displayed in this exhibition, is said to have had made, in 1577, 'precious and splendid vestments... robed in which the priests and deacons, when they left the sanctuary and gathered around the patriarchal throne, heads bowed as they intoned the prayer, did resemble the holy angels standing before the Celestial Throne.'

The art of gold embroidery flourished anew in Constantinople in the Phanariote period. Already in the early seventeenth century there were in Moscow splendid prelatic robes, including one known as the '*tsargradski*', that is 'from the imperial city', Constantinople. The late seventeenth century was the golden age of the workshop headed by Despineta, daughter or wife of Argyris (1682-1723) of Diplokionion (now the Istanbul suburb of Besiktas), the most famous embroidress of the period. Her works are preserved in all the major centres of Orthodox Hellenism, in the Benaki Museum, in Athens, from the Exchange of Populations Fund, and in Romania.

In this new flowering of the art, its basic Byzantine features lived on, now blended with western influences inevitable in that age. The iconography retained its traditional themes, onto which new naturalistic ornaments were grafted. In the borders, the liturgical inscriptions with their profound theological content gave way to a luxuriant floral decoration of foreign inspiration. Stylistically, the artists sought to replace the austere hieratical figures of the past with more freely and idealistically rendered ones, often with dramatically expressive faces. As in the Byzantine period, the finest materials were used, but a new feature of the Phanariote period was the raised work achieved by padding beneath the gold. As before, small pearls and coloured stones enhanced the magnificence of these vestments.

Another 'mistress' of this art was Mariora (1723-58), who with her pupils (her daughter Sophia and the nuns Sophronia, Arete, Irene, Agatha and Maria worked mainly on commissions from Patriarch Paisios for the Kamariotissa Monastery in Chalki. Works by her can be found in the Patriarchate, in many Greek churches and monasteries, and in Jerusalem: on display in this exhibition are the *epimanikia* (maniples) she embroidered for Patriarch Cyril V. These are unusual both for the material used – velvet, instead of the satin she generally preferred – and for the fact that in addition to her name she has included the title 'Domna', which does not appear in any of her other works, and the phrase 'servant of God', which is repeated on her tombstone in what used to be a chapel of the Kamariotissa. In this work Mariora has obviously followed western models: the Virgin's shawl, instead of the maphorion, and jewelled crown in front of the halo are details found nowhere else in her work. Her needlework is flawless and as always she uses the choicest materials: gold and silver threads that scintillate in the light, giving an impression of plasticity, and exceptionally fine silks for the faces, relieving them of the austere spirituality of Byzantine art.

Another of Constantinople's famous embroidresses was Eusebia (1723-35), the creator of the *epigonation* (genua) made for Gregorios of Bursa, which later passed into the possession



of Patriarch Cyril V. She specialised in smaller works – *epimanikia*, *epigonatia*, appliqués for *omophoria* – which permitted her to display her consummate skill in the impeccable execution of detailed and intricate work. She too used the finest materials, copious gold and silver threads, their splendour enhanced by pearls. In many cases the luxuriance of the floral motifs tends to eclipse the religious subject, giving these little works of art an almost secular elegance, contrasting with the austerity of the Byzantine period. Their iconography, however, preserves the established themes, with the symbolism standardised over the centuries. The accompanying inscriptions – as for instance here, the sentence written in the open Gospel held by the figure of Christ-Angel: ‘no man hath ascended to heaven but he that came down from heaven’ – encapsulate in a single phrase the two fundamental themes of Christian cosmology a) the Descent of the Word from heaven to earth (the Incarnation) and from earth into hell (the Anastasis), and b) the glory of the Ascent into heaven (the Ascension). The difference between these two moments is underlined in the New Testament verses John 16: 28 and Ephesians 4: 9-11, analysis of which leads directly to the Symbol of Faith. These were natural themes for Eusebia to develop, living as she did at the heart of the Orthodox world. Dorothea Tsardaka, working in the early years of the twentieth century (1907), preferred more spectacular subjects, such as the view of the Monastery of Simonopetra, which she copied from a copperplate engraving.

After the Treaty of Passarowitz, in which the Sublime Porte made tremendous concessions to Austria, many former citizens of the Ottoman Empire settled in Central Europe, and especially in Vienna, which was a major centre of trade with Turkey. The large community of Greeks (mainly Macedonians from Kozani, Kastoria, Siatista, Melenikon, Doïrani and Servia) established there in the eighteenth century played a major role in the economic and intellectual renaissance of the Greek people.

It was in this context that an embroidery workshop was established in Vienna, employing both Greek and local needleworkers, including Elisabeth Dorff (master-embroiderer), Marina Ruheland and Franz Filler. The most famous of them all was a hierodeacon named Christopher Zefar (or Zefarovitch or Zefarovikis), from Doïrani, who had lived on Mount Athos, where he learned the art of church embroidery. Zefar, who is claimed by a number of Balkan countries, was not only an embroiderer but also a mural painter and an engraver, works of whom are preserved in Greece, Serbia and Romania, including gold-embroidered *epitaphioi* and magnificent prelatie *sakkoi*, such as the one belonging to Dionysios IV (now in the Monastery of Iviron) which with its enamel appliqués is a triumph of Baroque art.

In the five *epitaphioi* in this exhibition the development of this ‘supreme veil’, as Theodore Studitis called it can be traced. The *epitaphios* from the Monastery of Pantokrator, with its simple representation of Christ in the midst of four angel-deacons, is an eucharistic allegory of the Lamb of God, ‘the Lord of all, surrounded by angelic hosts’, in the words of the hymn sung during the Great Entrance. Through the Liturgy, the congregation of the faithful shares in the adoration of the angelic hosts, just as in the vision of the Revelation, this congregation is gathered round the altar upon which lies the Lamb, ‘which was, and is, and is to come’ (Rev. 4: 2-11). As in the Revelation, the Christ on the *aer* has an eschatological significance too: the dead Jesus, King of Glory, lying on the altar is at once the sacrificed Saviour and the Judge. This *epitaphios* was apparently copied from that of John Cantacuzenos, although the rendering of the figure of Christ lacks the spirituality of the model.

In the *aer-epitaphios* from the Monastery of Stavronikita this central theme is enriched with full-bodied angel-deacons, the Evangelists, and an elaborate outer band of double wheels (thrones), seraphs and crosses separating them. According to Symeon of Thessaloniki, the inclusion of the symbols of the Evangelists in the four corners of the cloth symbolises ‘that the congregation



of the Church has come together from the ends of the earth' further heightening the liturgical character of the pall.

The next *epitaphios*, from the Monastery of Docheiariou, was clearly inspired by the preceding piece. It retains the double border: the first narrow band with the liturgical inscription and the second identical to that of the original, with the addition of four prophets on the sides. The main innovation here, however, lies in the figures in the scene of the Lamentation, set with geometrical precision on either side of the dead Christ. The liturgical inscription, which is not the usual one, is the same as that on an *epitaphios* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where, there are only two mourning figures although the liturgical features are the same. Should we assume that the Boston *epitaphios* came from Mount Athos, where the embroiderer Kallinikos saw it and used it as his model? The question leads to an exploration of the possibility of an Athonite workshop, but this cannot be addressed here.

The *epitaphios* from the Monastery of the Ascension in Jassy represents the transition to the narrative type of the Lamentation. The composition retains the traditional arrangement in zones, common to the earlier, liturgical, type. The symbols of the Evangelists remain, while the adoring angels have been relegated to the background. The fact that the dedicatory inscription is in Greek should not mislead us into assuming that this is the product of a Greek workshop: the gift of the voevode and his wife to the *metochi* of an Athonite monastery would naturally be written in the language of the recipient, who indeed probably composed the text. The style, the use of velvet and the floral border are all typical of Moldavian work.

The iconography of the Pagonis *epitaphios* is typical of the seventeenth century. Instead of the few attendants upon the dead Christ represented in the previous example, here we have the three Maries, in lamentation, with another three women bowing in grief before the Lord, with Nicodemus leaning against the ladder used for the Deposition from the cross. The composition retains both the cross and the instruments of the Passion, which since the sixteenth century had been a canonical feature of the iconography of the *epitaphios*. 'The cross is a sacrificial altar. On it was stretched the Lamb, that taketh away the sins of the world ... For the sacrificial gift is great, and by this gift the altar itself is sanctified', wrote Germanos of Constantinople. At the same time, however, the cross proclaims the 'offering of the Crucified to the whole world', according to St John Chrysostom. Indeed, throughout the entire sacrament, the remembrance of the sacrifice on Calvary is accompanied by hymns of triumph. An instrument of execution, the cross is at the same time a symbol of victory. This cross of glory, 'a sign to all mankind', will go before Christ in the Last Judgement. In this *epitaphios* too, the iconography retains its theological character.

The embroideries here exhibited for the first time outside 'the Garden of the Virgin', of outstanding historical, artistic and spiritual significance, have been chosen not just as objects of aesthetic delight, but first and foremost for spiritual reflection.

Maria Theocharis

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11.29 Epitaphios, gift of the Voevode Basil Lupus, detail.





### 11.1 Cloth-of-gold episcopal sakkos

16th c., 1st half

Dionysiou Monastery

127 x 128 cm

This *sakkos* (dalmatic) is sewn in the traditional

Byzantine manner, with wide sleeves formed from two straight pieces of cloth stitched to the body of the robe at the shoulders and fastened with round buttons down the sides (Johnstone 1967, figs. 1, 7, 11).

The material is a luxurious double damask woven in gold and silver thread in a pattern of



medallions framing busts of Christ as the Great High Priest, alternating on the horizontal rows with seraphs in smaller circlets. The intermediary spaces are ornamented with crosses fleury. Christ is depicted wearing a *sakkos* decorated with crosses in medallions and an *omophorion* with large crosses, over a long-sleeved inner garment. He has a cruciate halo around which is woven (in reverse) the inscription: 'Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest'. The monograms around the cross, Jesus Christ Conquers, are also woven back to front.

The *sakkos* is made from one of a small number of fabrics decorated with Christian iconography produced, doubtless to order, by weavers in Bursa or Constantinople (cf. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, no. 129). These looms executed the usually pressing commissions from the Sublime Porte, but their textiles were also sold on the open market and exported to Southern Russia, Poland and Venice (Inalcik EI<sup>2</sup>, 1971. See also Patrinelis 1988-9, Sahillioğlu 1985).

At least three other known textiles have variations on this theme of Christ the Great High Priest within medallions, but with the inscriptions woven correctly: these are in the Benaki Museum (inv. no. 3871) in Athens, the Solka Monastery and the Putna Monastery in Romania (Barnea - Iliescu - Nicolescu 1971, no. 90, p. 128. Tafrali 1925, no. 116, pl. LIX). The last noted has the embroidered date 1614: this is a *terminus ante quem*, being the date when it was sewn to other pieces of cloth to make a *phelonion*.

On the basis of the evolution of Ottoman decorative motifs, most Ottoman fabrics are dated to the mid-sixteenth century or later (Mackie 1980, p. 352).

The absence from this *sakkos* of any typically Ottoman ornamentation suggests a date in the first half of the sixteenth century. A document date 1548 attests that Ottoman merchants in Leontopolis (Lwow) were selling textiles 'with crosses' (Rogers - Tezcan - Delibaş 1986, p. 29), which means that these had already been available on the domestic market for some time. An early dating is supported by the pattern of repeated medallions, already considered archaic in the

fifteenth century (Geijer 1979, pp. 143, 146-8). This archaism may be interpreted either as an adherence to painted prototypes of this iconographic theme (Papamastorakis 1993-4) or as the survival of Late Byzantine models in a period not very far removed from the Fall of Constantinople.

Tradition assigns this vestment to St Nephon, an Athonite monk who served as Patriarch three times (1486-9, 1497-8, 1502). After a brief sojourn in Wallachia, he returned to his own Monastery of Dionysiou where he remained until his death in 1508 (Actes de Dionysiou 1968, p. 18. Năsturel 1986, p. 142-4).

There is nothing in the style or technique to refute this tradition, which would make the Dionysiou *sakkos* the oldest dated textile from the Bursa looms, and certainly the oldest in the series with Christian inscriptions.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

A.B.

### 11.2 *Sakkos* of Dionysios IV Iviron Monastery

17th c., 2nd half

125 x 119.5 cm  
Vienna workshop

Embroidered on brocade with an overall pattern of floral sprays, this dalmatic *sakkos* is decorated with a series of small enamel icons: on the front, James, Luke, two archangels, the Deesis and ten apostles, and on the back the Holy Trinity, the other two archangels, the Annunciation, and the Virgin in the 'Prophets from above'. A gold-embroidered baroque border surrounds each enamel and the neck opening.

Patriarch Dionysios IV Mouselimis Comnenos, a native of Constantinople, served as Patriarch five times during the period 1671-94. He was a close friend of Eugenios Giannoulis the Aetolian, who was perhaps his mentor, and an intimate of both John Serban, Voevode of Hungary-Wallachia (1682) and Constantine Brankovan-





Basarab, Prince of Wallachia. His patriarchy is associated with a document of exceptional importance: the reply to the Calvinists on the dogma of the Orthodox Church (1672). His scholarship was praised by both contemporary chroniclers and foreign diplomats. He died in exile in Wallachia (1696), and was buried in the

Radulvoda Monastery. In 1678 Dionysios made over his library and a number of embroidered vestments to the Monastery of Iviron (Theochari 1957). He also offered vestments and sacred vessels to the church of the Patriarchate.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.



### 11.3 *Sakkos* of Patriarch Cyril V mid-18th c.

Skete of St Anne

141 x 136 cm

The *sakkos*, a very precious vestment, is a short tunic with wide half-sleeves, open at the sides, which are joined by round bell-shaped buttons. It is made of red velvet of a composite weave in which silver and gold threads are used. The design has alternating rows of cross motifs and seraphs. The gold-embroidered Greek crosses have two floral finials on each arm, with small gold circles between them. In the centre of the cross is a rosette with a red outline and a red dot in the middle. Foliate motifs woven in silk thread spring radially from the inner angles of the cross. The seraphs have gold wings that frame a 'silver' face, in which the individual features are picked out in red and brown. The circular opening at the neck of the *sakkos* and the front vertical opening are decorated with a gold hem.

Luxury fabrics like this were made to order by Christian and Moslem craftsmen, originally in the famous workshops of Bursa and from the sixteenth century onwards also in Constantinople. The main output of these workshops were luxury Ottoman fabrics to meet the needs of the Sultan's court and officials, though some of their products came on to the free market and travelled to South Russia, Poland and Venice (Inalcik EI<sup>2</sup>, 1975, Sahillioğlu 1985). The Bursa workshops continued to be active in the sixteenth century, created some brilliant items during the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566); they also seem to have accepted orders from Christians, most of them church dignitaries. In these fabrics the typical Ottoman decoration is frequently absent - as, for example, in the gold-embroidered *sakkos* in Dionysiou Monastery (first half of the 16th c.: see no. 11.1), and in many other cases is found together with the Christian iconographic repertoire (cf. e.g. the silk brocade of before 1585 now in the Benaki Museum, no. 3864: Pyles Mysteriou 1994, p. 290) with the figure of the Virgin Nikopoios between angels, and multi-lobed medallions containing Greek

crosses (like those on Cyril's *sakkos*), motifs surrounded by tulips and lilies — the latter being typical motifs on precious Ottoman fabrics. The circulation of fabrics with crosses, which were distributed by Ottoman merchants to Leontopolis-Lvov (Lwow), is attested by a document dating from 1548, which supports the hypothesis that they were distributed on the internal, or 'free' market (Rogers - Tezcan - Delibaş 1986, p. 29). Many *sakkoi* on Mount Athos and in the Monastery on Sinai that are embroidered with seraphs and crosses (Theocharis 1990, p. 237) probably come from similar sources.

A document in Prodhromos Monastery at Serres refers to the donation in 1629 of a *sakkos sirasiri* by Neophytos, Metropolitan of Nicomedia (Gedeon 1911, p. 392. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, p. 291). This term is associated with Ottoman luxury fabrics in which silver and gilded threads are woven, to form large motifs occupying the full width of the loom; similar decorative motifs occur in luxury caftans from the time of Selim II (1566-1574) (Rogers - Tezcan - Delibaş 1986, no. 20). Fabrics of this kind are also mentioned amongst the vestments in the sacristies of various Athonite monasteries; in an inventory of Simonopetra Monastery dating from 23 July 1796, there are said to be countless *kamouchades*, gold-embroidered *atlazia*, and gold and velvet stuffs (*katifedenies*) (Theocharis 1991, p. 192).

The *sakkos* was owned by Cyril V of Karakallou. Cyril came from Dimitisana, was ordained metropolitan of Meliniko in 1737 and after that of Nicomedia (1745-48); he served two terms as patriarch (29 September 1748-June 1751, 7 September 1752-15 January 1757), after which he was exiled to Cyprus, and ultimately sought refuge on Mount Athos, where he resided in the skete of St Anne (Gritsopoulos 1965, col. 1194).

The *sakkos*, a symbol of the red tunic in which Christ was dressed before the Crucifixion, is one of the most characteristic episcopal insignia. It belongs to an earlier type of dress widely worn throughout the entire world, which has been identified in very early cultures, frequently associated with religious ritual. It is a kind of poncho, originally woven in a single piece,



without sewing; it has a hole at the centre for the neck, and covers the front and back of the body, part of it resting on the upper arms. It formed part of the imperial wardrobe and was later worn by Byzantine patriarchs and bishops as part of their insignia, thus indicating the close connection between the imperial and the ecclesiastical wardrobes. In Pseudo-Kodinos, the ceremonial imperial garment called *sagion* in earlier sources is referred to as *sakkos* (Verpeaux 1966, p. 201). The *sakkos*, which was also a patriarchal vestment in late Byzantine times (resembling the dalmatic, a short tunic with wide half-sleeves that was less advanced, but shared a common model), consisted of a single piece of fabric with a hole for the head, and the sides

open and joined by small bells (*tintinnabula*); there has been hardly any change in its form and symbolism from the late Byzantine period to the present day. The *sakkos* proclaims the persistence of and belief in the importance of the tradition of the Orthodox Church.

The first reference to the granting by the Byzantine emperor to distinguished patriarchs of the right and privilege to wear the garment at the major feasts (Easter, Pentecost and Christmas) is found in Balsamon in the twelfth century. After the Fall of Constantinople it replaced the phelonion worn by metropolitan bishops (Zographou-Korre 1985, pp. 26-31).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.





**11.4 Omophorion  
of the Patriarch Ieremias II  
Pantokrator Monastery**

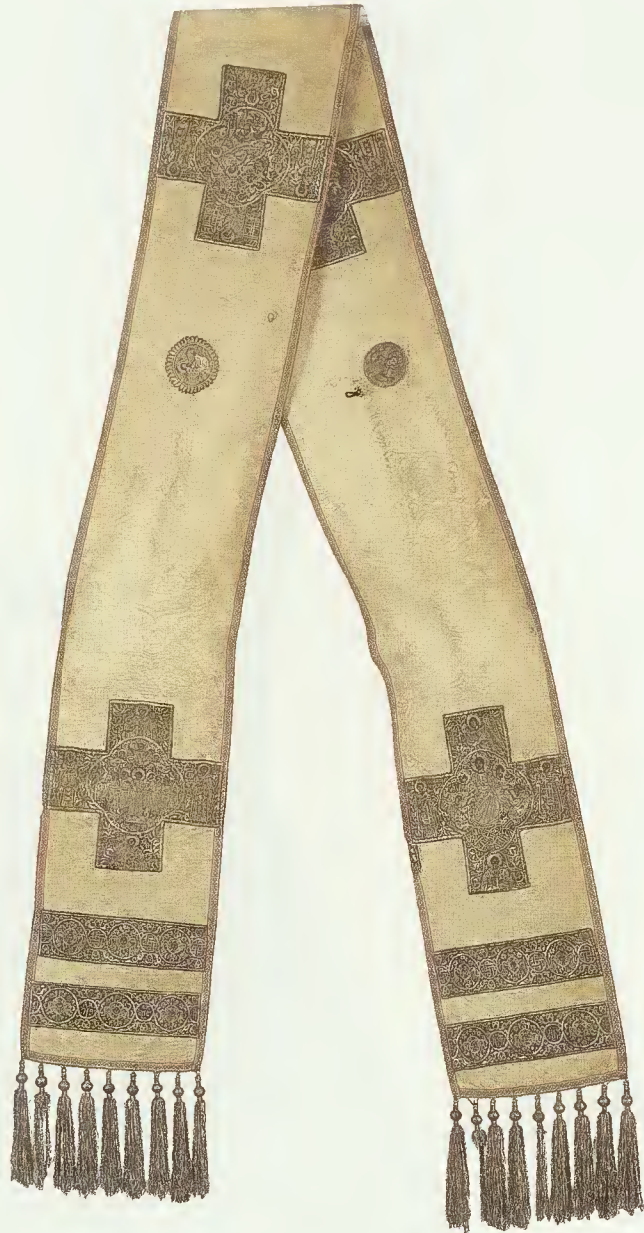
ca. 1584

380 x 32 cm

Stitched on to a newer fabric (damask?) are four appliqué crosses, two pairs of bands, and two smaller sunbursts. At the centre of the cross-shaped appliqués are quatrefoil 'lights', with the Nativity, the Anastasis, the Ascension and the Pentecost. On the arms of the crosses are frontal hierarchs with their names embroidered in two columns on either side of their heads. A floral motif fills the remaining space. The bands are decorated with interlacing circles, smaller ones alternating with larger. In both pairs of bands the larger circles frame seraphs, while the smaller ones in the upper band enclose cruciform guilloches and in the lower band the inscription: 'ΙΕΡΕΜΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ - ΤΗΣ ΠΑΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ' (Patriarch Ieremias - of the Pammakaristos). The spaces above and below the circles are ornamented with pairs of confronted birds, whose tails form heart-shaped motifs. The vestment is finished with nine tassels at each end.

The decoration of the bands is comparable to that of the Athonite *epitrachelia* studied by Millet, especially those in the Monastery of Stavronikita. Gold thread predominates in this work, contrasting magnificently with the red silk. Silver has been used for the sides and the outlines of the garments, to describe the haloes and for part of the floral motifs. The hands, faces and beards are worked in coloured silks.

Ieremias II (1536-95), who acceded to the Patriarchal throne in 1572, was a distinguished theological scholar. He discussed at length, in three letters, the articles of the Confession of Augsburg with certain Lutheran theologians who, seeking unification with the Eastern Church, had sent him this document for his commentary. These letters were published in Wittemberg as early as 1584. He convened a Synod which rejected Pope Gregory XIII's changes to the calendar as 'erroneous and a stumbling-block to Christian mores'. He travelled to Moscow in 1589 to consecrate the first Russian Patriarch, Job, formerly Metropolitan of Moscow,



an act subsequently recognised by the Synod in Constantinople. A number of his works, letters and theological treatises have survived.

Given the reference to the Pammakaristos, this vestment must date from before 1586, when the Patriarchate removed to the Vlach-Serai, and indeed from before 1584, when the Patriarch was exiled to Rhodes.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.





**11.5 Omophorion with scenes in crosses**  
late 17th c.

Iviron Monastery

33 x 420 cm.

A large omophorion consisting of a wide band of modern material to which are sewn earlier embroideries, four cross-shaped appliques, two pairs of bands (*potamoi*), and a circular *polos*. The cross-shaped appliques have a quatrefoil at the centre with the Crucifixion, the Descent from

the Cross, the Anastasis and the Koimesis. On the circular *polos* is an oval glory against a radiate ground, with Christ Emmanuel flanked by kneeling angels. The *potamoi* have winding cross-shaped motifs and curving lines. On the hems are tassels of silk, silver and gold thread hanging from loops and joined to form a band of alternating daisies and golden scrolls. The tall, slender figures with relatively small heads compared with the body, express restrained grief. Deep black is used for the hair of some of the figures, to point up the details, and to pick out the outlines, while blue, dark blue, brown, white and yellow are used as supplementary colours. The stitches used are *riza*, *kamares*, *kotsakia*. An interesting work in a popular style, probably executed in a local Athonite workshop.

The omophorion, one of the characteristic insignia of the bishop, was worn as early as the fourth century. It is probably derived from the imperial *loros*, or a kind of ceremonial 'kerchief' like the *trabea*, the long scarf worn by consuls that crossed on the breast, the end falling on the left shoulder. This was later transformed into a long band of fabric worn along the shoulders, with one end hanging in front and the other behind. The *poloi* are thought to derive from the circular decorations, or 'badges' that were sewn to Roman chitons, on the shoulders and in front of the knees, as a sign of authority. The *potamoi* also derive from badges sewn to the hems of the chiton, and the *History of the Church*, a ninth-century work, assigns a symbolic character to them, stating that they are representations of the blood that flowed from the side of the Saviour (Zographou-Korre 1985, pp. 39-40. Theocharis 1988, p. 195). Down to the seventeenth century, the simple cross-shape continued to be used for the appliques and the embroidered scenes associated with the Dodekaorton continue to follow the Byzantine tradition, though they are more simply rendered. From the eighteenth century on, the crosses assume a variety of shapes and have heavy, gold-embroidered decoration on the Western or Russian models, while the iconography is confined to one main figure, usually embroidered, painted or enamelled.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.



**11.6 Phelonion** late 18th-early 19th c.  
with the Tree of Jesse  
Xeropotamou Monastery

160 x 147 cm

Russian workshop

Three rows of a stylised floral motif divide the back of the vestment into two parts. On the raised collar is a sunburst with the figure of Christ as Great High Priest, in a sea-blue *sakkos* and a gold-embroidered *omophorion*. His peculiar mitre is shaped like a three-peaked crown. Placed around this ornament are four seraphs. Embroidered on

the back is Jesse, reclining; a vine stem rising out of his chest branches into symmetrical off-shoots, each of which ends in a small embroidered medallion enclosing one of the prophets (see no. 11.38). Small leaves and flowers dot the entire surface.

The *phelonion* (chasuble) is of red velvet, embroidered with gold thread and silks of many colours. The innovative design, the execution technique, and the unusual figure of Christ, with his three-peaked crown, suggest a secular Russian workshop.

**Bibliography:** Eudokimos 1971<sup>2</sup>, fig. 7.

M.Th.





**11.7 Mitre  
with painted decoration  
Dionysiou Monastery**

Height: 14.7 cm, diameter 17.5 cm

Episcopal mitre in the shape of a cylinder, covered with red, smooth, shiny satin, with painted decoration. At the top, within a circle, is a depiction of Christ as Great High Priest; he wears a hemispherical mitre, a luxurious sakkos with repeated medallions containing crosses, and a white omophorion with black crosses, and has his hands raised in blessing. To right and left of the halo is the abbreviation 'Jesus Christ'. The fabric of his sakkos recalls the gold-embroidered sakkos of Dionysiou Monastery (no. 11.1); the circular medallions, contain a bust of Christ in the Dionysiou sakkos and crosses in this case, an archaic feature that may be interpreted as reflecting an adherence to the artistic models of the depiction of Christ the Great High Priest (Papamastorakis 1993-4); or, as we suggest, the continued use and decoration of the 'wonderful' fabrics from Bursa, many of which

17th c.

were commissioned by Church dignitaries.

On the outer body of the mitre are triangles set at intervals containing an eagle with spread wings and an abbreviated inscription divided into two parts: 'the Holy Spirit', and two expressive male heads with short hair that seem to be portraits. One of these is depicted frontally and encircled by wings, while the other, turned three-quarters, has a halo and is framed by the body of a bird with spread wings, the head of which is almost human and rests its cheek against the male face. Multi-point stars are scattered over the red background.

This is a rare example of painting, by a great artist (Tzanes?) on a mitre, in a period dominated by embroidered decoration.

The Dionysiou Monastery mitre belongs to a group of low cylindrical ones which have been thought to derive from monk's headdresses/caps. Examples of these are preserved in the sacristies of many monasteries, and in museums (cf. Vei-Chatzidaki 1953, no. 37. Theocharis 1988, pp. 216ff.).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished

K.K.-Z.







**11.8 Mitre of Cyril V** mid-18th c.  
Skete of St Anne

Height 27 cm, base diameter 20 cm

The frame of this mitre is a circlet from which four strips rise to the crown, which is surmounted by an ivory cross decorated with red and blue stones. The body, or 'dome', of the mitre is made of some flexible wood, probably linden, covered with a silken fabric, while the circlet and strips are usually of metal. Appliqué ornaments are glued to the surface of the crown in the four quadrants formed by the framing strips: embroidered seraphs and stars in bold relief, stylised lilies in gold cord. White and coloured stones enhance the embroidery, and an ornate foliate ornament sets of the base of each cross strip.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

**11.9 Epitrachelion** 15th c., 2nd half  
with the Deesis

Chelandari Monastery

155 x 20 cm

The embroidery, arranged in six panels, covers the entire surface of the *epitrachelion* (stole). On the central section, around the neck, is Christ as Great High Priest, with the Virgin and John the Baptist completing the theme of the Deesis. There follow four pairs of figures: the Apostles Peter and Paul, the authors of the Liturgy Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, and the hierarchs Athanasios and Gregory the Theologian, Nicholas and Spyridon.

All are depicted full-length, standing beneath trefoil arches supported by colonnettes. The panels are separated by spiralling tresses of two or four strands, and floral ornaments fill the spaces under the arches, beside the faces. The inscriptions are in Greek. The vestment ends in a broad border decorated with a cruciform double guilloche creating squares linking quatrefoil rosettes, and is fringed with ten tassels.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, p. 26, pls. LI, LIII. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 126, fig. 103.

M.Th.







**11.10 Epitrachelion  
with the Akathistos Hymn  
Stavronikita Monastery**

16th c.

Length (without fringe) 280 cm, length of each  
panel 12.8-13.2 cm, width 11.5 cm

Represented on this *epitrachelion* (stole) are the twenty-four *oikoi* of the Akathistos Hymn, which lands the mystery of the Incarnation. The

arrangement of the scenes is traditional. The first twelve *oikoi*, characterised as *historical*, illustrate the scenes of the Mariological and Christological cycles, from the Annunciation to the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. The other twelve troparia, of the theological and dogmatic cycle, are divided into two groups of six: one celebrating the Virgin as a source of light, venerated by the people, the saints, virgins, clerics and hymn-writers, and the other focusing on Christ and his Incarnation, which brought salvation to mankind.

The twenty-four *oikoi* are illustrated in twenty-three panels. The first, placed at the centre of the *epitrachelion*, on the neck, is set horizontally, while the other twenty-three are ordered vertically down the two bands, one per panel with the exception of the fourth and fifth, which occupy a single panel, to balance the single scene at the centre. There is an irregularity in the arrangement of scenes two through eight, which read from right to left; with the ninth, the normal order is restored. The name of the owner of the vestment, Archpriest Dorotheos, is recorded in the twenty-third panel, at the bottom of the *epitrachelion*.

The iconography of the representations differs from the corresponding scenes in known manuscripts and frescoes (Velmans 1972) as well as in the *Painter's Manual*. Predominant in this vestment is the type of the Virgin that had dominated the great Church of the Virgin of Vlacherna since the age of the Comnenoi. The icon of the *Vlachernitissa* appears twice (panels 4 and 21) and of the Hodegetria once (panel 24), just as it appears in the sanctuary of the homonymous monastery in Constantinople (Grabar 1957). Added here is a precious iconographic documentation of the veneration of this icon, as described by the pilgrim Stefan of Novgorod in 1350, with deacons holding liturgical fans (Khitrowo 1889, pp. 119-20). A fourth icon of the Virgin is depicted in the tenth panel, which narrates the episode of the Wise Men returning from Babylon with – according to Damaskinos – an icon of the Mother of God.

In scenes eleven and twelve, the Flight into Egypt and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the chronological order has been reversed, not by the embroiderer but by the poet, who followed the *Protoevangelion* of James. In the thirteenth *oikos* the *Tetramorphon* of the *Painter's Manual* has been replaced by the Deesis, the sole known example





11.10 *Epitrachelion with the Akathistos Hymn, detail.*

of this substitution. In the twenty-second panel, where the salvation of the human race is expressed by the Anastasis, Christ holds a manuscript in this representation rather than the usual Cross.

The twelve dogmatic scenes, where the faithful are represented as venerating Christ or the Virgin, have been compared to the iconographic theme of the *Laudes* addressed to Emperors (Velmans 1972, p. 153). On this vestment there are only four such scenes (14, 16, 17 and 23), all the others are purely dogmatic in character. The twenty-four scenes have been worked in polychrome gold threads on a gold-

embroidered ground, the dominant colours being green, red, aquamarine, orange and azure. The inscriptions, taken from the *oikoi*, are embroidered at the top of each scene in whatever space is available, without a dividing line as they are in other examples (cf. the *epitrachelia* in the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Great Lavra). The outlines of the buildings and the design in general are worked in silver thread variegated with coloured silks. The facial features are coarse and the expressions lively. There is a general tendency to stylisation: the contours of the landscape are suggested by simple curved lines, the



hills by coloured checkerboard pattern, the trees by green branches with two or four leaves.

The faithful reproduction of Constantinopolitan icons-palladia suggests that the *anthivolon* used for this vestment probably came from the imperial capital or its environs. As for the owner of the vestment, the Archpriest Dorotheos, nothing more is known of him, except that he was also the owner of a pair of *epimanikia* with representations of the Annunciation, also in the Stavronikita Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, pp. 56-7, pls. CXII, CXV. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 157-73, figs. 73, 75-9.

M.Th.

### 11.11 *Epitrachelion* early 17th c. with apostles

Simonopetra Monastery

141 x 27 cm

Wallachian workshop

Five tassels hang from the ends of this single strip of red satin, which is entirely concealed beneath the gold embroidery. At the centre, within a medallion, is a bust of Christ as Great High Priest, his hands raised in blessing. A narrow band of light blue embroidery separates him from the next two figures, and matching bands mark off the other six panels, occupied by figures of apostles, in three-quarter view, their vari-coloured garments seemingly billowing out behind them, conveying 'the energy and movement of men inspired by their mission and their purpose.'

The apostles are arranged in the order of the *Proskomide* (Offertory), and are, from the top: Peter and Paul, Matthew and Mark, Luke and John the Theologian, Simon and Andrew, James and Bartholomew, Thomas and Philip.

The figures are framed by trefoil arches resting on coloured columns and bases. All the empty space beneath and beyond the arches is filled with red flowers, carnations and tulips. A narrow band of the same flowers forms a border around the edge. G. Millet has studied the different phases in the stylisation of this ornamental motif, and attributes it to a Moldavian workshop. This *epitrachelion* from Simonopetra is comparable to one dating





from about 1600 in the Barlaam Monastery at Meteora (Theocharis 1957), which is of Wallachian provenance and probably roughly contemporary.

Both the design and the execution of this vestment are exceptionally fine, as are the materials used. The embroidery is worked in fine gold wire couched with silk, the point where it is caught creating a base pattern. For the garments the artist has used gold thread mixed with coloured silks, predominantly red, but with blue, green and pink as well. The countenances are modelled in a very fine *riza* stitch worked in wheat-coloured silk, and the folds of the drapery in a colour contrasting to that used for the mantles. The same palette of colours is used to fill in the columns, their bases and capitals, and the background flowers, thus breaking the monotony of the gold. The design retains something of the delicacy and grace of Byzantine work.

**Bibliography:** Theocharis 1991, p. 214, figs. 127a, 135-7.

M.Th.

**11.12 Epitrachelion  
with the Virgin,  
St John the Baptist and hierarchs  
Karakallou Monastery**

142 x 24 cm

17th c.

The epitrachelion with the Virgin, St John the Baptist and hierarchs is embroidered with silver, gold and silk thread on a pure silk, cherry-red fabric; the semicircular strip that encircles the neck has, right and left, leaves and floral motifs (this section is narrower than usual, presumably because of deterioration; the missing part will probably have had, according to custom, a circular *polos* with Christ.

On the front part, to right and left of the neck, are six-winged seraphs, depicted frontally. Below these are square panels containing four five-point star-shapes depending from stalks that form cross patterns, followed by six rectangular panels in three rows, against which are projected full-length figures of saints; these panels are separated by narrow bands in which are spindle-shaped motifs set obliquely to form zigzags, in the intervals of which are set

patterns of three small circles; between the rectangles containing the figures and the narrow bands are square panels containing large lozenges, with four smaller lozenges inscribed within them; at the point where they meet is a quatrefoil cross surrounded by a border of four trefoils that form a larger cross motif. Five tassels hang from the hem, attached to threads that are concealed in a metal tube with a knot at the centre.

The rectangular panels contain three-lobed arches (the central one being pointed) that are carried on delicate fluted columns with high bases and stylized 'Corinthian' capitals. In the top zone at the level of the breast, the Virgin and St John the Baptist are portrayed confronted, forming the Deesis (or *Trimorphon*) together with the missing figure of Christ on the *polos* at the neck. At the left is the Virgin, in a full-length three-quarters turn, her arms pointing with an air of simplicity and innocence to the centre; she wears a bluish tunic and silver maphorion; at her forehead can be seen the edge of her red kerchief. St John the Baptist, with long, unkempt hair and his two arms raised in a gesture corresponding with that of the Virgin, wears a red inner garment and a silver cloak. The letters identifying the figure have become detached. The state of preservation of the epitrachelion is rather poor: at many points the fabric is so worn that the *astari* (inner hessian lining) can be seen.

In the second zone are hierarchs with the right hand raised in blessing and their left holding a gospel book. At the left is St Basil and at the right St John Chrysostome, who wears a *polystavrion* phelonion and is identified by an inscription divided right and left of his figure. The third zone also has a pair of hierarchs: St Nicholas at the left and St Spyridon at the right. The main embroidery material used is silver thread, which fills the surfaces of the haloes and the outer garments; the individual facial features are rendered in dark brown, a lighter brown and red are used for the beards and hair, and red, blue and gold silk threads are used for the outlines and to pick out some of the details. The stitches used are *orthia*, *playia riza* and *vereriki*.

The division into zones, beginning with the depiction of the Deesis and followed by the portrayal of the hierarchs, who realize the Incarnation through the mystery of the divine eucharist, (Trembelas





11.12



11.13

1935, passim), is commonly found on epitrachelia (Vei-Chatzidaki 1953, p. 11. Pyles Mysteriou 1994, pp. 287-8). The models for the square panels with the large and small lozenges containing cross motifs may be sought in the decorative borders of illuminated manuscripts (cf. Μουρίκη-Sevčenko 1988, p. 332. Galavaris 1990(2), pp. 330, 334).

The Karakallou epitrachelion is one of an interesting group of popular works dating from the seventeenth century, the main feature of which is a certain naivety in the rendering of the stances and the treatment of the human figures, without, however, departing from the tradition (cf. the figures of the Virgin and St John the Baptist).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

### 11.13 Epitrachelion with the Annunciation and saints Xenophontos Monastery

18th c.

Constantinopolitan workshop

135 x 25 cm

The epitrachelion belongs to a large group of vestments that begin with the Annunciation at the highest point of the breast. More rarely, this position is occupied in some epitrachelia by the two prophets of the Incarnation of the Word, St John the Prodrome and Zacharias. All the figures are rendered on a smooth, shiny silk fabric (Byzantine *oloserikon*), called *atlazi* (Arab atlas), or *saten* (French satin) of a yellowish brown colour, against an undecorated background broken by the names of the figures depicted, which are set in columns to the right and left of their heads and the upper part of their bodies. The figures are portrayed full-length in pairs within rectangular panels, turned three-quarters (the Virgin / archangel, Peter / Paul), or frontally (hierarchs). They are placed beneath tri-lobed arches carried on twisted colonnettes standing on high bases and surmounted by elaborate capitals in the form of birds. Floral motifs of Ottoman style — carnations, tulips — are arranged symmetrically in groups of three to the right and left of the central 'domed' section of each panel. The rectangular compartments against which the figures are projected are separated by bands containing trefoil floral motifs and curved lines. On the nape and around the neck of the figures are six-point stars, rosettes combined with daisies and carnations, and to the right and left are six-winged seraphs; the section that hangs at the back has krater-like vases in a Neoclassical style, and carnations in the corners. A broad band of fabric sewn to the back, with a central cross, roses and small floral motifs in a pink colour, is a later addition.

In the panels with the Annunciation the Virgin, at the left, wears a silver-coloured tunic and is wrapped in a gold maphorion clasped on the shoulder; its undulating hem falls rhythmically at the back; in her right hands she holds a dark-blue spindle, and the thread is also depicted, crossing her body diagonally. It touches the fingers of her



left hand, which are raised in supplication (it is notable that the distaff, an essential tool when the thread is being spun, is missing, possibly as a result of deterioration of the vestment); her stance, with the slight turn of the head, is indicative of humility and submission to the will of God. At the right, the archangel Gabriel, holding a sceptre (or caduceus) in one hand and extending the other in a gesture of speech, moves vigorously and with large strides towards the Virgin.

The two panels beneath these show the figures of the leading apostles, Peter and Paul, confronted and depicted full-length in three-quarter stances, with wind-blown himatia, symbolically indicating the energy and movement of men inspired by their mission and purpose (Johnstone 1967, p. 30).

They are followed by the figures of hierarchs, rendered statically with an archaic tendency that seems to go back to earlier models; they are depicted full-length, frontally, with their hands raised in supplication, and holding a gospel book in their right hand: at the left is Gregorios the Theologian, at the right Metrophanis of Constantinople and lower down, at the left St Basil and at the right St John Chrysostome, with his right hand extended in blessing and holding a gospel in his left; the panels at the bottom depict two more hierarchs (Sts Athanasios and Cyril), rendered frontally in a repetition of the stance of the hierarchs at the top.

The portrayal of Metrophanis is rare (cf. his depiction on the epitachelion of Georgios, dating from the middle of the sixth century, from Simonopetra Monastery (Theocharis 1991, p. 213). According to the *Paschalion Chronikon*, Metrophanis became the first bishop of Constantinople, and his term of office lasted ten years. He was called *the head of the ruling city*, and Constantinople is believed to have been built in his days (Gedeon 1890, pp. 104-8. Scheidweiler 1957, pp. 74-98). His presence on this particular epitachelion points Constantinople as the place of origin of the vestment. This hypothesis is supported by other features, including the considerable use of gold and the use of silver thread, contrasting with the gold ground, to emphasize the outlines of the vestments and to

fill the omophoria worn by the hierarchs; the refined nobility and elegance exuded by the main figures in the Annunciation; the archaizing, krater-like vases on the nape of the neck and the symmetrical groups of three floral motifs at the corners of the vertical panels; and finally the strong presence of 'Islamic' flowers, which were very popular on Iznik pottery. These decorative motifs had a positive response in Constantinople as early as the sixteenth century (though they were not unknown on Mount Athos, cf. the surviving examples of similar ceramics such as plates 'of the hieromonk Makarios' 1679 or plates with the inscription 'of the hieromonk Neophytos', or inlaid dishes [Great Lavra; no 10.4. Korre-Zographou 1995, p. 59], and they gradually influenced secular embroidery such as Epirote and Skyrian embroideries of the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Korre-Zographou 1995, p. 62).

A wide variety of concealed stitches (*orthi*, *playia riza*, *isia-spasmeni*, *bakladota*) are used, with delicate gold and silver wire between them, to create a sculptural, chiaroscuro effect. The exposed parts of the body are filled with corn-coloured silk thread. The pink tones in the faces, and dark-blue, yellow, brown and red added to some of the details (crosses on the vestments, and individual facial features, hair, beards, outlines of the gospel books), executed in very delicate stitches by the virtuoso 'artists in thread' (*acu pictores*), point up in a lively fashion the close connection between embroidery and painting. From the latter art, gold-embroidery borrowed both subjects and iconography, adapting them to areas of fabric that were 'obsolete', though strictly defined by Church ritual, without losing their independence as high Art in the field of the minor arts. The gleaming gold and silver threads, moreover, with the brilliance they emit either intrinsically or through reflecting daylight or the light of candles in the mystic atmosphere of the church, attest to their dependence on the art of the gold and silversmith.

The epitachelion, a valuable silk accessory that formed part of the insignia of the priest from the early sixth century, consists of a broad band of fabric that winds around the neck and hangs



in front in two strips, which are fastened together with bell-shaped or circular buttons (in the present case they are spherical and executed in the filigree technique), and which reach down to the feet. The tassels on the hem symbolize the souls on whose behalf the priest will intercede on the Day of Judgement (Theochari 1996, p. 437). The epitachelion serves no practical purpose; it is part of the insignia of the priest, symbolizing the yoke of the Lord (see the inscriptions on epitachelia: 'for my yoke is Christ and my load is light'; it has also been thought in some cases to symbolize the rope with which Jesus was tied as he was led to the cross (Theochari 1986, pp. 19-21). The presence on epitachelia of the austere figures of saints who are depicted in the sanctuary apse is related to their symbolical support for the priest at the time of the *proskomidi*.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

**11.14 Pair of *epimanikia*  
with Christ and the Virgin**  
Ivion Monastery

18.7 x 23 x 28.7 cm  
Sinopian workshop

On the right *epimanikion* (maniple) is the figure of Christ as Great High Priest, seated on a throne, his feet on a footstool and both hands raised in blessing. On either side stands an angel in adoration. The three figures are separated by intricate oval floral frames.

At the top of the *epimanikion* is the vesting prayer intoned by the priest as he dons the right *epimanikion*: 'Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed the enemy pieces'. At the feet of the angels is the inscription: 'Property of Païsios the Ivirite'.

On the left *epimanikion* the Virgin, also seated on a throne, her feet on a footstool, is flanked by two angels and framed by the same floral ornament. Above is the inscription: 'Rejoice favoured one, the Lord is with thee, and through thee with us', and at the angels' feet: 'In Sinope, 1679'. On both



*epimanikia* seraphs fill the spandrels created by the floral motifs.

The *epimanikia* are embroidered in silver on red velvet; the embroidery is in relief, and is worked in the *riza* and *kamares* stitch, the hands and faces in wheaten silk and the hair in brown, red and black. Touches of blue are used to highlight the Virgin's hair and details of the throne and garments, while pearl beads outline the haloes. The vestments appear to be the work of a folk craftsman.

Numerous seventeenth- to eighteenth-century vestments from Sinope display the same characteristic oval floral frame: the Ivion Monastery has many such. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that during this period Sinope must have had a flourishing workshop producing church embroideries. The monastery has two more vestments belonging to Païsios: another pair of *epimanikia* (1673) and an *epitachelion*.

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1963 (1), pp. 502-3, pl. 1A .

M.Th.





**11.15 Epimanikia**  
Stavronikita Monastery  
23.5 x 38.5 x 26.9 cm

16th c.

Embroidered on each *epimanikion* (maniple) are four scenes from the Dodekaorton. On the first *epimanikion* the Annunciation and the Nativity, proclaiming the humanity of God made man, the Baptism and the Transfiguration, proclaiming his divinity; on the second the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, signifying the redemption of mankind through the sacrifice of God, the Ascension and the Pentecost, symbols of the Church.

Each *epimanikion* is divided vertically into three parts, the central one being halved horizontally in order to accommodate the four scenes, which appear in the following order: a) The Annunciation, the Transfiguration, the Baptism, the Nativity; b) The Anastasis, the Pentecost, the Ascension, the Crucifixion.

A double entwined guilloche border frames each *epimanikion*, and scattered rosettes and digammas ornament the ground. The iconography stresses the theological elements of each scene, rather than the

narrative: in the Nativity the prophets and the Temptation of Joseph are presented rather than the Adoration of the Shepherds and of the Magi; in the Baptism, the 'axe ... laid unto the root of the trees' (Matthew 3: 10), rather than the personification of the River Jordan; in the Ascension, the unbowed (as the Church doctrine) figure of the Virgin, rather than the company of the apostles. Moreover, the older, more austere types of the Crucifixion and the Ascension are preferred to the more crowded compositions of the Palaeologan period, although this may have been dictated by the limited space available. Palaeologan traits appear in some of the details: in the dress of John the Baptist, who is wearing a himation over his 'raiment of camel's hair', a feature introduced in the early Palaeologan period and which predominates in Athonite art, or the cap on the head of the 'World', rather than a crown.

The entire surface of the red silk ground has been embroidered over in gold. The design is worked in silver thread and coloured silks: wheaten, chestnut, crimson, green, pistachio, turquoise, grey. The partitions between scenes are worked in turquoise-tinted gold thread.

In design, workmanship and lettering these *epimanikia* closely resemble the *epitrachelion* with the Akathistos Hymn (no. 11.10), and were probably made in the same workshop.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, pp. 62-3, pls. CXXIV. 2, CXXV. 2. Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 178-80, figs. 83α-β.

M.Th.

**11.16 Pair of epimanikia** 1634/5  
with the Annunciation  
Karakalou Monastery  
22.5 x 31 cm

The principal figures on these *epimanikia* are portrayed beneath six-lobed arches set on slender columns: the Virgin is seated, her hand raised in a gesture of submission, the angel appears to be arriving in haste (the hand raised in greeting is missing, where the fabric has worn away). Flowers decorate the spandrels of the arches. On either side of the arches stand urn-shaped flower pots, from





which sprout shoots framing two busts of prophets. On the right *epimanikion* are the Virgin (with her monogram) and the Prophets Solomon, Daniel, David and Habakkuk, and on the left Gabriel (identified by the single letter Γ), and Moses, Zechariah, Aaron and Gideon. A narrow border at the top of each *epimanikion* frames the vesting prayer intoned by the priest when he puts it on: 'Thy right hand, Lord is become glorious in power + Thy hands have made me and fashioned me', and at the bottom the name and date: 'Of Constantine, priest, 7143 (1634/5)'.

The *epimanikia* are worked on red silk in gold and silver wire, with all the stitches commonly used in Byzantine gold embroidery. The design is of a remarkable delicacy, especially in the faces, and the elegant calligraphic inscriptions may certainly be considered part of the decoration. The priest Constantine was probably the owner of the vestment, rather than the embroiderer.

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1963 (1), p. 499, pl. E'.

M.Th.

### 11.17 Pair of *epimanikia* of the Patriarch Cyril V Skete of St Anne

1727

17 x 28 x 18.5 cm

Workshop of Chalki (Princes Islands, Sea of Marmara)

The scene of the Annunciation is represented in the midst of a profusion of flowers and foliage sprouting from an urn, forming an oval frame around each figure and filling the entire surface





The choice materials and the meticulous and sophisticated execution are the hallmark of the embroidress Eusebia, who also worked the matching *epigonation* (no. 11.20).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

**11.18 *Epigonation*  
with the Anastasis**  
Dionysiou Monastery

15th c.

33 x 31.2 cm

The scene is set on the diagonal and slightly inclined to the right. Christ, holding the Cross in one hand, extends the other to Adam, who is kneeling in front of his sarcophagus; Eve, standing, and three other figures are behind him. On the other side are

the Prophet-Kings David and Solomon, and St John the Baptist. Christ tramples upon the personification of Hades, while two angels above open the gates of Heaven. The vestment is bordered by an undulating braid, in the curves of which nestle birds. The monogram 'Simon, hieromonk' appears twice, occupying the four corners of the vestment. The embroidery covers the entire surface, the ground worked in fine gold wire, the garments in gold wire and red silk, Christ's aureola in green, the faces in grey. The technique and the ornament are typical of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century work.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, p. 66, pl. CXXXIII.

M.Th.

**11.19 *Epigonation*  
with the Virgin Portaïtissa**  
Ivion Monastery

1699

46 x 45 cm

The *epigonation* is of the hard, lozenge-shaped type known after the twelfth century, and has multifigural scenes placed at the centre, on two levels, and in the four corners. The lower level at the centre has three renditions - the central one larger than the two at the sides - of the Virgin and Child in the type of the Hodegetria, set in rectangular icon frames. The icons appear to be resting on the swollen waves of the sea, depicted in black curving lines against a dark blue background. The one on the left is associated with a small male figure dressed in ecclesiastical vestments who stands on a rock and touches the feet of the infant Christ, while turning his head three-quarters towards the viewer. The icon at the right is touched by a female figure turned three-quarters and wrapped in a maphorion. Above them, set in a rectangular frame, is the Koimesis. The bottom corner has two levels devoted to the Nativity, the left corner the Crucifixion and the right the Anastasis, while the top corner also has two levels, with a depiction of the Ascension, the upper of which shows Christ enthroned in a round glory, held by two flying angels; in the lower level of the same scene two angels either side of the Virgin point to Christ ascending, while the apostles, divided into two groups of three, raise







their arms in a gesture of astonishment; the two levels, the earthly and the heavenly, are separated by an undulating line that suggests a rocky landscape — the Mount of Olives, where the Ascension took place. The iconographic type of the Ascension, familiar in the art of the Cretan School in the fifteenth century, was to become very common in post-Byzantine painting (Millet 1927, pl. 232.2. Chatzidakis 1962, figs. 44, 77. Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig. 43) and in the minor arts.

The upper part of the epigonation has a continuous mixed inscription: 'The present hypogonation was dedicated to the Virgin Portaïtissa through the contributions of the hierodiaton Sabbas and Maria, for the salvation of their souls 1699.'

The palette is made up of silver for the background, and gold, red, green, brown and black for the garments, and use is made of a variety of stitches, such as *bakladota* for the Virgin's maphorion in the central icon, *kotsakia* for the haloes, *kavaliki* for the rocks and icon-stands, and *riza loxi* or *playia* for the sea and the background to the Koimesis.

The epigonation of the Portaïtissa, a charming product of a naive, popular Athonite embroidery and iconographic tradition, was dedicated by the hierodiaton Sabbas and Maria, who are depicted drawing strength from touching the famous icon. Depictions of donors are very common in Romanian church vestments and comparatively rare in Greek ones. The main motif alludes to the palladium of

Iviron Monastery, the Virgin Portaïtissa which, according to tradition, was cast into the sea by a pious widow of Nicaea during the Iconoclastic controversy and was washed ashore on the coast near the monastery. Gabriel, a hermit at Iviron, placed it in the Iviron katholikon; the icon left this position on three occasions, however, and was found near the door - *porta* - of the monastery - hence the name Portaïtissa - until the monks eventually built it into a side chapel here. The engravings of this icon at Halle in Germany (1805), on Mount Athos (1814), in Moscow (1838) and elsewhere (Papastratos 1990, nos. 453-6) demonstrate not only the fame of the icon but also that it circulated widely in the form of a paper icon.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.

### 11.20 *Epigonation* of the Patriarch Cyril V Skete of St Anne

1727

30 x 30 cm

Workshop of Chalki (Princes Islands, Sea of Marmara)

Within a mandorla inscribed within a square and set diagonally on the vestment is the figure of Christ as Angel of the Great Will, with wings on either side of his halo. Pairs of seraphs flank his shoulders, waist and legs. He is seated above the clouds, as if on a throne, and all around is the starry sky, worked with gold knots. His right hand is raised in blessing, and his left holds an open book, with the words 'And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven'. To right and left of the mandorla are the Prophet-Kings David and Solomon, each holding an open scroll: David's reads 'Lord, a throne is prepared in heaven' and Solomon's 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord'. The whole is framed by a broad border with a pattern of a blossoming vine.

At Christ's feet are the words: 'toil of Eusebia 1727', and at the prophets' feet the words: 'Gregory of Bursa'. This same composition, with a circle, here a mandorla, inscribed in a square and an ornate floral decoration, is found in almost all the *epigonatia*





(genuals) embroidered by Eusebia (Theochari 1966-7). Here too a lavish floral ornamentation predominates. The marvellously developed borders with the dense conventional foliage bespeak the artist's penchant for the decorative and western models. The gold and silver wire, gold thread, *tir-tir* and semiprecious stones scintillate against the

red silk cloth, creating a sense of perspective.

Given to the Skete by Patriarch Cyril V, this vestment formerly belonged, according to the inscription, to Gregory of Bursa, whose name is found in the registers for 1748.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.



**11.21 Pair of *epimanikia* of the Patriarch Cyril V** mid-18th c.  
Skete of St Anne

22 x 31.5 x 21 cm

Workshop of Chalki (Princes Islands, Sea of Marmara)

A foliate arch in the centre of each of these *epimanikia* frames one of the figures of the Annunciation. Indeterminate flowers growing out of urns standing one on each side of these arches fill the remaining space, while a ribbon border with a rinceau frames each piece. The work is executed

the Church and in great honour and esteem'. Re-elected Patriarch in 1752, at the insistence of the people but to the chagrin of the western nations, he remained at the head of the Church for four more years, after which he was exiled to Cyprus. Eventually he was granted permission to retire to Mount Athos, where he entered the Skete of St Anne, built his own cells and lived in retreat. Cyril's name is associated with the Anabaptist movement, and in his first term as Patriarch he sought to protect Orthodoxy against the propaganda of the Western Church. He did much for the finances of the Patriarchate, founded hospitals in Constantinople



on green velvet in gold and silver wire, coloured silks and pearl beads, the whole slightly raised to accent the dynamic sinuosity which gives the whole its lightness and its grace.

This type of *epimanikion* decoration, where the central figure stands out against a background of urns and flowers, betrays a western influence and was quite common in the art of Pontus and Asia Minor in the seventeenth century. At the feet of each of the figures is the signature 'Domna Mariora, Servant of God'. Mariora was a famous needlewoman who embroidered vestments for several Patriarchs, principally Païsius II. These *epimanikia*, made for Cyril V, are her only undated works and the only ones where she signed herself 'Domna'.

After an initial term as Patriarch (1748-51) Cyril V was dethroned – largely owing to the machinations of the French ambassador – and confined to Chalki, 'with a generous pension from

and Adrianople, and re-organised the education system: the famous Athonite School was his creation. Cyril has been described as 'most reverend and most learned, a worthy incumbent of the ecumenical throne', who even in retreat on Mount Athos served the Church whenever the opportunity arose.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

**11.22 Girdle with buckle** 18th c.  
Karakalou Monastery

67 x 6 cm

Embroidered on dark blue velvet is a repeated motif of urns with spiralling tendrils and flowers. Stylised dragons emerge from the base of each urn, and the handles are human busts.





The buckle is of silver gilt, with filigree work and enamel. It consists of two discs, terminating at the side in a foliate ornament with enamelled tulips and closing with a fleur-de-lis clasp. Around the inner edge of each disc is gold granulation and in the middle an enamelled six-pointed star, and a central boss with a semiprecious (?) stone. The rosettes between the rays of the stars are also adorned with small bosses.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

for whom they were made either as a personal commission or on the orders of the patriarchal court.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

### 11.23 Episcopal girdles 1767, 1790, 1833 Skete of St Anne

92 x 4.5, 123 x 7, 108 x 6.5 cm  
Jerusalem workshop

Woven of red silk and gold, these girdles bear the following inscriptions (in order):

a) The Holy City // Jesus - Susanna 1767 - Christ/Jerusalem,

b) The Holy City // Jesus + Christ 1790 / Jerusalem,

c) The Holy City // Jesus + Christ 1833 / Jerusalem.

At each end is a stylised depiction of the Holy Sepulchre.

These girdles were usually fastened with shell-shaped buckles of mother-of-pearl with a variety of Christian scenes.

The fame of these workshops, which employed both Christian and Muslim artists, began to spread when Sultan Selim I conquered Jerusalem (1517), and reached its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Christian, mainly Orthodox, pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Land from all over the world would purchase such girdles and their mother-of-pearl buckles to take home as souvenirs.

The name Susanna, like the name Marigo found on other examples, is probably the name of the weaver. Other girdles bear the name of the prelate





**11.24 Aer** late 14th-early 15th c.  
with the Communion of the Apostles

Chelandari Monastery  
49.5 x 60 cm

Christ stands in frontal pose beneath under a triangular *ciborium*, his hands outstretched, offering the bread to the apostles. On either side is an angel holding a liturgical fan. The altar is covered by a cloth embroidered with crosses; on it stand the paten with the bread, flanked by the chalice and the asterisk, which is removed from the paten during the singing of the Sanctus. The two groups of apostles, headed by Peter and Paul, bow to receive the bread in the palms of their crossed hands. Around

the edge of the *aer* is a border of cruciate circles linked by triple guilloche. Above the ciborium is the inscription 'H META-ΔΟΧΗC' (The Communion; the O and the C in ligature).

The background is diapered in gold thread, mainly worked in *kamares* and *karfoto* stitches. This *aer* is remarkable for the perfection of the composition and the delicacy and precision of the needlework. Very little silk has been used – only for the flesh and to highlight details of the objects and the ornamental band, whose decorative motif is typical of Paleologan art. This veil is one of the masterpieces of the Paleologan period.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, pp. 75-6, pl. CLVIII. Bogdanović - Djurić - Medaković 1978, p. 126, fig. 103.

M.Th.







### 11.25 Aer - Epitaphios

Pantokrator Monastery

172 x 131 cm

Mount Athos workshop

14th c.

The recumbent figure of the dead Christ with his cruciate halo and his hands crossed over the long loin cloth lies directly on the textile. Angel-deacons with liturgical fans glorify him; depicted in bust, in arcs at the corners of the *epitaphios*,

all are aligned along its horizontal axis. The ground is diapered with crosses linking medallions inscribed with smaller crosses. The border of the *epitaphios* and the arcs enclosing the angels are decorated with a variant of this pattern: here the crosses link half-acanthus leaves, their hearts highlighted in green silk.

At Christ's head, and between the two angels, is the inscription: 'Jesus Christ, the King of Glory', while his feet touch a sort of mosaic.

This *epitaphios* belongs to the liturgical type,



originating from the great *aer*. Christ is represented as a eucharistic allegory of the Lamb.

The embroidery has been worked in fine gold and silver wire on red silk, stitched to a silk backing.

The Pantokrator *aer-epitaphios* is modelled on the *aer-epitaphios* of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos (1341-54), preserved in the Monastery of Vatopedi. However, the place occupied by the dedicatory inscription, at the feet of the dead Christ in the Cantacuzenos vestment, is here filled in with a sort of mosaic of red and green stones, completely irrelevant to the rest of the ground design, belying the artist's perplexity in filling the space and confirming that it is a copy of the Vatopedi *epitaphios*.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, pp. 87, 89, pl. CLXXVI. 2.

M.Ch.



11.25 *Aer-Epitaphios*, detail.

### 11.26 *Aer-Epitaphios* 14th and 15th c. Stavronikita Monastery

91.5 x 113 cm

Mount Athos workshop

This *epitaphios* is embroidered on red silk, in some places now worn through to the lining. The figure of the dead Christ, laid out on the linen cloth, occupies the centre of the scene, surmounted by the inscription 'Jesus Christ. The Entombment'. A cruciate halo surrounds his head, and his hands are crossed over his loincloth. Symmetrically positioned behind him are two angel-deacons with liturgical fans. Within quadrants at the corners are the symbols of the Evangelists, in the following order: Sts Matthew, John the Theologian, Mark, Luke. Cherubs occupy the spaces at the head and foot of Christ and between the two angels. Double wheels (thrones) and crosses ornament the foreground, in front of the bier. Two crosses within circles and a rosette fill in the remaining spaces. The scene is framed by a narrow border with the familiar Palaeologan motif of crosses within circles linked by half-acanthus leaves. The whole is finished by a wide border decorated with cherubs and double wheels separated by crosses within circles.

The work appears to belong to two different periods, with sections of an older *epitaphios*, apparently damaged or worn, having been patched on the red silk. Both the large 'linen cloth' impinging on the symbols of the Evangelists in the lower corners and disrupting the balance of the composition, and the second border, seem to indicate that the figure of Christ was not part of the initial design.

The iconographic theme is the symbolic representation of the sacrificial Lamb, surrounded by angelic hosts and the symbols of the Evangelists. The symmetrical composition, with the horizontal shroud (in some examples the sepulchre), the two angel-deacons with their liturgical fans venerating behind, the symbols of the Evangelists in the corners, and the ornamental motifs on the ground and the inner border recur in a series of fourteenth-century *epitaphioi* studied by Millet. A variation of the spiral motif decorating the arcs in the corners appears on the collar of a *sakkos* in the Vatican (14th c.) and on the *epigonation* of Metropolitan



**11.27 Epitaphios  
with Christ-Amnos  
Dionysiou Monastery**

28.5 x 38 cm

The epitaphios of Dionysiou Monastery is embroidered on a cherry-red pure silk fabric. Christ is depicted dead in the lower centre, lying on the burial slab executed in two colours — silver on the top and gold on the side — on which, according to tradition 'Christ's body was anointed with myrrh'. In the church of the Pantocrator in Constantinople, the faithful venerated the *red stone* on which the body of

1595

Christ was laid after the Descent from the Cross. For the Byzantines, this slab, which was originally in the church at Ephesos, was a sacred heirloom; according to a tradition recorded by Nicetas Choniates, it was taken there by the emperor Manuel II Komnenos, who is said to have carried it on his shoulders from the harbour of Boukoleon to the church of Pharos.

Christ has a halo decorated with a cross and the inscription in capitals 'I am the Being', with one letter on each arm of the cross. His hands are crossed right over left resting on his loincloth. The body is embroidered in a corn-colour, the hair, beard, facial features and outlines in light brown, and red is sparingly used to indicate the





impressions of the nails and the arms of the cross on the halo. The archangels stand by in veneration, Michael (M) near Christ's head, depicted full-length and three-quarters, with Gabriel (Γ) at the right, also full-length, slightly concealed by the slab. Both have silver and gold garments and wings, and red stitches are used to highlight the faces. In place of the classical single liturgical fan (*ripidion*) they hold two, attached to poles. In the centre, the ciborium of the Holy Sepulchre is supported on fluted columns with capitals in the shape of tulips; a large lamp hangs from its dome and beneath it is the undivided majuscule inscription 'the Lamentation'. To right and left are huge astral symbols, projected against the red background. The moon has a face of vivid turquoise, with the features in red and the outline framed by a gold, partly radiate border; flanking it are a five-point and a multi-point star. The face of the sun is shown frontally in a corn-colour, with red used sparingly for the outlines and the individual features, framed by a gold circle with eight rays. At the bottom is an inscription and the date: 'Thy son was raised pure and strong; in the year 1595, May.'

The stitch used is *riza* with variations.

The Dionysiou Monastery epitaphios belongs to a liturgical type that derives from the great *aer* depicting the dead Christ, a eucharistic allegory of the 'Lamb' sacrificed every day on the altar, king of all — attended here by the angelic powers. The presence of the two cosmic symbols, the sun and the moon, and the two stars, witnesses to eternity, places the scene within the starry universe. The congregation of the faithful participates notionally in the veneration offered by the angelic powers through the Liturgy; the congregation is depicted, in accordance with the vision of the Apocalypse, gathered around the sacrificial block on which lies the Lamb, who was, is now and shall be (Apocalypse IV: 2-11). The severe rendering of the subject and its isolation from the historical events, and also the elevation of the archangels to leading figures, was to influence the art of the portable icon (cf. no. 2.117).

The Dionysiou Monastery epitaphios is associated by its iconography with a group of

earlier epitaphioi, though in these the signs of the Evangelists are added in the four corners (see no. 11.26). In some fifteenth-century epitaphioi the ciborium is replaced by the cross, as in examples from Patmos (Theocharis 1988, pp. 202-3). The ciborium is found on an *aer* of Chelandari Monastery dating from the Palaeologan period, on the 'large' sakkos of Photios (early 15th c.) now in the Armoury Palace in Moscow, and on an epitachelion in Putna Monastery, Romania; its depiction on epitaphioi makes its first — rudimentary — appearance in a Slav epitaphios dating from 1492 in Novgorod (Zographou-Korre 1985, p. 82).

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.K.-Z.



**11.28 Epitaphios**  
Docheiariou Monastery

1613/14

96 x 114 cm  
Mount Athos workshop

The main scene occupies the central section



of this *aer-epitaphios*. The Virgin bends over the dead Christ, holding him in her arms, while Joseph holds his feet. Archangels, each with a double liturgical fan, stand at his head and feet. Behind this central group John stoops to kiss his hand. To the left stand four lamenting women, while Nicodemus, opposite them, raises his hand to his

does feed the deserving but is as flames of fire to the undeserving’.

A broad border surrounds this inscription; in the four corners, the symbols of the four Evangelists, to the left of the central scene David and Daniel, to the right Solomon and Isaiah, above seraphs, and below wheels (thrones) between which are the



cheek. A tiny angel in the foreground swings a censer. Beneath Christ's feet is the inscription: 'By the hand of Kallinikos, hieromonk, in the year 1613/14'.

The scene is framed by a narrow band inscribed with liturgical prayers of Symeon the Metaphrasis: 'Mortals, seeing the Lamb outstretched, with lowered gaze stand and tremble, for Christ is each day sacrificed within and all the ranks of the heavenly hosts surround him in awe whose broken body

words of the dedicatory inscription: 'Offered by Sister Iouliane / this is the property of the Monastery of the Archangels of Docheiariou, celebrated among those on Athos.'

Two iconographic themes are developed here: the symbolic representation of the sacrificed Lamb with the angelic hosts, the symbols of the Evangelists and the liturgical inscription, and the Lamentation. As we know, the icon of the *epitaphios*, derived from the representation of Christ the Lamb that



decorated the original *aer*. The eucharistic image of the dead Christ between worshipping angels is known from as early as the twelfth century. In time the representation of the Lamb gradually became amalgamated with that of the Lamentation, both of which had the figure of the dead Christ as their focal point.

In this *epitaphios* the central scene successfully merges the liturgical and the historical aspects of the subject, just as all the figures in the composition converge on the central horizontal axis formed by the recumbent body of Christ, giving the whole a predominantly hieratical character.

Nevertheless, two elements give rise to a certain perplexity with regard to the date of this work: these are the presence of the tiny angel with the censer in the foreground, and the fusion of the double wheels into a single circle, with the fourth feather, normally in the overlapping section, here simplified into a rosette.

Kallinikos, whose work is encountered in the Simonopetra *pyle* (1627), is also known from a third signed piece, the *pyle* with the representation of the 'Prophets from above' in the Monastery of Koutloumousiou, made in 1616/17 and restored in 1872 (Theochari 1963 (1)). It had been suggested that the embroiderer probably belonged to the Meteora workshop (Theocharis 1977), whose existence 'on the pinnacle of Barlaam' is confirmed by the inscription on an *epitaphios* from 1608. However, Kallinikos must surely be associated with Mount Athos, given the iconographic affinity with an *epitaphios* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and another in the Meteora Monastery of the Metamorphosis (Transfiguration).

This *epitaphios* is embroidered on a length of orange silk. The flesh on the figures and all other places where purity of colour was important are worked in coloured silks and gold and silver thread, using a *kavaliki* stitch. The large surfaces of the garments are worked in gold and silver wire in *kamares* and *bakladoti*. The brightness of the colours in the women's mantles, the scrolls and gospels, as well as in certain other details, suggest that the *epitaphios* has been retouched.

**Bibliography:** Ktenas 1930, p. 127, fig. 82. Theochari 1963 (1), pp. 498-9.

M.Th.

**11.29 *Epitaphios***  
**gift of the Voivode Basil Lupus**  
**Vatopedi Monastery**

1651/2

184 x 166 cm

Moldavian workshop

The scene represented is the Lamentation. In the centre is the dead Christ, wrapped only in a loin-cloth and lying on the 'red rock, the length of a man', where he has been anointed with the mixture of myrrh and aloes. Inscribed on the arms of his cruciate halo is the phrase 'I am the Being'. Seated on the edge of the stone slab are the Virgin, left, cradling Christ's head in her lap while Joseph, right, holds his feet as he prepares to wind him in the clean linen cloth. John, sorrowful, bows over the body to kiss Christ's hand and beside him, weeping, are Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus. In the foreground, on a smaller scale than the principal figures, are four kneeling angels, two holding liturgical fans; these are also held by two of the four angels in the upper part of the composition. At the four corners are arcs framing the symbols of the Evangelists.

The cosmic symbols of the sun and the moon, and the inscription: 'The Entombment' appear on the star-spangled ground. The small bands describing the four corner arcs are inscribed with the words of the Sanctus. The composition is framed by a double border, the outer with a broad floral guilloche, the inner bearing the following inscription: 'By the will of the Eternal Father and the grace of his only-begotten Son and with the help of the Holy Spirit, I, John Basil, by the grace of God Voivode of All Moldavia and Wallachia, of my own desire and good counsel and together with my wife the Lady Catherine did make this *epitaphios* in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and did offer the same to our Monastery of the Theotokos in Jassy, commemorating the Ascension.'

The composition retains the zonal structure of earlier *epitaphioi*, such as that in the Monastery of the Transfiguration in the Megalo Meteoro (14th c.) or that of Alexander the Good, Prince of Moldavia (1428; Turdeanu 1941. Theocharis 1977), while the iconography and the floral ornamentation follow the





1638 *epitaphios* in the Church of the Three Hierarchs at Jassy, with the addition of the mourning figures, which transform its character from liturgical to narrative-historical.

Stylistically, this work has neither the delicacy of the Jassy *epitaphios* nor its perfection of design, idealised features, inspired composition or harmonious palette of colours.

The donor, Basil Lupus, was a distinguished prince of Moldavia. Although of Greek origin –

his roots were in Thessaly, his education was Greek and he used a Greek signature –, he was deeply attached to the country over which he reigned. He seized the throne in the spring of 1643 and, after a few difficult years, succeeded in restoring peace in Moldavia. He founded Greek monasteries, restored direct relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and in 1648 inaugurated the magnificent Church of the Three Hierarchs at Jassy, one of Romania's most splendid monuments.



The Monastery of the Ascension referred to in the inscription is commonly known as the Golia Monastery, from the name of its founder, Anna Golia. The widow of Ion Golia, a former great *logothetis* of Moldavia (1572-80), she gave all her lands in Jassy to the monks of Mount Athos. The Monastery of the Ascension was bestowed upon the Vatopedi Monastery some time prior to January 20, 1606. Its monks were required to commemorate the name of their benefactress and to care for her if she should fall ill.

Embroidered on red velvet, the *epitaphios* was at some point stitched to a newer backing. The work is in relief (padded), and executed in fine gold and silver wire, with silks used for the flesh. The wealth of gems decorating Christ's loincloth and the haloes imitates Byzantine models.

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1996, pp. 424-7, fig. 358.

M.Th.

### 11.30 'The Pagonis *epitaphios*' 17th c. Xeropotamou Monastery

108 x 138 cm

The scene of the Lamentation, with all the usual figures, occupies the entire surface of this *epitaphios*. Christ is depicted lying on the rock, where he has been anointed with the mixture of myrrh and aloes. The Virgin, seated on a stool to his left, is embracing his head, while Joseph, at his feet, is holding the edge of the linen cerement and Nicodemus is leaning against the ladder. From behind the rock, John bows over the dead Christ's hand, kissing it. In the middle ground two women are lamenting, while three more gaze, grief-stricken at the body. In the background is a tall cross with the spear and the sponge, while the remaining instruments of the Passion, the basket of tools, the ewer of vinegar and the crown of thorns,







Anthimos in the Tismana Monastery (1370): these comparanda may indicate the approximate date of the earlier *epitaphios*. For the later work, comparisons may be made with the *epitaphios* of Metropolitan Makarios of Moldavia-Wallachia (1428) and those in the Meteora Monastery and in the Church of St Nicholas Rădăuți (today the Museum of Sucevita), although an even more recent 'renovation' based on older models cannot be excluded.

The original embroidery, which has been stitched

onto the textile, is worked in fine gold and silver wire in *kavaliki*, *kamares* and *riza* stitch. The artist used silk of a pale pearl shade for the faces, with tinted 'brushstrokes' for the features, and a chestnut brown for the hair and beards. The body of Christ is rendered in a delicate wheaten tone in densely worked *riza* stitch, with shadings of a darker colour heightening the modelled effect.

**Bibliography:** Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, p. 147, fig. 54.

M.Th.



appear, in miniature, in the foreground. Above the arms of the cross is the legend 'The Lamentation'; beneath it are angels, some weeping and some worshipping, and two seraphs. The cosmic symbols of the sun and the moon occupy the two upper corners, and stars are scattered across the ground.

The scene is framed by a narrow border, on three sides of which is the *troparion* sung during the Great Entrance of the priests into the sanctuary on Easter Saturday: 'The honourable councillor, Joseph [of Arimathea], took Thy body down and wrapped it in the clean linen and spices, and laid it in a new tomb', and on the fourth the dedicatory inscription: 'Supplication of Pagonis, servant of God, and his parents'.

The *epitaphios* is worked on red silk in silver thread and grey, brown and turquoise silks, without padding, and reproduces the iconography customary in the seventeenth century.

Unlike other works from this period, the scene is perfectly balanced, the design has considerable plasticity, and the ranking of the figures is observed. The attempted realism is most evident in the dramatic gestures of the figures. This *epitaphios* is clearly the work of a highly-skilled Greek workshop.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

### 11.31 Pyle with the Nativity 1627 Simonopetra Monastery

107 x 94 cm

Embroidered on red satin, this *pyle* traces, both in the arched top and in the 'chalice'-shaped bottom, the outline of the Royal Door in the wooden iconostasis for which it is designed: when drawn, only the scene of the Nativity, the feast to which the monastery is dedicated, will be visible. The sanctuary is the star-spangled heaven, represented on the material of this *pyle*. A rocky landscape, roughly triangular in shape and worked in gold thread, represents the earth, upon which are embroidered the various episodes of the Nativity. The central figure, the Virgin, lies on a pallet and gazes tenderly at the

Christ Child, swaddled and lying in a box-shaped manger, while the ox and the ass warm him with their breath. Behind the rocks to the Virgin's left, an angel brings the good tidings to the shepherds, while from around the rocks to her right the three Wise Men appear, arriving in all haste on their galloping steeds. The scene illustrates the *kontakion* (hymn) embroidered in elegant capitals around the arch: 'This day hath the Virgin borne One that transcends substance, and the earth offers a shelter to the unapproachable. Angels and shepherds sing Gloria, wise men follow the guiding star. For unto us is born a child, the eternal God.' The words are followed by the date 'Anno Domini 1627'.

At the edge of the silk-embroidered triangle Joseph sits pensively, while the devil in the guise of a shepherd appears before him (the temptation of doubt). As the Virgin's affianced husband, he is removed from the scene of the Nativity, signifying that he is not the father of the child. On a ribbon intersecting the dome is embroidered in calligraphic capitals the Christmas *apolytikion* 'With Thy birth, O Christ our Lord, the light of knowledge dawned in the world'. Above this verse is a *segmentum coeli*, from which the star that guided the Magi descends. The name of the embroiderer is inscribed under the 'chalice' of the *pyle*: 'The gift of God and the labour of Kallinikos'.

The embroiderer, or rather his *anthivolon*, followed the iconography of the Byzantine period, which he adapted to the demands of his age. He observed the rules of perspective and emphasised the figure of the Virgin's position in the scene, rather than by altering the scale. He used both gold and silver thread and a range of coloured silks, including blue, green and grey. The faces are worked in wheat-coloured silk, and the hair in black or brown.

This *pyle* is one of the loveliest known works from the seventeenth century. Brother Kallinikos had also embroidered a *pyle* for the Koutloumousiou Monastery in 1616-7, with a representation of the 'Prophets from above' (repaired in 1872), which displays a number of similarities with the Simonopetra *pyle* (see also the 1614 *Epitaphios* from the Monastery of Docheiariou, by the same craftsman, no. 11.28).

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1963 (1), pp. 498-9, pls. Γ', Δ'.  
Theocharis 1991, pp. 218-9, fig. 144.

M.Th.









**11.32 Pyle with St Nicholas**  
**Stavronikita Monastery**

124 x 66.5 cm

Asia Minor workshop

Represented here is the vision of St Nicholas, as narrated in a tenth-century Life of the saint, in which Christ and the Virgin foretell his elevation to the episcopal throne. The saint is represented full-length and frontal, in the conventional pose of

17th c.

a hierarch. His right hand is raised in blessing, and in his left is a Gospel book with luxurious cover depicting the Anastasis. He wears a *phelonion* with an overall pattern of crosses, gammate crosses and the monograms IX NK, an *epitrachelion* with a border of stylised lilies, reversed digammas and aminae, a small *omophorion* with appliqué crosses on the shoulders, *epimanikia*, and an *epigonation* decorated with rosettes and cherubs.

Above, either side of the saint's head and on a



smaller scale, are half-length figures of Christ and the Virgin offering the saint a Gospel and an *omophorion*.

The whole is framed by a narrow border, with the familiar Byzantine pattern of interlaced circles enclosing rosettes and separated by facing pairs of half-leaves, here stylised. The field is decorated with angular stems bearing tulips and carnations.

The saint is depicted in accordance with the description in the *Painter's Manual*, as 'an elderly man, balding, with a short, rounded beard and a pleasant, serene countenance'. The facial features are schematic: the hair, beard and eyebrows, as well as the wrinkles on the forehead and cheeks, are rendered simply by parallel arcs of brown. His dress is stylised too, whereas the features and the drapery of the figures of Christ and the Virgin are more natural. The broad forehead, intent gaze and drooping moustache are all typical of post-Byzantine monumental painting. The gold embroidery glows against the rich red of the pure silk cloth. The garments and the flowering tendrils are all worked in gold, while silver thread is used for contrast in the *omophoria*, the hands, and the outlines of the haloes. The faces, hair, drapery and flowers are all worked in fine coloured silks. While the spirit of Byzantium lives on the figures, the floral decoration of the ground introduces an oriental note.

This representation of St Nicholas, the patron of the Stavronikita Monastery, replaces the scenes customarily used for the *Horaia Pyle* (Royal Door) of the katholikon. Today, however, this *pyle* is only used on the feast day of the saint.

**Bibliography:** Patrinelis - Karakatsani - Theochari 1974, pp. 198-9, figs. 87-8.

M.Th.

### 11.33 *Pyle* 1907 with the Monastery of Simonopetra Simonopetra Monastery

121 x 87 cm

The monastery is illustrated as seen from the north-west, with six polygonal storeys rising above a fortified base pierced by slits and loop-holes. Numerous windows and balconies enliven the upper storeys, culminating in a two-storey light crowned

by a dome with a large cross on top. Another dome caps the right corner of the monastery. On the rear face are three raised domes with crosses. The scene is embroidered on pale blue satin, mainly in mustard, pink and white. On a photograph of this work (in the monastery) taken by Ali Sami Bey, court photographer to Sultan Abdul Hamid, the then Superior of the foundation, Hegumen Hieronymos, noted, 'The Holy Monastery of Simonopetra, on Mount Athos, embroidered in silk on satin by Dorothea M. Tsardaka of Krene in the year 1907'.

Krene was the name of modern-day Çesme, in Asia Minor, the site of Count Orloff's famous naval battle in 1770. The embroidress copied an 1868 copperplate engraving of the monastery (Papastratos 1990, no. 499). It is interesting to note that, like their western counterparts, embroidresses from Asia Minor were using engravings as *anthivola* in the early years of the twentieth century. Similar works, copied from prints, are preserved in other great monasteries, such as that of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, and appear to have been gifts from wealthy expatriate Greek merchants.

**Bibliography:** Theocharis 1991, p. 219, fig. 12.

M.Th.





**11.34 Podea** ca. 1500  
**with the Presentation of the Virgin**  
**Gregoriou Monastery**

46 x 38 cm  
Moldavian workshop

According to the Slavonic inscription compressed into the space at the top, the scene represented here is the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The

Virgin is depicted under the ciborium, being received into the temple by Zacharias, the future father of St John the Baptist. She is accompanied by her parents and seven 'daughters of Israel', holding lighted candles. These candles presage the symbolic light to come, the Christ who was to enlighten those dwelling in the darkness of sin. The Virgin, who according to the apocryphal gospel is three years old, is represented as a child in size only, otherwise she has the appearance of a grown woman and wears the familiar blue





maphorion. The hymn-writer describes her as 'child-like by nature and beyond nature'.

A flight of steps leads up to the Holy of Holies, where we see the Virgin seated on a throne, being fed by an angel, as she was throughout her twelve-year sojourn in the temple.

Apart from the gold thread used for the background and the buildings, the rest of the work is executed in vividly coloured silks: red, turquoise, yellow. The band around the edge and the macramé fringe at the bottom are later additions.

G. Millet attributes this *podea* to Stefan the Great of Moldavia, who in 1500 issued two chrysobulls in which he is called the founder of the monastery. On the occasion of certain repairs to the buildings, he presented this *podea* and a matching one, with the scene of the Hospitality of Abraham (Old Testament Trinity), also preserved in the monastery. Millet thinks that these are two of a set now lost representing the Dodekaorton.

**Bibliography:** Millet 1947, p. 85, pl. CLXXI.

M.Th.

### 11.35 *Podea* with portraits of the donors Koutloumousiou Monastery

61 x 48.5 cm

Wallachian workshop

A royal couple with their son are represented kneeling and gazing up at an icon of the Virgin in the type of the Vlachernitissa. The figures and the nature of their petition are identified by Slav inscriptions: 'Voevode Ioannis Ventila', his wife 'Princess Rada', and in front of Ventila their son 'Voevode Ioannis Dragesh'. All three wear crowns and sumptuous robes. An inscription between the husband and wife states the boy's prayer: 'O Mother of God, by the sacred blood of thy son keep me'.

In the upper part of the *podea*, beneath the Theotokos, is the inscription: 'To the Church of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the Monastery called Koutloumousiou'.

The area beneath the *segmentum coeli* with the Virgin and Child and the spaces beneath and between the princely figures are separated with stylised

tulips. The *podea* is framed by a narrow border of floral pattern and its lower edge is fringed with eleven tassels.

The monastery has a matching *podea* with very similar representation except that Christ is shown rather than the Virgin, and the inscription reads: 'O Christ and Lord, here am I, thy servant'. The *podea* is of red satin, embroidered with gold thread, mixed with red and green silk on the garments, while the hands and faces are worked in wheat-coloured silk. P. Năsturel, who first published this piece, notes that the style of dress and the attitudes of the donors copy those of the reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512-21).

Năsturel wonders 'What can have impelled the royal couple to offer these two *podeae* to the Koutloumousiou Monastery?'. His conclusion, based on the size of the lettering, is that in both cases the petition concerns the young prince, Dragesh. 'Is it a prayer addressed to Christ and his Mother by the parents of the boy for the recovery of their son, or a cry of pain for a dying (or perhaps





already dead) child? No one knows', he writes.

Blad Ventila's reign was a brief one, from 13 September 1532 to 12 June 1535. We know that on 18 April 1533, the voevode confirmed the Koutlounousiou Monastery's possession of two villages in Wallachia, and we may assume that the gift of the two *podeae* was made at about the same time. As for the reason for the gift, it was customary when donating land or re-building a monastery for the benefactors to offer sacred vestments as well (see no. 11.34).

**Bibliography:** Jorga 1933, pp. 27-31. Năsturel 1985, pp. 28-30.

M.Th.



**11.36 *Podea* 1683**  
with portraits of the founders (?)  
Xeropotamou Monastery  
108 x 98 cm, Greek workshop

From an urn at the bottom spring stems bearing tulips and roses, and curving around to frame the portraits of the two alleged founders. These are pictured in frontal pose, holding a sceptre in one hand and a model of the katholikon of the monastery in the other. Above their heads runs the inscription:

'+ Holy and Royal Monastery of the Great Martyrs of Xeropotamou'. Beside the figure on the left are the words: 'Andronicos in Christ Emperor and founder'; and next to the other figure the words: 'Romanos in Christ Emperor and founder'. In the narrow space between the two figures and beneath the model of the church, we read: 'By the hand of Elenouda Isaiah, 1683'.

The *podea* is worked on red silk in gold and silver thread; the *bakladoti* and *kamares* stitches were used for the robes and some of the flowers.

The foundation inscription refers to the Byzantine Emperors Romanos I Lecapenos (919-44) and Andronicos II Palaeologos (1282-1328). Other traditions ascribe the founding of the monastery to Constantine Porphyrogennitos and the Empress Pulcheria. According to written sources, however, the monastery was founded by Paul the Xeropotamian towards the end of the tenth century. Elenouda was an embroidress whose name is known from an *epitrachelion* dated 1617/8 belonging to the Simonopetra Monastery, formerly in the Wallachian Mihai Voda Monastery, a *metochi* of Simonopetra (Theocharis 1991, pp. 215-6), and now in the Art Museum in Bucharest.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.

**11.37 *Podea* 1758**  
Skete of St Anne  
78 x 74 cm, Asia Minor workshop

Of red silk with an olive green border, punctuated in the four corners by the same red silk the *podea* is embroidered with thirteen similar ornamental motifs of stylised curving stems with daisies and tulips, arranged in rows, four in the upper and lower and five in the middle. Similar motifs embellish the border and the corners. The lower border bears the inscription: 'Petros, a pilgrim, 1758'. The stems are worked in gold and silver thread, and the hearts of the flowers are executed in knot-stitch. Such motifs were widely used in Asia Minor for secular embroidery, as well as for *aers*. This *podea* belongs to the collection of vestments left by the Patriarch Cyril V.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

M.Th.





11.37

**11.38 Pyle**  
with the Tree of Jesse  
Vatopedi Monastery

179.5 x 54.7 cm

mid-17th c.

Represented is the Tree of Jesse (Isaiah 11: 1), combined with the theme of the 'Prophets from above'. At the bottom, on a green field, is the figure of Jesse with long beard and wearing a cidaris. He rests on his right elbow and in his left hand holds an open scroll inscribed with a brief version of Isaiah's prophecy foretelling the Rod out of the Tree of Jesse.

Rising from his chest is the trunk of a tree whose branches form tendrils framing representations of the prophets, six either side seated and holding scrolls inscribed with the barely legible prophecies relating to the coming of the Saviour and displaying the symbols of the Theotokos. David (ark), Solomon (pallet), Moses (burning bush), Aaron (flowering rod), Zechariah (seven-wick lamp), Gideon (fleece), Ezekiel (barred gate), Jacob (ladder), Isaiah (tongs), Jeremiah (scroll), Habakkuk (Mount Paran), Daniel (a great mountain).

Between the fourth and fifth pairs (from the bottom), are the Virgin and Child, while at the top, above and between David and Solomon, is the Eternal Father.

Worked in gold thread on red satin, this *pyle* is worn in places, although the embroidery itself is

in perfect condition, excepting the lettering on the scrolls, where the black silk stitches have worked loose. The hands and faces are worked in red and white silk, the hair in brown and the beards in grey or wheat-colour. The principal stitches used are *vereriki* and *kamares*.

The careful needlework and the almost painterly rendering of the expressive figures bear witness to the excellence of both the pattern and the workshop.

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1996, pp. 451-2, fig. 387.

M.Th.





## 12 ANTIMENSIA

### 12.1 Antimension

16th c. (?)

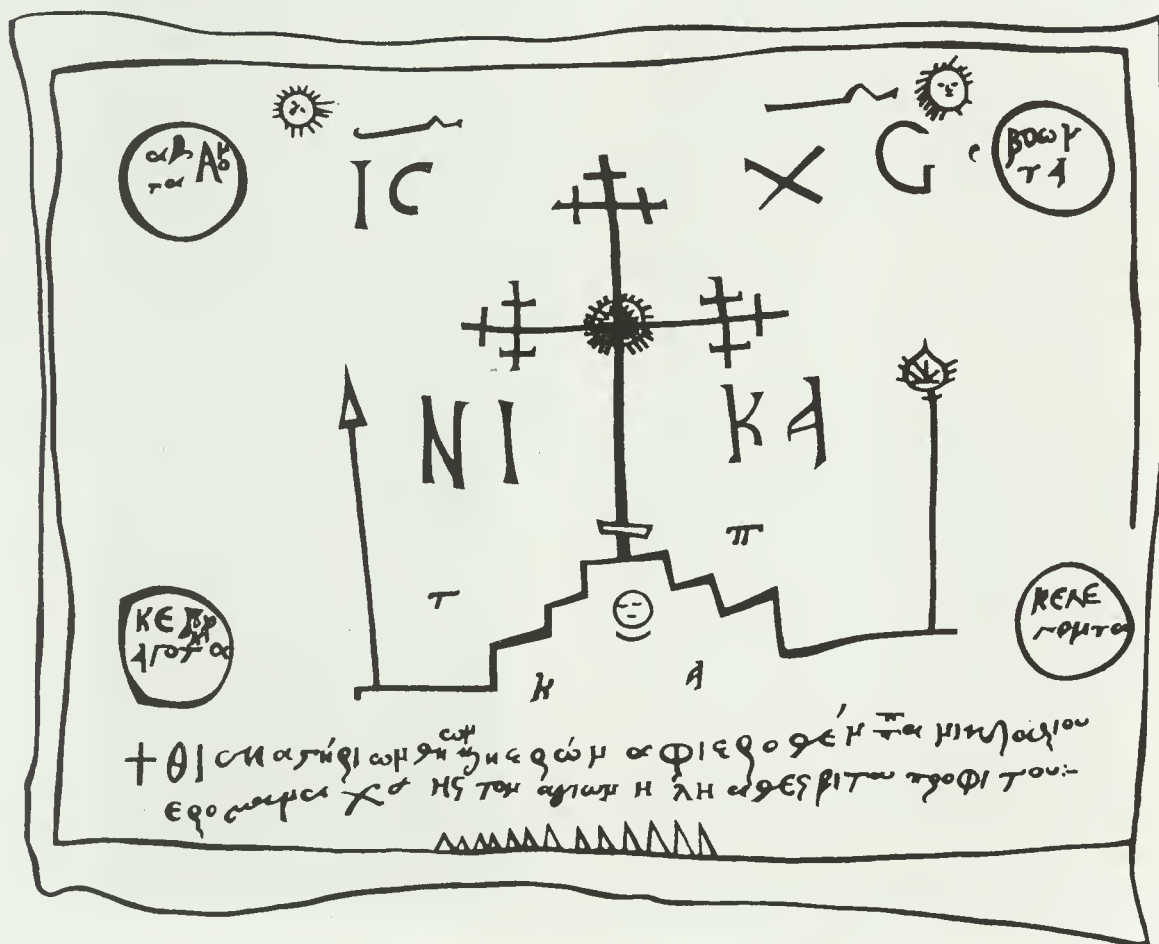
Simonopetra Monastery. Sacristy

Painted on linen, 42 x 54.5 cm

Painted in ink in the centre of the linen cloth, which is in fairly good condition, is the cross of Calvary on a stepped base, flanked by the instruments of the Passion (lance, reed and sponge) and the familiar abbreviations of letters from the monastic *analabos*: ΙΣ ΧΣ ΝΙΚΑ (Jesus Christ Conquers), Τ, Κ, Π, (Τόπος Κρανίου Παράδεισος [Γέγονε]), Α, (Αδάμ) (The Place of the Skull [has become] Paradise, Adam); the skull of Adam has been placed beneath the base of the cross. Enclosed in medallions set in the four

corners are the symbolic words (misspelled) of the four Evangelists: 'ἄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα' (singing, crying aloud, proclaiming, and saying). Completing the decoration are the cosmic symbols of the sun and moon at the top and the dedicatory inscription at the bottom: 'ἑορτασθήριον θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων αφιερωθέν παπ(α) νικταριου//ερομονάχου ης τον αγιον ηληα θεσβιτου προφиту:' (A divine and sacred altar dedicated by Nektarios, hieromonk, to the holy and venerable Prophet Elijah).

The *antimension* has a lining of the same heavy linen cloth and, on its surface, traced over the figure of the front cross, another cross of some molten compound, probably from its consecration, inscribed within a rectangle of the





same substance.

The simple and patently symbolic decoration clearly places it in the initial period of the development of the iconographic programme of the *antimensia*, for we know that this archaic and austere theme was used in the decoration of *antimensia* throughout the Byzantine era and into the late sixteenth century, the period to which the oldest surviving exemplars in Greece belong.

The iconographic type of the Byzantine *antimension* from before the Fall of Constantinople may be exemplified by the extant pattern-model for the decoration of *antimensia* in the manuscript Cod. Ω31, folio 138r in the Great Lavra (1456/7), which is very similar in iconography to the Simonopetra *antimension*.

There is also a twelfth-century *antimension* in a Russian collection which has an identical iconography, further supporting the view that this was the standard theme used during the Byzantine period (Subotić 1984, pp. 184-216).

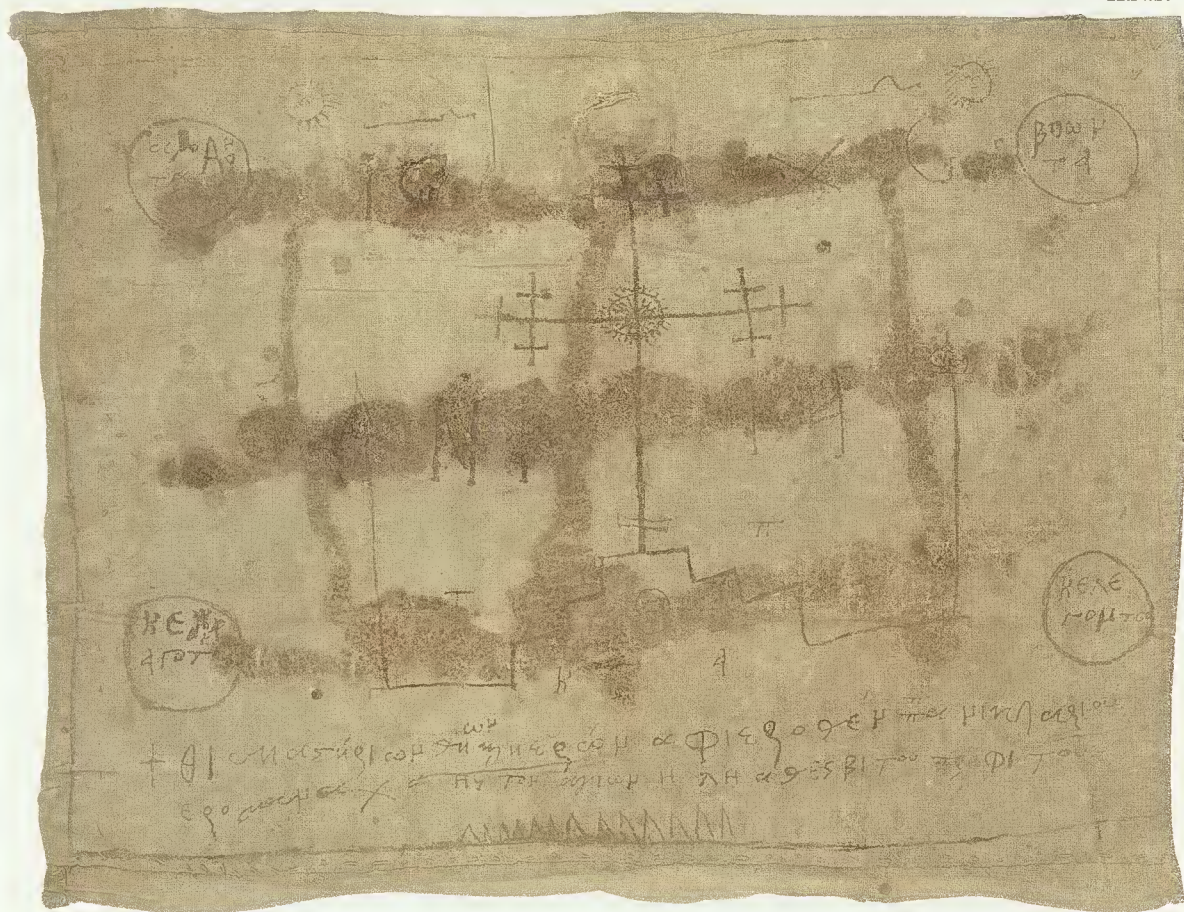
While the representation of the cross here has both theological and symbolic significance, since in the words of Germanos of Constantinople, 'the cross is an altar', at the same time the cross in conjunction with the instruments of the Passion denote the Hetoimasia of the Judge who is to come.

The 'Prophet Elijah' mentioned in the inscription is probably the *kathisma* which was purchased by the monastery's founder, Ioannis Uglješa (d. 1371): 'ἀπὸ τῆς περιοχῆς τοῦ Πρωτάτου... κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου Προφήτου Ἡλίου' (in the region of the Protaton ... a *kathisma* of the holy Prophet Elijah), today a dependency of the Monastery of Stavronikita.

This *antimension*, a classic example of the oldest known type of decoration of this liturgical vestment, which over the centuries of its development evolved through three basic periods, must date from the sixteenth century at the latest.

**Bibliography:** Nilos 1991, pp. 249, 378, drawing 39.

H.N.S.





## 12.2 Antimension

1664

Skete of St Anne. Sacristy of the kyriakon

Painted on linen, 45.5 x 57 cm

This *antimension* is made of unlined linen cloth and is painted in vivid colours on preparation: depicted in the centre, dominating the composition, is the Man of Sorrows with the inscription 'Jesus Christ / The Descent from the Cross', an iconographic type carrying both eucharistic and eschatological significance and known from the twelfth century in manuscript illumination and portable icons. This scene appears on *antimensia* from the late sixteenth century, replacing the archaic symbolic representation of the cross, typical of the first period (see 12.1). During this second period the monograms of the Evangelists or the symbolic words associated with them 'ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγόντα και λέγοντα' (singing, crying aloud, proclaiming, and saying) are, as in this example, replaced by their apocalyptic symbols: the angel of Matthew, the lion of Mark, the ox of Luke and the eagle of John the Theologian, here painted in the four corners of the *antimension*, framed by successive concentric quadrants, and each holding a Gospel. The edges of the *antimension* are trimmed with a red border, in the manner of portable icons. On the left side some of the hemming is still intact, while traces of its folding during liturgical use are still apparent on the surface.

This *antimension*, which is in good condition, adheres faithfully to the iconographic prototypes of the period. Its decoration is completed by the consecration inscription '+ A divine and sacred altar for use in divine service throughout the dominions of the Lord, consecrated and sanctified by the favoured of the Lord, Seraphim, Bishop of Ierissos and the Holy Mountain, in the year of Adam 7172', which occupies the centre of the *antimension*, filling nearly the entire empty space.

This inscription tells us that the *antimension* was consecrated by Bishop Seraphim of Ierissos and Mount Athos 'in the year of Adam 7172' (AD 1664), a prelate hitherto unknown in the episcopal registers of the Episcopate of Ierissos.

The *antimension* comes from the Kalyve of the Three Hierarchs, a dependency of the Skete of St Anne, where it is kept in the sacristy of the kyriakon.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

H.N.S.





### 12.3 Antimension

1717

Stavronikita Monastery. Sacristy

Painted on linen, 45 x 58.5 cm  
'By the hand of Constantine'

The familiar representation of the Man of Sorrows fills the centre of this *antimension*; this identifies it as belonging to the second period in the development of the iconographic programme of this liturgical item. The central scene is framed by four round medallions containing painted busts of the apocalyptic symbols of the four Evangelists, with two six-winged seraphs flanking the figure of Christ. The colouring is generally subdued. While the *antimension* is fairly good preserved, the right-hand side is somewhat worn.

The overall style of the decoration speaks of the influence of the Renaissance, especially in its three-dimensional rendering of the tomb and the cross, the modelling of the figure of Christ and mainly of the faces of the six-winged seraphs. Despite the common iconographic type, the Stavronikita *antimension* has – from the stylistic

point of view – more of folk art about it than has the preceding example (no. 12.2) from the Skete of St Anne, whose sparseness and austerity of line accent the transcendental and symbolic character of the scene.

Here the majuscule inscription of consecration has been moved to the edges of the *antimension*, as is typical of this period where, with stylised floral ornaments punctuating the text in the four corners, it frames the entire composition.

The text of the inscription reads: 'A divine and sacred altar for use in divine service, consecrated and sanctified by the favoured of the Lord, Ieremias, Bishop of Kallioupolis, in the year of Our Lord 1717 on June 6. By the hand of Constantine'.

From this inscription we know that the *antimension* was painted by the unknown (?) artist Constantine and consecrated on June 6, 1717, by Ieremias, who served as Bishop of Kallioupolis – today's Kallipoli, in Eastern Thrace – from 1680 to 1728.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.N.S.



#### 12.4. Antimension

##### Kellion Megalis Panagias

(Koutloumousiou Monastery)

Painted on linen, 46.5 x 55.5 cm

1775

The decoration of this linen *antimension* is centred on the scene of the Lamentation, painted predominantly in reds, greens and blues.

The third period in the development of the iconographic programme of the *antimension* begins early in the eighteenth century with the appearance of this iconographic type, familiar from the frescoes and portable icons of earlier centuries. During this period, the symbolic character of the iconography of the *antimension*, in correlation with liturgical developments, becomes historic-narrative, with the figures of the Evangelists – now replacing their apocalyptic symbols – framing the representation of the *Threnos*.

While the style of this representation conforms to contemporary iconographic models, the flora ornamentation, the cypress trees flanking the cross and the choice of colours generally, combine

to give the entire composition a touch of popular art. The four corners are still decorated with the apocalyptic symbols, here depicted in their entirety on a green ground within a square frame, quite separate from the rest of the decoration. Between these compartments and around the central scene of the Lamentation a band painted with flora motifs lends the whole composition an air of simplicity. An arch above the Cross frames the inscription 'The Epitaphios Threnos', while beneath the scene is the inscription of consecration: 'A divine and sacred altar for use in divine service. Consecrated by the favoured of the Lord, Iakovos, Bishop of Ierissos and the Holy Mount, in the year 1775'. The *antimension* was thus consecrated by Bishop Iakovos of Ierissos and Mount Athos in the year 1775. Iakovos is known to have served as Bishop of Ierissos from 1761 to 1780, and his signature appears, together with that of the Ecumenical Patriarch Samuel, on a letter of confirmation issued to the Monastery of Chelandari in 1768.

The *antimension* is lined with a fine blue





material, and was at some later date mounted on another backing, made of a fabric striped in brown and green, which extends beyond it on both sides and is somewhat worn in the middle.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.N.S.

decoration borders the edge of the *antimension*, in imitation of the embroidered *epitaphioi* of the period. The style of the representations, both in the modelling of the naked areas of the bodies as well as in the drapery and in the rest elements show a dependence upon Orthodox icon-painting



## 12.5 Antimension

Simonopetra Monastery. Sacristy

Engraving on linen, 48.5 x 48.5 cm

Russia

This *antimension*, which is unlined and in fairly good condition, is decorated with an engraving printed by copperplate, with round medallions framing the symbols of the Evangelists in the four corners and God the Father sending forth the Holy Spirit from above. Five inscriptions in Slavonic script placed in tablets fill the intermediate spaces, informing us that the *antimension* was consecrated during the reign of Peter the Great, presumably in Russia, in 1707, a time when the Patriarchate was vacant. A narrow band with a stylised floral

1707

tradition, which is important for this period. The *antimension* is hemmed on the two shorter sides, while two almost illegible words have been inked onto the lower edge. With the development of printing, *antimensia* were by the eighteenth century normally being decorated by the copperplate or wood-cut technique. A similar printed *antimension*, dating from 1740 and with inscriptions in Greek, is preserved in the monastery on Mount Sinai (Theochari 1971, no. 7). This printed *antimension* is a typical early example of the iconographic type of the third period, with its decorative themes arranged in a fashion similar to that of the previous example.

**Bibliography:** Nilos 1991, pp. 241 (fig. 161), 250.

H.N.S.



12.6 *Antimension*

1763

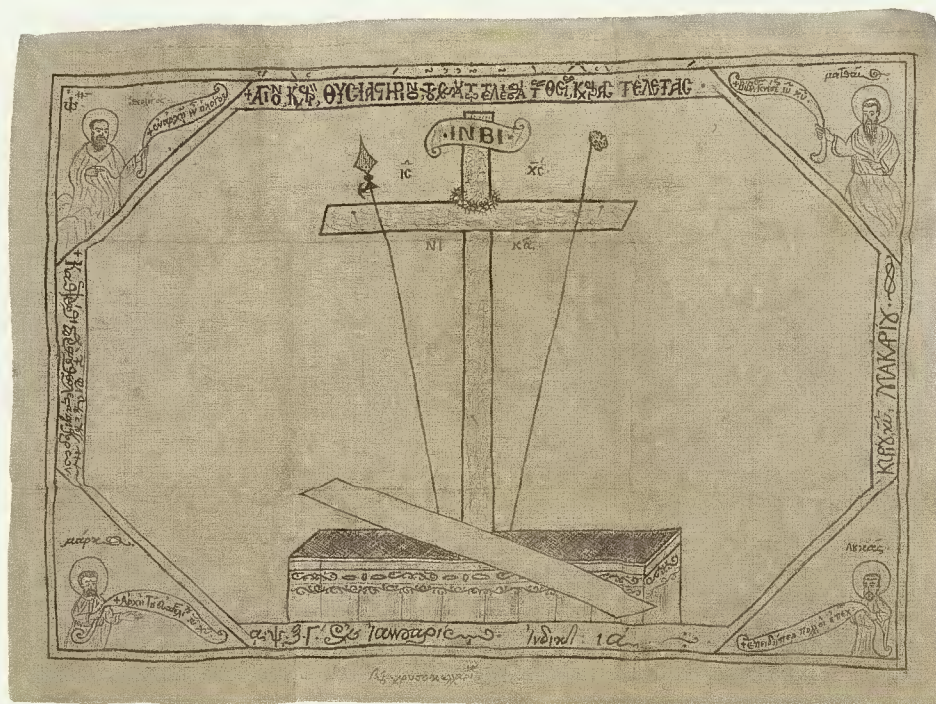
## Kellion of Evangelismos (Annunciation)

(Simonopetra Monastery). Karyes

Painted on linen, 50.5 x 68 cm

This *antimension*, which is in very good condition, is made of heavy off-white linen, lined

of each one's Gospel. The spaces between the triangles form narrow bands decorated with the calligraphic inscription of consecration: (above) '+ Divine and sacred altar, for use in divine and sacred rites', (left-right) '+ Dedicated by the favoured of the Lord, Makarios, Bishop of Koroni', (below) '1763 in the month of January, indiction 11.'



with the same material in blue and decorated in black ink.

Although generally austere, the decoration of this *antimension* combines elements from every period of the iconographic evolution of this liturgical vestment. The centre is dominated by the cross with the instruments of the Passion (lance, reed, sponge and crown of thorns) and the talismanic abbreviations ΙΣ ΧΣ ΝΙ ΚΑ (Jesus Christ Conquers), an archaic element. At the base of the cross there are iconographic motifs from the second period: the 'empty tomb' and the 'stone rolled away from the tomb'.

This naive composition is enclosed within a rectangular border, in the corners of which are triangles framing the busts of the four Evangelists, a feature usually encountered in the third period. The Evangelists are holding open scrolls – an unusual detail – on which is written the first phrase

An inscription in similar lettering on the lower border reads 'of Chryssokelellariou': this was probably a monastery, perhaps within the Episcopate of Koroni, to which this *antimension* was donated, or where it was consecrated, by Bishop Makarios in 1763(?).

Makarios Karakallos of Demetsana was apparently Bishop of Koroni, in Messenia, from about 1744 to 1770.

The original and simplistic synthesis of iconographic elements from various periods, tending towards imitation of the archaic, makes this an interesting *antimension* for its period which was generally one of rich and elaborate decoration due to the possibilities offered by the new technique of copperplate printing and to the liturgical and aesthetic demands.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

H.N.S.



### 12.7 Antimension

Simonopetra Monastery. Sacristy

Engraving on linen, 58.5 x 72.5 cm

Engraver: Parthenios, monk from Ellassona  
Mount Athos

1780

technique and the new material, together with the thematic adjunctions prescribed by liturgical developments, led by the middle of the eighteenth century to the creation of a rich new iconographic world centred on the decoration of *antimensia*.

The central, dominant theme of the Lamentation, which had appeared early in the eighteenth century, gradually began to occupy a more limited space in the middle of the

Printed from a copperplate onto a linen cloth, formed of two pieces seamed together vertically,



this *antimension* is the work of Parthenios, a monk and engraver from Ellassona, whose name is also known from other works. Engraved and printed in 1780 on the Holy Mountain, this is one of the ten first engravings known to have been made on Athos before 1800.

On the bottom border we read the following inscription: 'In the Holy Mount of Athos by Parthenios, monk of Ellassona in Greece, 1780, July 12'.

The broader horizons afforded by the new

*antimension* – as in this example –, while other scenes from the Life of Christ were added.

These secondary iconographic features create a broad framework around the central theme of 'The Epitaphios Threnos'.

In addition to the figures of the four Evangelists, represented together with their apocalyptic symbols in medallions framed by rococo ornamentation in the corners of the *antimension*, there are also representations of the Holy Trinity (top centre), the Descent from the cross (right)



and the Anastasis (left). This arrangement is found in several *antimensia* from the mid-eighteenth century.

A noteworthy feature is the inclusion by the engraver, in the lower centre, of a royal coat-of-arms, with a double-headed eagle whose body is covered by a medallion with a depiction of the Church of the Anastasis. Next to the eagle's crown are the letters ΚΝΣΤ/ΙΑ (= Constantinople). This is a unique feature on an *antimension*, which occurs on another work by the same engraver, an engraving of St George, dating from 1779.

The *antimension* is in good condition. It is unlined, and bears in the centre of the reverse side the hand-written word 'ἐγγενισμένο' (consecrated). In its rococo ornamentation the decoration shows an obvious western influence, for Parthenios used to copy – although somewhat inexpertly – older compositions of foreign origin.

In this particular instance he was copying the *antimension* by Makarios Notaras, Bishop of Corinth, printed in Venice in 1769. Copies of this work by Parthenios are preserved in other monasteries and *kellia* on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Papastratos 1990, no. 585. Nilos 1991, pp. 242 (fig. 162), 249.

H.N.S.

### 12.8 *Antimension* - Bronzeplate 1842 Chelandari Monastery. Library

Engraver: Ignatios, hieromonk  
43 x 53 cm (plate)  
41.5 x 50.5 cm (representation)  
Mount Athos. Karyes

Finely engraved bronzeplate, in excellent condition, used for printing *antimensia* on cloth.

The development of printing made it possible to reproduce and decorate *antimensia* quickly and easily, using the copperplate method. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century Mount Athos had acquired a leading role as a centre for engraving and producing religious prints. We know the names of many of the engravers, both monks and laymen, who set up on the Holy Mountain the workshops from which issued whole

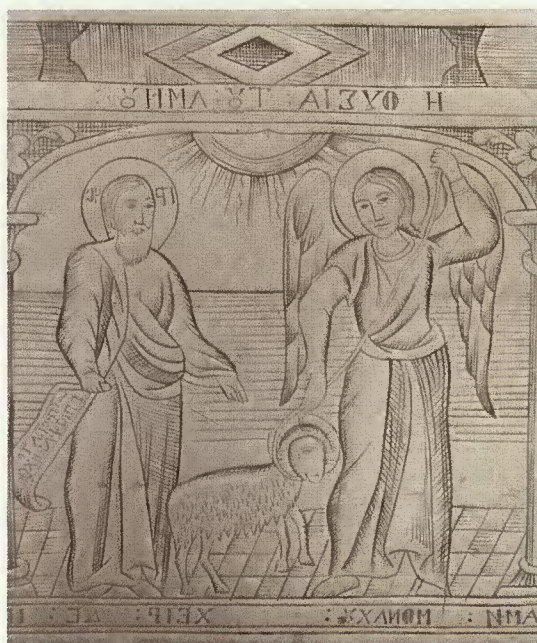
series of *antimensia*; thus they developed, over the years, the familiar 'Hagioritic type' of decoration for this liturgical vestment which, as represented by this bronzeplate made by the engraver hieromonk Ignatios (1842), constitutes a special group within the third period.

The principal characteristic of the so-called 'Hagioritic type' of *antimension* is the iconographic innovation of adding a series of small icons with liturgical and festal themes and scenes from the Life of Christ as a frame around the central theme of the Lamentation, now substantially confined to the centre. This iconographic version, considered to be the creation of the monk Theophilos of Corfu (1826), was copied on virtually all subsequent Athonite *antimensia* produced by the engravers Daniel (1836), Anthimos the Peloponnesian (1837, 1847) and Ioannis Kaldis (1869, 1870, 1878), as well as by Ignatios (1842). The iconographic type represented by this plate continued to be used for *antimensia* until the middle of the twentieth century.

This plate is engraved on its reverse with a representation of the Twelve Apostles, by the hand of the same artist (1843).

**Bibliography:** Davidov 1990, no. 36, p. 146.

H.N.S.





## 12.9 *Antimension*

Simonopetra Monastery. Sacristy

Engraver: Ignatios, hieromonk

Engraving printed on cloth, 55 x 64.5 cm

Mount Athos. Karyes

1842

established to create their own style, in which western influence was minimised and a naive style, austere and somewhat rigid, prevailed: this is evident in the present specimen. This style crystallised in the first quarter of the nineteenth century with the creation of the so-called 'Hagioritic type' of *antimension* (1826), which was copied thereafter by various Athonite engravers, including the hieromonk Ignatios (an example of whose work we see here), and which, both in the arrangement of the individual themes and in the

This *antimension* was printed from the bronzeplate described above onto a cotton cloth with a thin layer of preparation.

The familiar central theme of the Lamentation



12.8

is framed by the figures of the four Evangelists and a series of ten small square icons depicting liturgical and festal subjects of a manifestly symbolic nature. A characteristic feature of this *antimension* is that both its composition and figures parallel the Hagioritic prototypes of the folk portable icons of the period.

The engraving and printing workshops on Mount Athos began from the time they were

style, remained unchanged for several decades.

This *antimension* by Ignatios and the other works of this type, while still representative of the narrative style, constitute a special group within the third period, because by their simplicity and austerity of line they preserve and underline the transcendental nature of the icon.

The *antimension* bears the formal inscription of consecration on three sides: 'A divine and



sacred altar for the performance of the holy sacrament throughout the dominions of Our Lord Jesus Christ, consecrated and sanctified by the grace of the Holy and Life-Giving Spirit.'

On the lower edge we read '+This *epitaphios* was engraved with the help and through the generosity of Veniamin, monk, by the hand of

Church of Hagios Ignatios, a *kellion* of the Holy Monastery of Chelandari, by my humble self (signed) Hilarion of Xanthi, October 20, 1872.' Hilarion of Lefki served in the Bishopric of Xanthi from 1867 to 1872, when he was translated to the Bishopric of Samakov. The Kellion of Hagios Ignatios, a dependency of the Monastery



of Chelandari, is in Karyes, adjacent to its present-day Delegation.

hieromonk Ignatios, 1842, at Karyes on the Holy Mountain'.

The lower border also carries the record of its consecration, printed in blue ink: '+ This *antimension* was dedicated in Karyes, in the

of Chelandari, is in Karyes, adjacent to its present-day Delegation.

**Bibliography:** Theochari 1971, no. 12. Papastratos 1990, no. 591. Nilos 1991, pp. 249-50.

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# HISTORIC ARCHIVES



**13** GREEK DOCUMENTS



**14** OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS



**15** SLAVONIC DOCUMENTS



**16** ROMANIAN DOCUMENTS



**17** MONASTERY SEALS







ἀλλοῖσι  
χρῆται πρὸς  
βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ  
κρατοῦ πάντων  
πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ  
μνησθε

ἰαριτίᾳ  
σεβαστῇ  
δέσποσιν  
κομμῇ συνάξει  
εὐσεβείᾳ  
ἀλλοῖσι  
κομμῇ





*The Historic Archives of Mount Athos*

Archival documents are probably the most important source of material for the historian and certainly the most important source for the study of the societies and economies of the past, in every country and civilisation which functioned on the basis of the written word. The same documents used at any given moment to shape or record events are those subsequently used by the historian to reconstruct and evaluate them. While narrative sources usually limit us to generalities, archival material lets us look at the details of daily life. Further, the material contained in archives is original, untampered with since the age in which it was first published, and thus generally more reliable than the narrative of any individual historian, who is usually writing after the events he is describing and so, voluntarily or involuntarily, frequently colours his account according to his personal political or ideological prejudices.

After the papyri of the Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine periods, there is no original material extant in Greece earlier than the end of the ninth century. After that date there are numerous archival collections, with the volume increasing steadily, of course, the nearer we come to the present day. For the Middle Ages, the documents are few in number and thus exceptionally precious; and these have been exhaustively studied. For the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the quantities of material are so great that an exhaustive study is impossible.

The archives of the Athonite monasteries constitute the principal collection of original ninth- to fifteenth-century Byzantine documents that have come down to us. Other collections, naturally much smaller, are preserved at Meteora and in the monastery on the island of Patmos. There are also a number of original documents from the Byzantine administration in Lower Italy. Other Byzantine documents exist at various locations around the world, but these are exceedingly few in number. Our knowledge is however supplemented by documents existing in the form of copies, and particularly in monasterial codices, where mediaeval archivists copied the entire content of the archives of certain monasteries (notably those of the Makrynitissa Monastery on Mt Pelion, the Lemviotissa Monastery near Smyrna, and the Vazelon Monastery near the Black Sea).

While all the monasteries on Mount Athos have their own archives, some are far more important than others. In certain monasteries, such as the Great Lavra and the Iviron, Vatopedi and Chelandari Monasteries, the Byzantine archives are extremely important, with over a hundred documents, many of exceptional importance and considerable length. In most cases, however, the Byzantine archives are relatively small, including no more than a few dozen documents; some, such as those of the Konstamonitou and Karakalou Monasteries, have only a few Byzantine documents, while others, such as Stavronikita, Simonopetra and Gregoriou, have none at all.



A monastery's archives contain documents relating to both the history and organisation of the foundation and of course to its assets. The internal regulations known as *Typika* (Rules), the wills of their hegumens and the rare written decisions of monks in positions of authority are the main types of documents relating to the administration of the monastery and the spiritual life of its inhabitants. Mount Athos, however, with its central administrative authority of the Protaton, has ancient documents delimiting the monastic peninsula and *Typika* regulating monastic life throughout the territory, especially in Karyes, starting from the celebrated *Tragos* signed in 972 by the Emperor John Tsimiskis himself.

A monastery's assets are mirrored in its archives. Records of books, icons and other treasures or tools give us an idea of the foundation's movable property. But we learn even more about its real property, the acquisition of which was always documented in writing. Deeds of sale, bequests, exchanges, adjustments, wills, long term tenancies, private legal documents of every description bring to life before our eyes the relations of monastery with private individuals and with other monks. Then there are the public documents, from the hands of emperors, senior officials, state functionaries, judges and ecclesiastical authorities from the Patriarch to ordinary priests, from the *Protos* of Mount Athos and the *Synaxis* at Karyes: they tell about relations between the monastery and the authorities, the taxes they paid, the privileges they enjoyed and how they won them, how they dealt with the claims advanced against them by lay persons and other monks. They refer to lands and estates both on Mount Athos and beyond it, in Chalkidiki especially but also in Macedonia, in the North Aegean (particularly the island of Lemnos), and in the cities: Thessaloniki, Serres, Veroia, Kavala, and above all Constantinople.

Beyond the monastery's own assets, however, a monastery's archives will often contain documents dealing with financial transactions between laymen. When a property ended up on a monastery's roll, perhaps as a bequest, it was frequently accompanied by the entire file pertaining to its title, for this would be necessary in case of dispute. Thus, the Great Lavra has documents relating to imperial privileges granted to one Leon Kephalas, a military officer who lived in the penultimate decade of the eleventh century: these passed to the monastery together with the lands they describe, as a bequest from the man's descendants in the twelfth century. Or, a man who decided to retreat to a monastery would bring his personal papers with him, and these might well end up in the general archives, even though they were of no practical use to the foundation. This is how the Sultan's *berat* of 1483 appointing Symeon to the Patriarchate came to be in the Vatopedi Monastery, for that is where the Patriarch spent his final years. It has no legal value, for that would have ceased with the resignation of the beneficiary, but it is still a fascinating document.

This mixture of documents is what makes the Athonite archives so extraordinarily important in the study of Greece's mediaeval history: they contain so much important material on the economy and the society of the period. The Xenophontos and Zographou Monasteries contain records of property acquired as *pronoiae*, thus giving us a glimpse of the principle method of payment of the armed forces in the later Byzantine period. A bill of sale in the Docheiariou Monastery tells us of magnificent private houses in twelfth-century Thessaloniki that had deteriorated and had been subdivided into small flats and shops. A judicial decision in the Iviron Monastery describes how agricultural investments and improvements were made in Thessaloniki in the year 1400. And the documents relating to privileges and tax exemptions are legion, indicating that from the twelfth century onwards social organisation was based on privilege.

Apart from the Byzantine documents, the Athonite archives preserve a number of acts by the Emperors of Trebizond (Dionysiou Monastery), medieval documents from foreign rulers, and a few, generally insignificant, Latin documents: their main bulk, however, consists of



Bulgarian, Serb and (later) Vlach and Russian documents. The contacts between the monastic peninsula and Orthodox Christendom expanded tremendously in the years following the thirteenth century, and are reflected in the archives. There are Slav documents, mainly in the Bulgarian Zographou Monastery, documents in Serbian in Chelandari, and documents in Russian in St Panteleimon. And there are other such documents in other monasteries as well, monasteries that once had contacts with Slav-speaking countries, or *metochia* (dependencies) in Romania. There are also documents in Greek, issued by the fourteenth-century Serb rulers who had occupied Macedonia and Mount Athos, for that was the time when the Serb monarch had assumed the title of King and Emperor of Serbia and Romania (that is, of Byzantium).

Extant medieval Slav documents are even rarer than Byzantine documents, making those in the Athonite archives extremely important.

The fourteenth century brought the Ottoman Turks to Macedonia, and by the fifteenth century they had made it theirs. Their presence as lords and masters of Mount Athos from then until 1912 is reflected in the monasterial archives. A large number of Ottoman documents has been preserved, many of which date back to the time of the conquest and the fifteenth century, a period relatively poorly covered in the (otherwise extremely rich) Turkish National Archives.

There are also numerous Greek documents from this period, mostly relating to monasterial property and to litigation with other Christians; ecclesiastical and private documents. Apart from their historical value, these are also of considerable linguistic importance for, in an age of limited literacy, they are written phonetically and thus document the evolution of the various dialects.

While there are relatively few Greek papers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the eighteenth century on their numbers increase, reaching the thousands by the time we reach the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this period, however, the Athonite documents have lost the uniqueness of those dating from the Middle Ages, since similar collections exist in many other monasteries and in public archives in Greece.

The study of the archives of Mount Athos has made substantial progress only in this century. The Parisian series *Archives de l' Athos* is systematically publishing the mediaeval documents, and abridged versions of the post-Byzantine documents are being published by the Institute for Byzantine Studies in Athens. There have also been numerous isolated publications in periodicals and special editions.

The bibliography below is far from exhaustive; it is designed to provide the reader with a guide enabling him to find his way around the Archives of Mount Athos.

*Nikos Economidis*

### **Bibliography:**

For older publications, see Manousakas 1963, pp. 391-414, and Oikonomidès 1967, pp. 489-93.

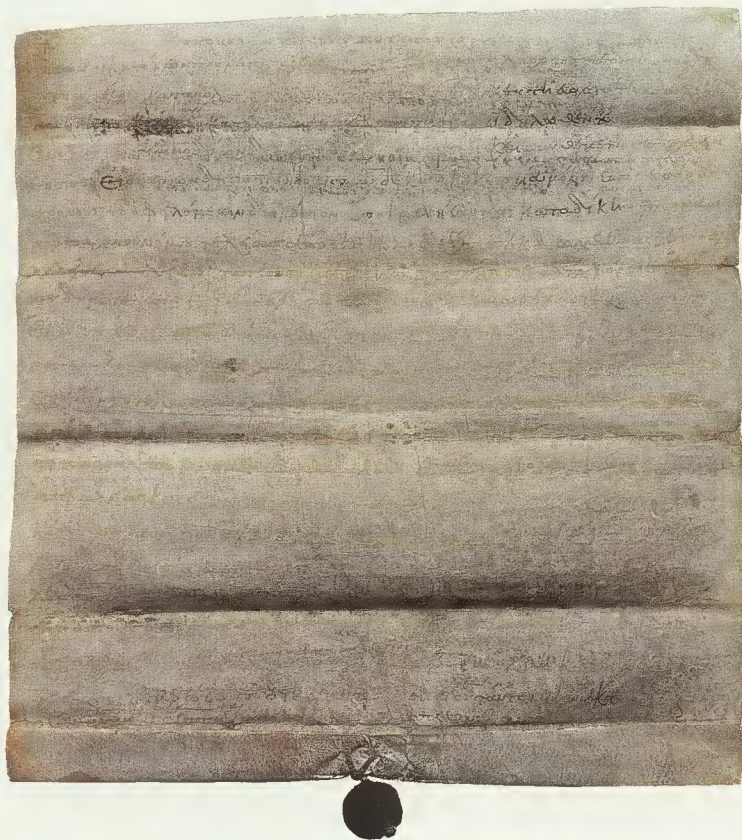
Principal editions of archives: Actes de Zographou 1907. Actes de Chilandar 1911. Actes de Chilandar 1912 [1915]. Actes de Philothée 1913. Binon 1942. Actes de Kutlumus 1945, 1988<sup>2</sup>. Actes de Xeropotamou 1964. Nikolopoulos - Economidis 1966, pp. 257-327. Actes de Dionysiou 1968. Economidis 1970 (1) pp. 416-36. Economidis 1970 (2) pp. 437-58. Actes de Lavra 1970-82, I-IV. Actes d' Esphigménou 1973. Actes du Prôtaton 1975. Actes de Kastamonitou 1978. Economidis 1979, pp. 197-263. Actes de Saint-Pantéléémon 1982. Actes de Docheiariou 1984. Vamvakas 1985, pp. 105-53. Chrysochoidis - Gounaridis 1985, pp. 7-104. Actes d' Iviron 1985-95, I-IV. Actes de Xénophon 1986. Kravari 1987, pp. 261-356. Actes du Pantocrator 1991. Gasparis 1991. Gounaridis 1993.



**13.1 Memorandum of Samonas,  
judge in Thessaloniki, October 927  
Ivion Monastery, Archives**

Parchment, 27.3 x 25.5 cm

The inhabitants of the citadel of Ierissos have a long term lease on 2,000 *modii* (about 200 hectares) of land belonging to the Colobos Monastery at Ierissos, at an annual rental of 10 gold pieces. For four years, however, they have



not paid the rent due. Since their cultivation of this land has rendered them liable to military service the judge does not evict them, but merely requires them to pay the 40 gold pieces they owe.

The document still bears, in its original position, the lead seal affixed by the judge.

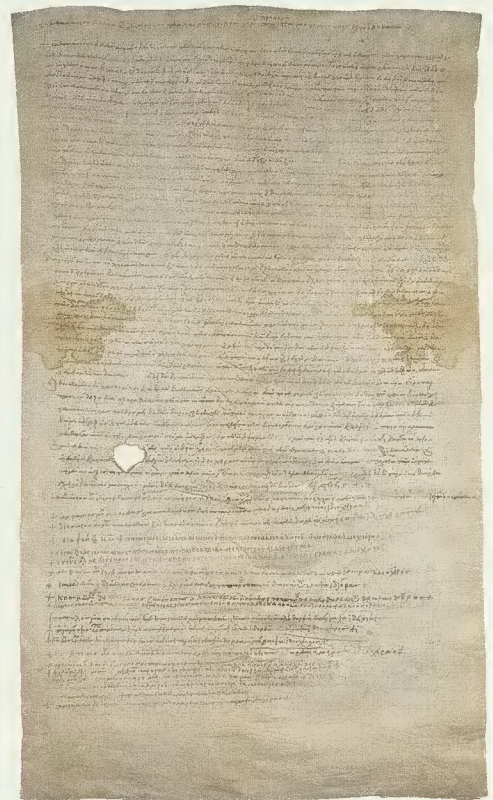
**Bibliography:** Actes d' Ivion 1985, I, no. 1.

N.E.

**13.2 Donation of Athanasios,  
Hegumen of the Great Lavra, December 984  
Ivion Monastery, Archives**

Parchment, 91.3 x 52.7 cm

[The holy] Athanasios, [founder and] Hegumen of the Lavra, who inscribed his name at the beginning and the end of the document, and thirteen monks from the foundation, declare that they feel themselves to be under an obligation to Ioannis Iviras, Hegumen



of the Clement (Ivion) Monastery who, intervening with Emperors, had in the past done the Lavra great services. They therefore offer him the chrysobull of Basil II, by which the Emperor granted the monastery exemption from the taxes payable on a ship with a capacity of 6,000 *modii*.

Obviously, the Ivion Monastery was thus automatically acquiring the right to fiscal exemption



for a ship of its own of equivalent size. It is interesting that privileges could be transferred so simply.

**Bibliography:** Actes d' Iviron 1985, I, no. 6.

N.E.

### 13.3 Demarcation of the boundary between Ierissos and Mount Athos

2 August 943

Protaton, Archives

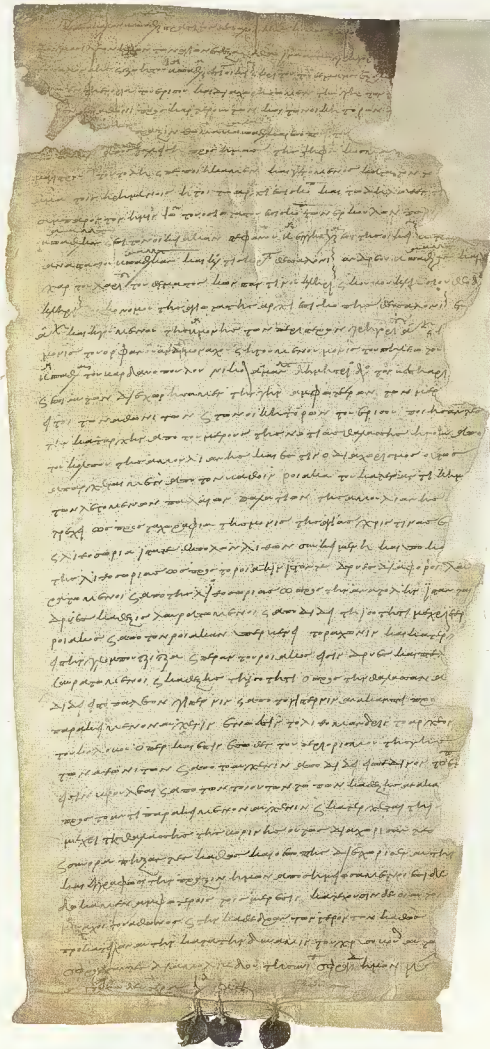
Parchment, 67 x 32 cm

In execution of an imperial decree [issued by Romanos I Lacapenos] Katakalon (*Strategos* of Thessaloniki), Zoetos (judge of Thessaloniki) and Gregorios (Metropolitan of Thessaloniki), accompanied by one bishop, seven officials from the *theme* of Thessaloniki and five priests from the cathedral and neighbouring monasteries went in a body to mark out, from the Bay of Amouliani to the northern waters, the boundary dividing the lands belonging to the people of Ierissos from those belonging to the monks of Mount Athos, in accordance with an earlier survey done by Thomas, the official *epoptis*.

The document is ratified solely by the lead seals of the three principal representatives of the authorities in Thessaloniki.

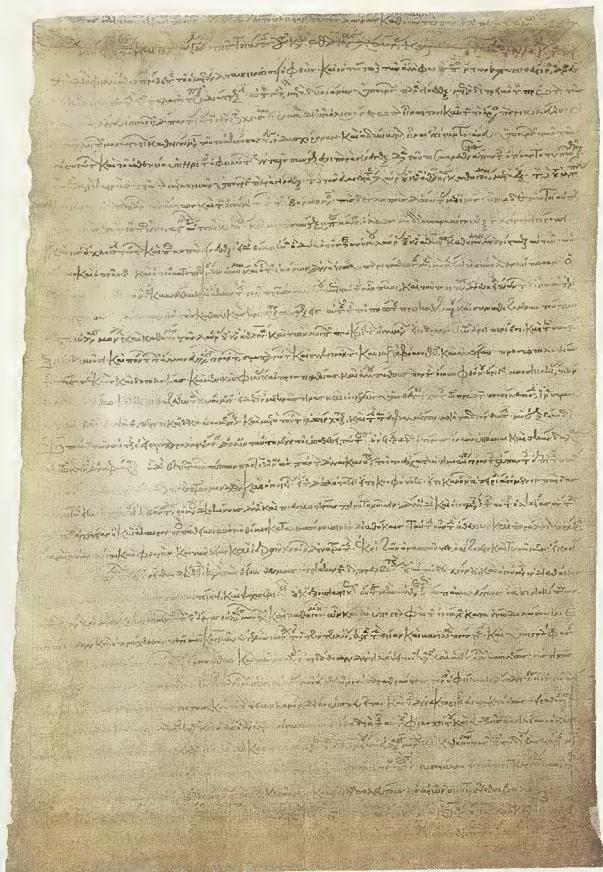
**Bibliography:** Actes du Protaton 1975, no. 6.

N.E.



13.3 The seals, detail.





### 13.4 *Typikon* September 1045 issued by Constantine Monomachos Protaton, Archives (earlier copies in the Iviron Monastery)

Copy on parchment, 265.5 x 40 cm, 12th c.

Because there was dissension among the monks on Mount Athos, the Emperor sent Brother Kosmas Tzintziloukis with a mandate to draw up a new set of regulations for the administration of the monastic community. This document was drawn up by Brother Kosmas and confirmed by the imperial cabinet with a note in red, sealed with the Emperor's lead seal and signed by the *Protos* and thirty-one hegumens and monks.

Items: eunuchs and the beardless; canonical age for ordination into the degrees of the priesthood; possession and exploitation of ships by the monasteries; possession and exploitation of oxen, goats and sheep; exploitation of the forests; transfer of monks from one monastery to another; jurisdiction of the hegumens; retinues of hegumens attending the *Synaxis*; restrictions on the disposition of the lands of the Protaton and on trade and commerce in Karyes; judicial jurisdiction of the *Protos* and of the *Synaxis* in Karyes.

**Bibliography:** Actes du Protaton 1975, no. 8.

N.E.



### 13.5 Seal ca. 1103/4 of the Venerable John Comnenos

Lead seal (diameter 35 mm) bearing the inscription 'Lord be with Thy servant the Venerable John Comnenos'

John Comnenos was the registrar of Macedonia in 1103 and 1104.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Docheiariou 1984, App. 1.

N.E.



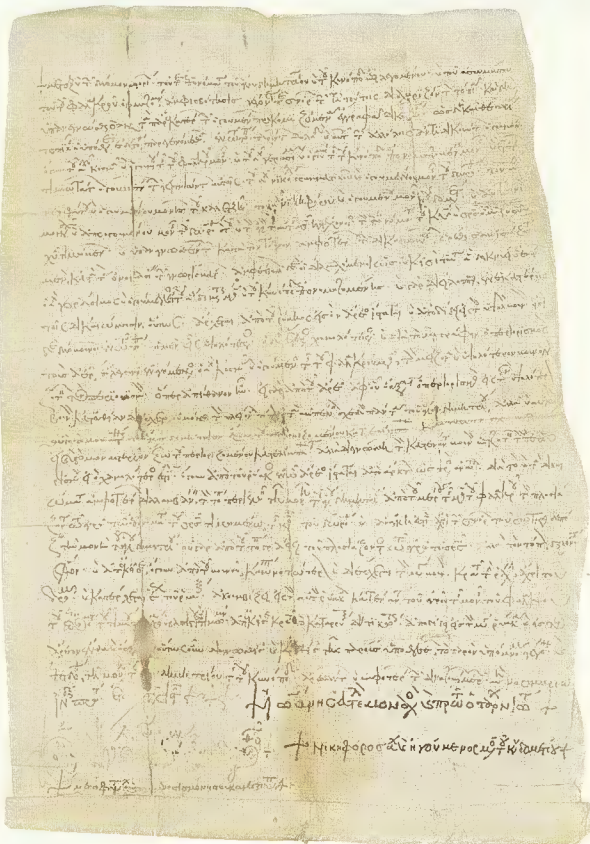
**13.6 Document**  
signed by the *Protos* Pavlos  
Xenophontos Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 270.8 x 30.7 cm

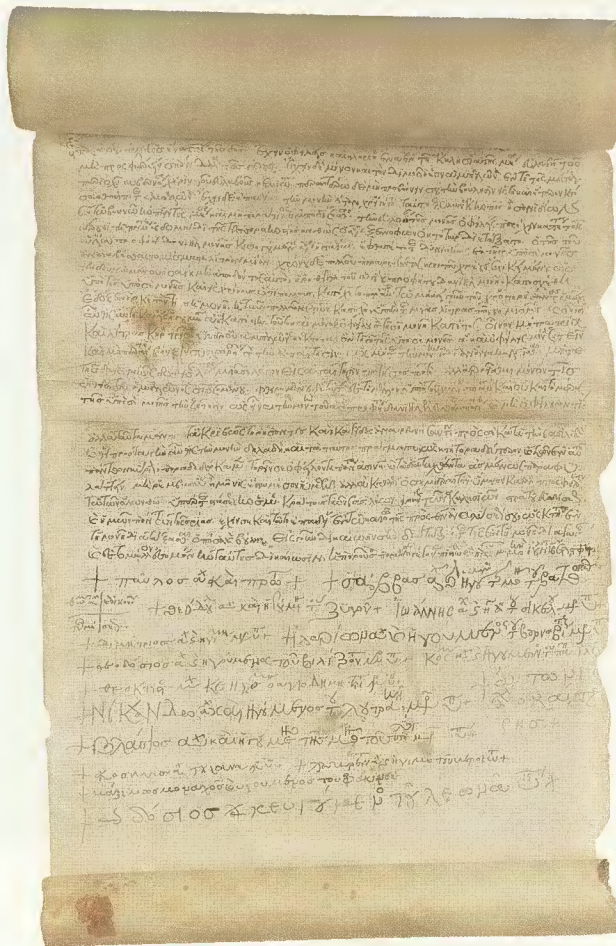
In execution of an order issued by the Emperor Alexios I Comnenos, the *Protos* and the *Synaxis* at Karyes cede to the monk Symeon, who had served as *Megas Droungarios* (that is, the senior judge in Constantinople), the Xenophontos Monastery, which he had refurbished, together with all its property on Mount Athos and elsewhere. The document also sets out the administrative regulations of the monastery: election and installation of the hegumen, hierarchical position of the hegumen at Karyes, representation at the *Synaxis*, financial provisions. The document illustrates a typical case of imperial intervention in the monastic community and the resistance of the local authorities to such outside interference.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Xénophon 1986, no. 1.

N.E.



13.7



13.6

**13.7 Memorandum**  
of the *Protos* Ioannis Tarchaneiotis  
November 1107

Pantokrator Monastery, Archives

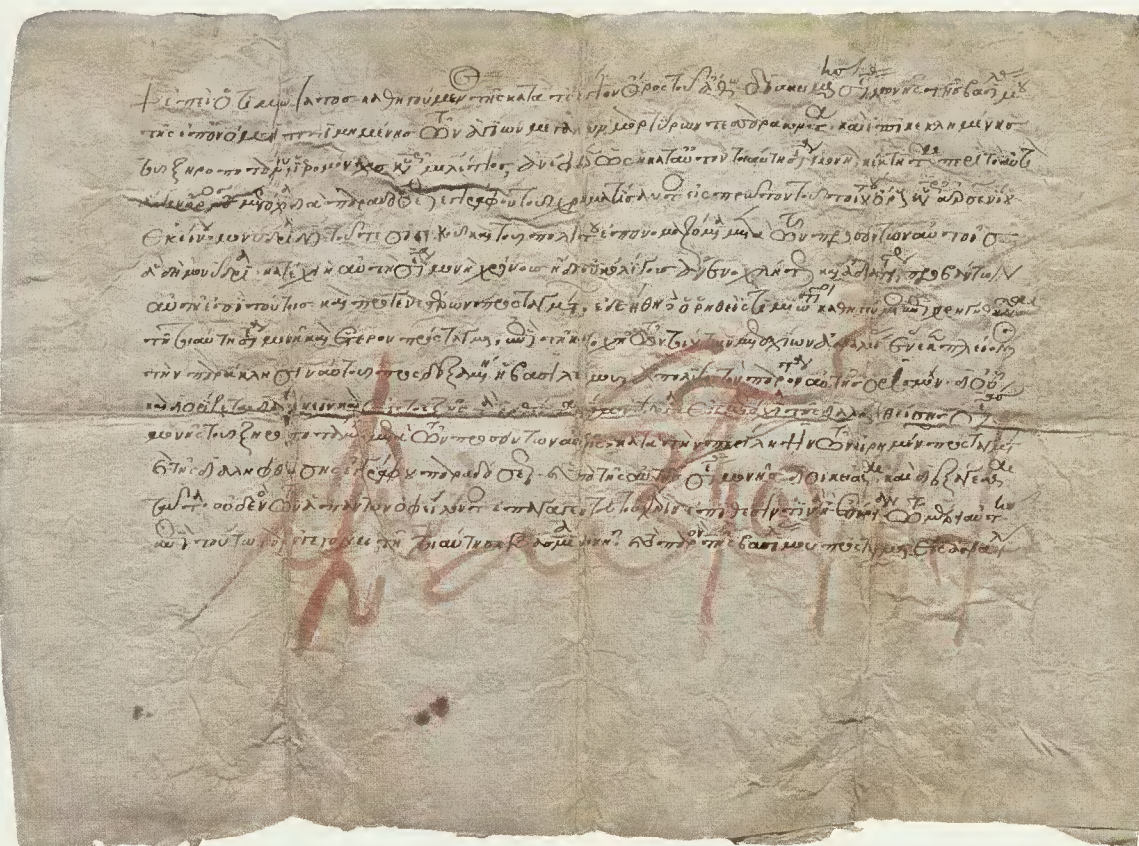
Parchment, 45 x 27 cm

The *Protos* and three hegumens establish the boundary between the Kynopodos and Phalakrou Monasteries, three kilometres north-west of the Pantokrator.

**Bibliography:** Actes du Pantocrator 1991, no. 2.

N.E.





**13.8 Order of the Emperor  
Andronikos II Palaeologos  
August 1295  
Xeropotamou Monastery, Archives**

Paper, 18.5 x.24.5 cm

The Emperor confirms the Xeropotamou Monastery in its possession of the Sisikos and Politis *monydria* given to it by the *Protos Arsenios*.

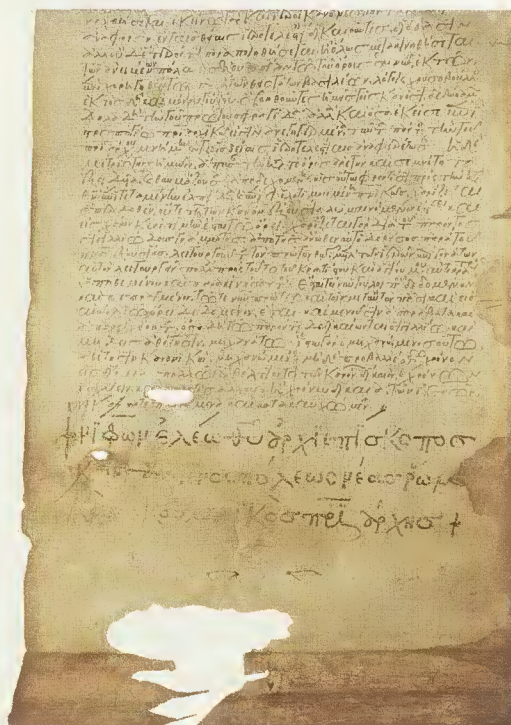
**Bibliography:** Actes de Xéropotamou 1964, no. 13.

N.E.

**13.9 Pronouncement  
of Patriarch Chariton  
Protaton, Archives**

Parchment, 55 x 43 cm

The parchment is inscribed on both sides, as was usual in such cases. The recto contains a petition (unsigned) from a monk who left Mount Athos in





order to avoid contact with peccant monks; in order to return, he has petitioned the Patriarch to absolve him from all culpability if he should come into contact with monks who trespass against the regulations.

The verso contains the signed reply from the Patriarch, annulling an earlier resolution by Patriarch Nicholas III and pronouncing that the guilt of trespass should henceforth be attached only to the trespassers, and not to those who merely come into contact with them.

**Bibliography:** Actes du Prôtaton 1975, no. 10.

N.E.

### 13.10 *Sigillion* issued by Patriarch Nephon [November 1312]

Protaton, Archives

Parchment, 171 x 25 cm

With the accord and approval of the Emperor [Andronikos II Palaeologos], the Patriarch ratifies all the privileges formerly enjoyed by Mount Athos, including that of its complete independence, but decrees that from henceforth the elected *Protos*,

who shall have full authority within the boundaries of the monastic peninsula, must be confirmed in his office by the Patriarch. He further authorises the *Protos* to wear the *epigonation* when officiating. The document, which is not dated, bears the full autograph signature of the Patriarch.

**Bibliography:** Actes du Prôtaton 1975, no. 11.

N.E.

### 13.11 Letter from the *Protos* Isaac February 1324

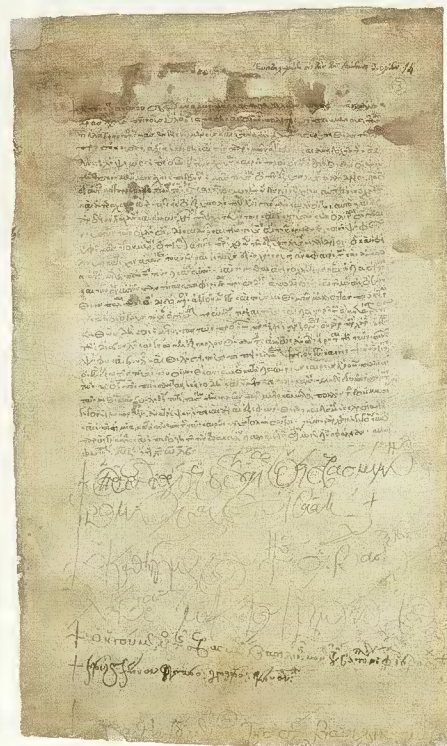
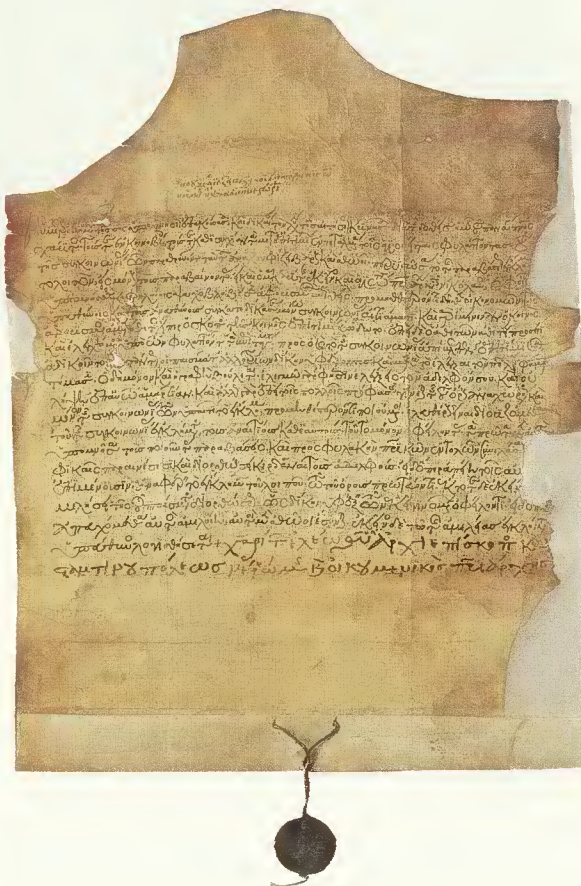
Karakalou Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 50 x 34 cm

The *Protos* and the *Synaxis* at Karyes cede in perpetuity to the Karakalou Monastery the Kellion of Exypoletos, on condition that the monastery make the usual contribution to the Protaton. The transfer was made in order to safeguard the monastery's water supply and to avoid friction with the monks of the *kellion*.

**Bibliography:** Dölger 1948, no. 106.

N.E.





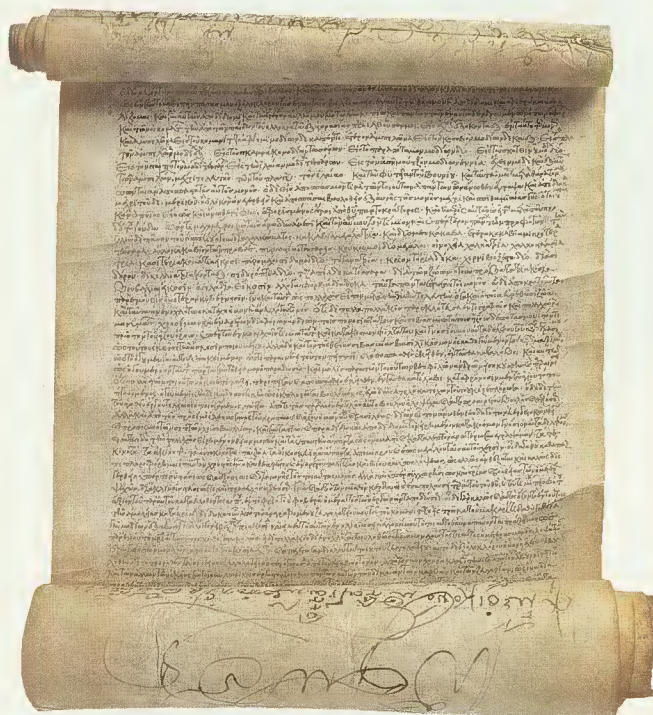
**13.12 Last will and testament  
of the skouterios Theodoros Sarantinos**

October 1325

Vatopedi Monastery, Archives

Paper, 180 x 30 cm

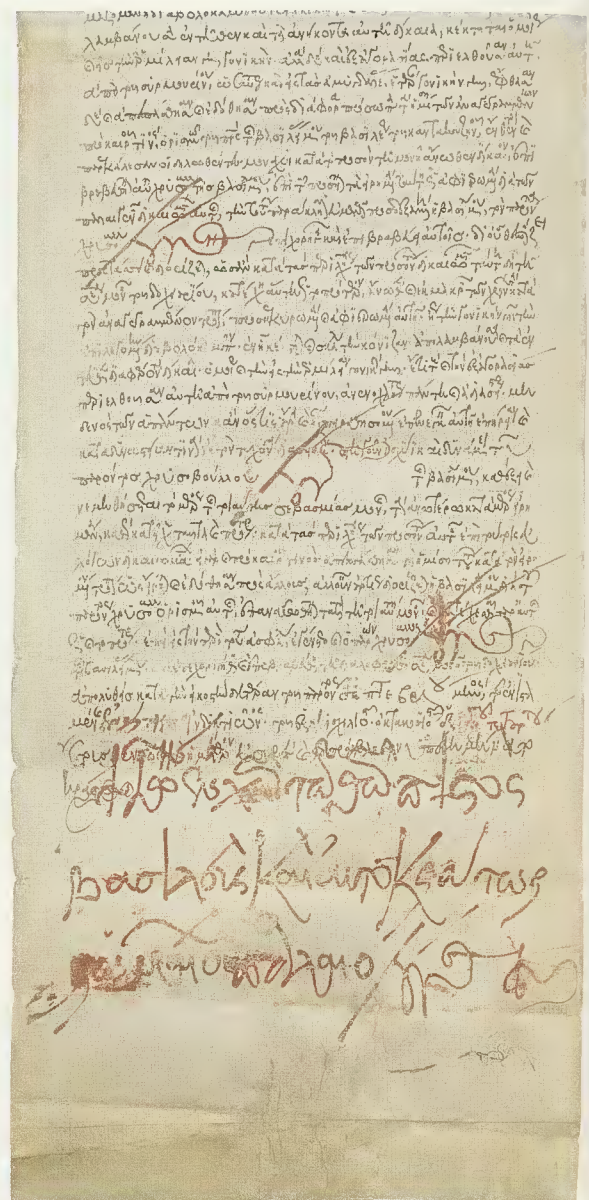
The *pansevastos sevastos* and *skouterios* Theodoros Sarantinos has dictated his last will and testament to Brother Ioannis the Karakalite, scribe, in the presence of the *chartophylax* of Veroia. He has signed his own name at the top of the document, and a number of laymen and clerics, including



Bishop Maximos of Veroia, have witnessed the document at the bottom. He leaves to the Monastery of St John the Baptist, which he founded in Veroia (and which was later to become a dependency of the Vatopedi Monastery) considerable real and personal (icons, vessels, etc.) property; he also leaves both real and personal property to a number of relatives. He describes in detail certain items whose ownership has been disputed in the past, and appoints his brother, Gerasimos Sarantinos, monk, as hegumen of the monastery.

**Bibliography:** Theocharidis 1962, pp. 17-28.

N.E.



**13.13 Chrysobull**

May 1343

issued by John V Palaeologos  
Docheiariou Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 76 x 30.8 cm

The Emperor confirms the Docheiariou Monastery in its possession of the estates of Rossaios, Diabolocampo and Hermeleia, including the 1850 *modii* of land which had earlier been severed for distribution to soldiers.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Docheiariou 1984, no. 21.

N.E.

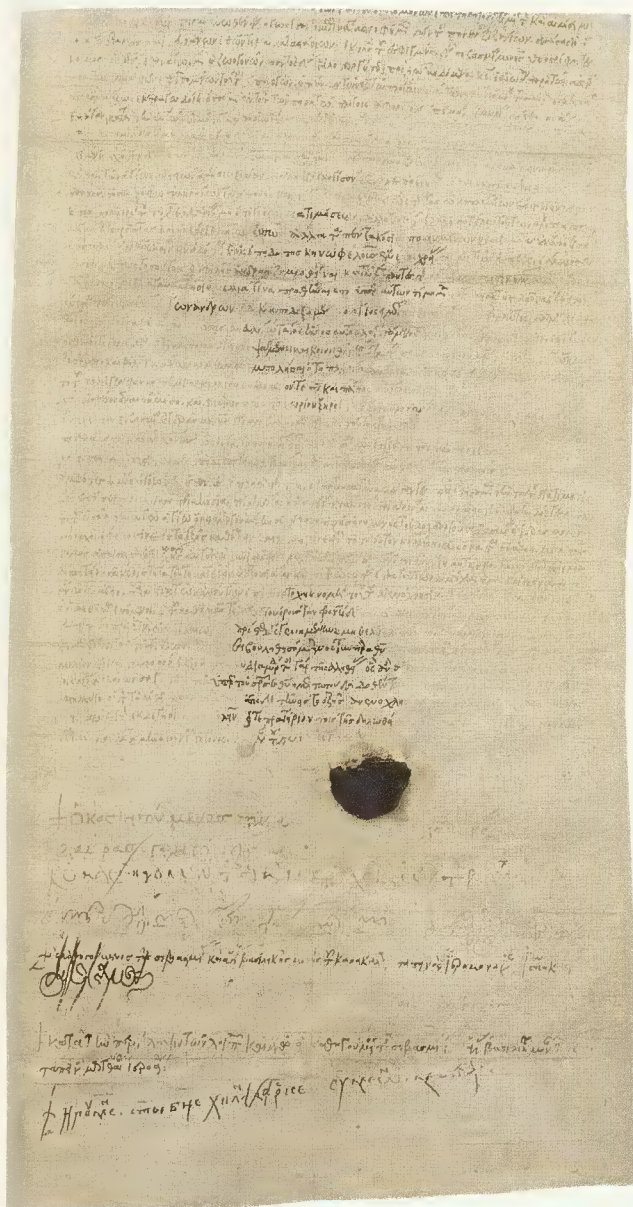


**13.15 Praktikon  
of Michael Papylas**  
Karakalou Monastery, Archives

January 1342

Parchment, 52 x 29 cm

Michael Papylas, the *enochos* (or steward) of



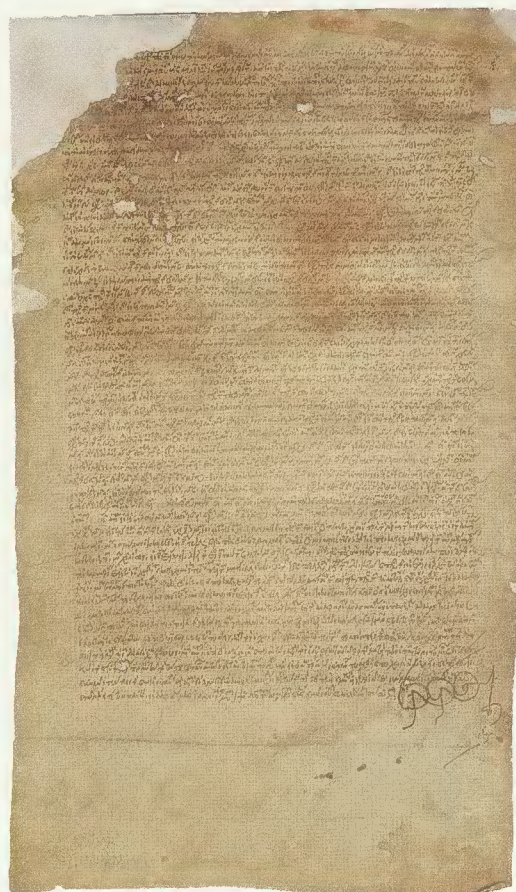
**13.14 Seal of the Protaton** June 1345  
Docheiariou Monastery, Archives

Diameter 3.3 cm

This black wax seal is affixed to a deed issued by the *Synaxis* in Karyes (paper, 87.7 x 28 cm.) in respect of the sale to the Docheiariou Monastery of the kellion of Kalligraphos. It has been affixed to the lower part of the document, above the signatures, and represents the Virgin *orans* with Christ in an *enkolpion*. Legend: MP-ΘΥ.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Docheiariou 1984, no. 24.

N.E.



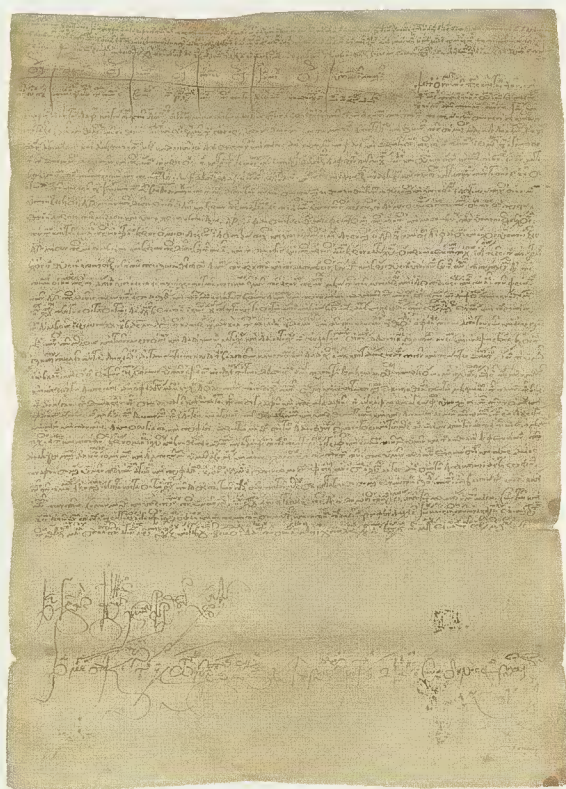
the district of Zichna and Thessaloniki, confers upon Ioannis Margaritis full title to certain lands and farm labourers which will provide him with an income of 55 gold pieces a year. These lands had been confiscated from their former owners, and in particular from Arsenios Tzamlakonas and Cantakuzenos, who had rebelled against the Emperor John V Palaeologos.

This is an act of reprisal of a kind that was commonplace at the beginning of the 1341-47 Byzantine civil war.

**Bibliography:** Lemerle 1964, pp. 278-98.

N.E.





**13.16 Deed of sale** June 1336  
**Xenophontos Monastery, Archives**  
 Parchment, 51.5 x 34.2 cm

Irene, wife of Leon Paulis, and her three children sell to a monk called Ignatios Syriaris three buildings around a courtyard in the district of the Hippodrome in Thessaloniki. The purchase price of 58 gold pieces was paid in silver Venetian ducats.

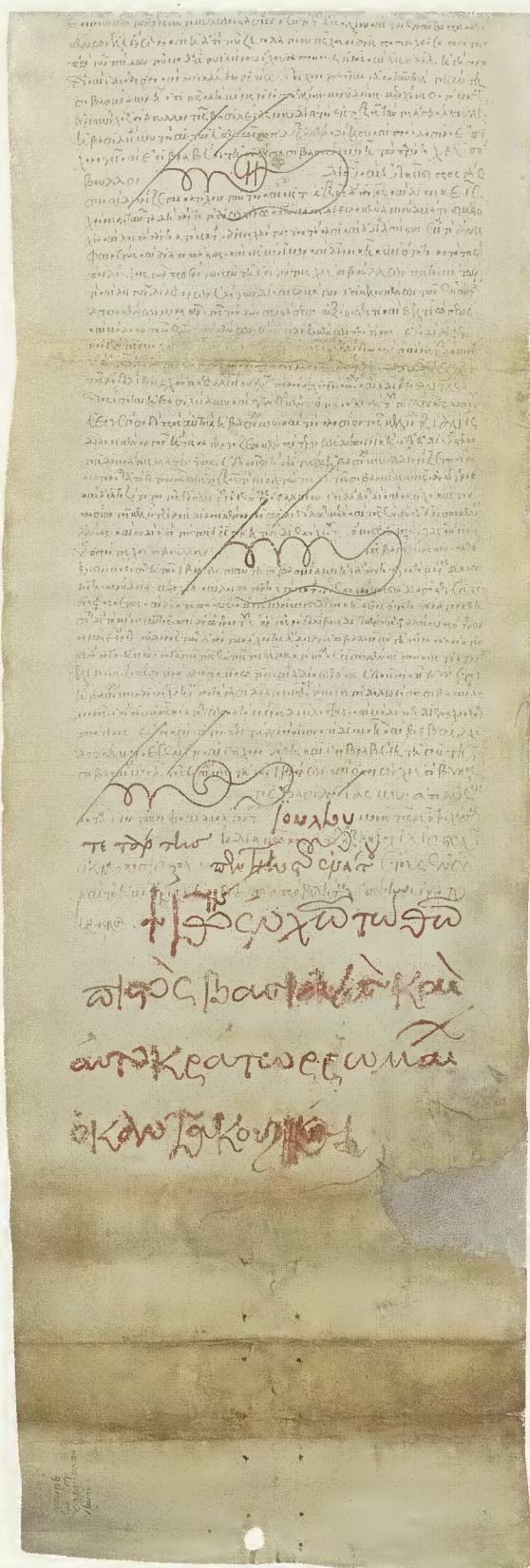
The document was notarised by Nicholas Synadenos, *taboullarios* (notary) in Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Xénophon 1986, no. 24.

N.E.

**13.17 Chrysobull** 14 July 1351  
**of John VI Cantacuzenos**  
**Iviron Monastery, Archives**  
 Parchment, 136.2 x 26.7 cm

The Emperor confirms the Monastery in its possession of twenty-seven estates, with their





labourers, in Macedonia, and grants it another property as well as certain tax exemptions. This is a typical example of a chrysobull enumerating the vast landed wealth of a large Athonite foundation.

**Bibliography:** Actes d' Ivron 1995, IV, no. 91.

N.E.

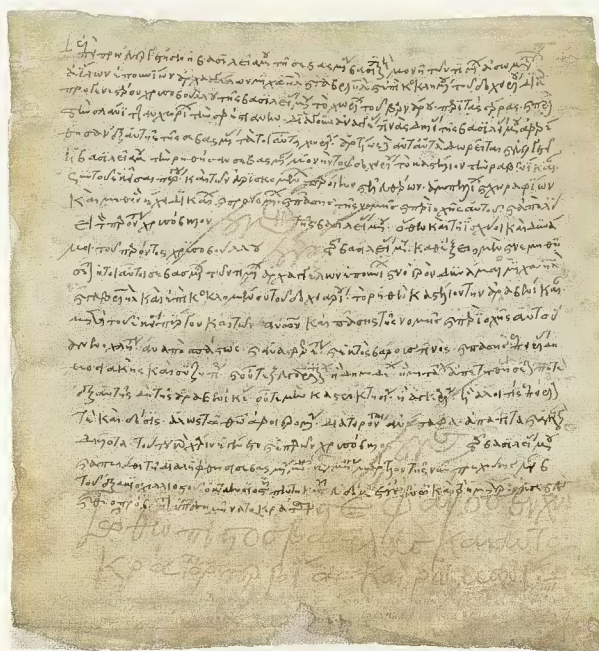
**13.18 Chrysobull** **March 1349**  
**issued by Stefan Dusan**  
**Docheiariou Monastery, Archives**

Parchment, 30 x 29.2 cm.

The Serb Emperor cedes to the Docheiariou Monastery the castle Rebenicaia, with its tower, its lands and its tenants, in recompense for other properties earlier sequestered.

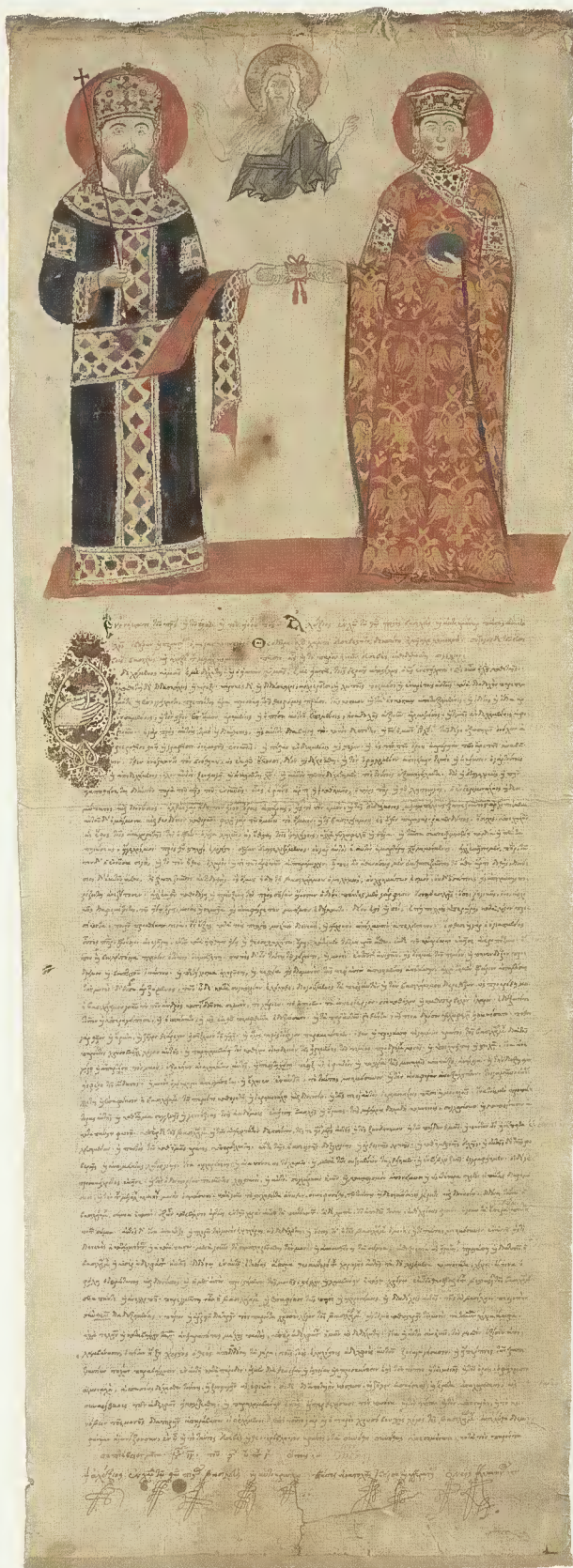
**Bibliography:** Actes de Docheiariou 1984, no. 25.

N.E.



13.19 Chrysobull issued by Alexios III Comnenos, detail from the prototype.





**13.19 Chrysobull** September 1374  
issued by Alexios III Comnenos  
Dionysiou Monastery, Archives  
18th c. copy  
Paper, 103.8 x 36 cm

This is a copy of the chrysobull charter founding the Dionysiou Monastery, by which the Emperor of Trebizond gave Dionysios the sum of 100 *somia* of silver, which is the equivalent of about 1,000 gold *hyperpyra*, in order to build his monastery, and promised him an annual grant of 1000 Comnene aspers (silver coins of Trebizond) for the future. In exchange, Dionysios was to see that the names of the Emperor and his family were remembered in perpetuity in the services in the church and was to accord a special welcome to any from Trebizond who should arrive at the monastery, either as monks



or as ordinary visitors.

The huge original chrysobull (paper, 301 x 40.3 cm) is decorated with a beautiful and original miniature, retains its gold seal (the two discs, having become detached, are now stitched to the document next to the miniature), and is written in the ornamental hand typical of the twelfth century, which is extremely



difficult to decipher; some words have been written in red ink, and some in gold. The miniature represents St John the Baptist (the patron saint of the foundation) blessing the Emperor of Trebizond and his Empress, Theodora.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 4.

N.E.

### 13.20 Judicial decision June 1375 Vatopedi Monastery, Archives

Paper, 120 x 27 cm

The signatories, Dorotheos Metropolitan of Thessaloniki and Georgios Doukas Tzykandelis, in the service of the Emperor, assisted by numerous coadjutants, have heard a dispute that has arisen between the Vatopedi Monastery and the widow of the eparch Arianitis, on the subject of the Monastery of St John the Baptist, founded by Theodoros Sarantinos and bequeathed to the Vatopedi in 1328. The challenge to the title to this property has come about because of the intervening Serb occupation of Macedonia, during which period certain property was redistributed. The court found for the monastery.

**Bibliography:** Theocharidis 1962, pp. 36-50.

N.E.

### 13.21 Sigillion-letter May 1386 issued by Patriarch Neilos Pantokrator Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 46 x 36 cm

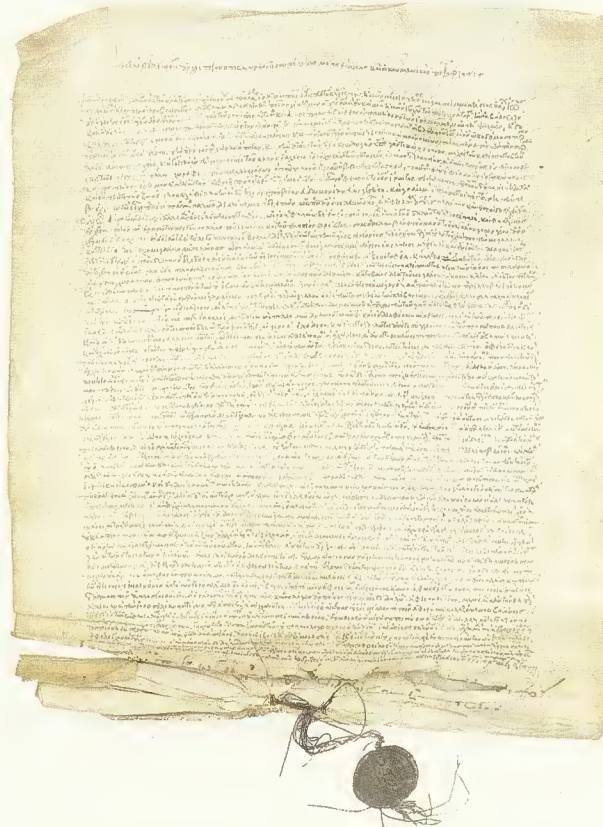
The Patriarch confirms the gift of lands in Thasos to the Pantokrator Monastery, made by its founder, *megas primikerios* John. John had retaken Thasos from the Turks and had settled there some of his own people, under a special regime.

The lead seal of the Patriarch, with its blue ribbon, is still preserved in its original position.

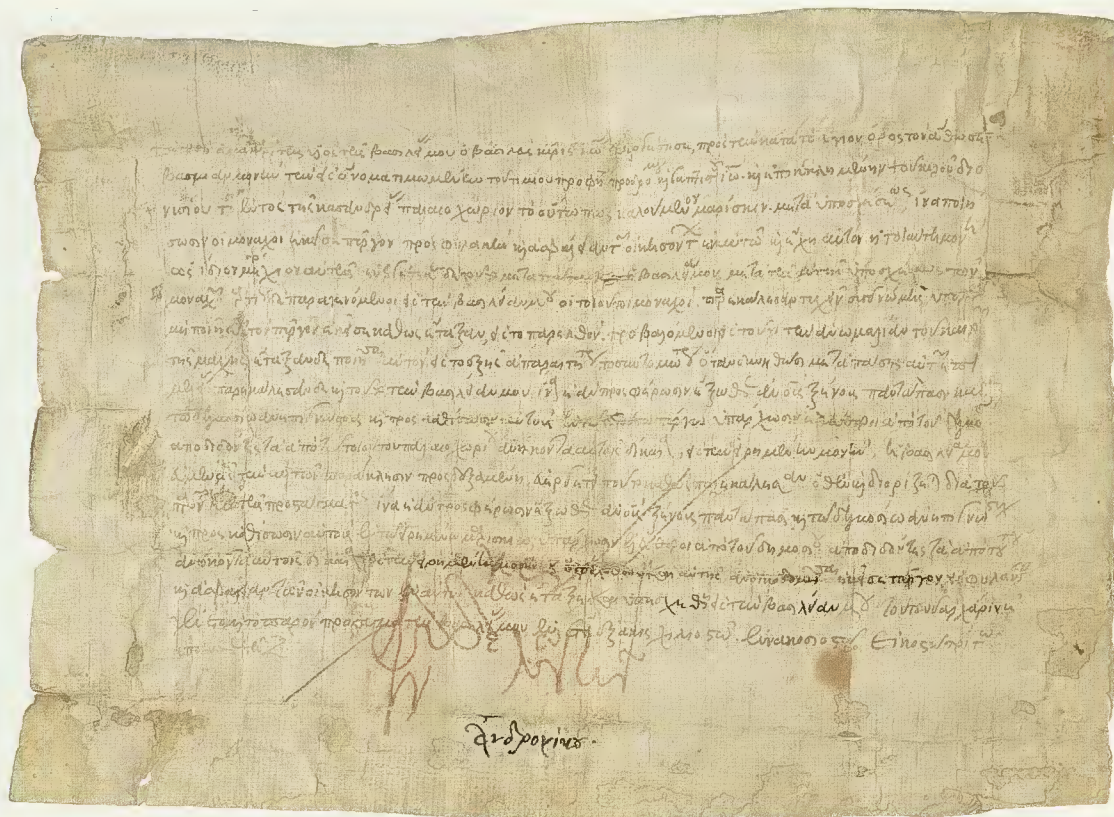
A semi-independent ruler with his own army under the suzerainty of the Emperor, he and his brother Alexios had carved out their own small statelet centred on Kavala.

**Bibliography:** Actes du Pantocrator 1991, no. 11.

N.E.







**13.22 Order**                      **20 December 1414**  
**of the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologos**  
**Dionysiou Monastery, Archives**

Paper, 21.5 x 29 cm

The Emperor exempts from all taxes the peasants to be resettled by the Dionysiou Monastery in the village of Mariskin near Kassandra, where it will also build a tower for their defence.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 13.

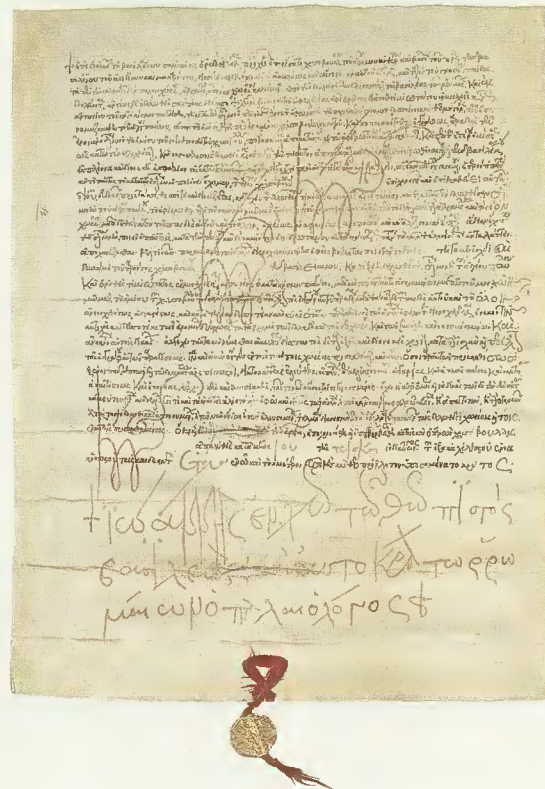
N.E.

**13.23 Chrysobull**                      **June 1405**  
**issued by John VII Palaeologos**  
**St Paul's Monastery, Archives**

Parchment, 37 x 54 cm

The Emperor confirms the gift by his 'good friend' Sabias Radosthlabos to St Paul's Monastery of the villages of Abramitae and Neochorion in the district of Kalamaria, exempts the villagers from

all irregular taxes and forced labour, and grants them protection against the arbitrary actions or





exactions of any public official. The villages in question had been a gift from the Emperor Andronikos IV Palaeologos (1376-1379).

The document bears the signature of the Emperor, in red, and the gold seal still affixed in its original position.

**Bibliography:** Dölger 1931, no. 34. Binon 1942, pp. 282-6.

N.E.

**13.24 Order** **September 1416**  
**of the Emperor Alexios IV Comnenos**  
**Dionysiou Monastery, Archives**

Paper, 41 x 28.5 cm

The Emperor of Trebizond confirms the annual grant of 1,000 Comnene aspers, which his grandfather [Alexios III Comnenos] had promised to the Athonite Monastery of St John the Baptist (Dionysiou) and orders that in future the sum be paid by the royal Monastery of 'Christ the Chaldean' at Sourmena. He also orders that the sum be payable to any authorised agent of the foundation.

This is an extremely rare example of an original order issued by the Emperor of Trebizond.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 15.

N.E.

**13.25 Document** **September 1415**  
**from the salt-pan workers**  
**in Thessaloniki**  
**Dionysiou Monastery, Archives**

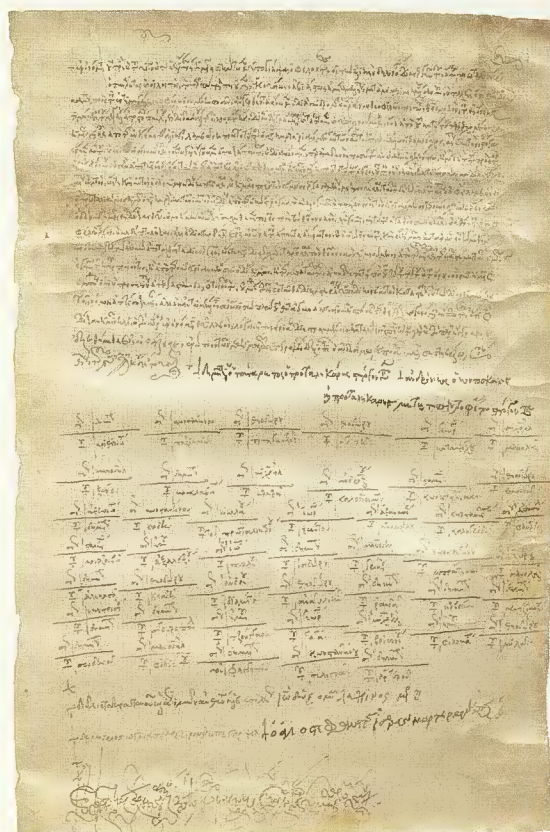
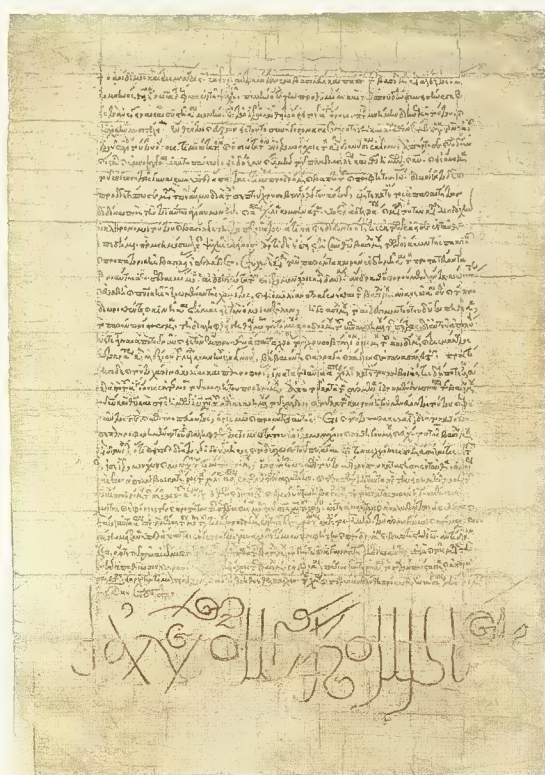
Parchment, 44.5 x 28.4 cm

Two teams of salt workers (45 men) employed in the Thessaloniki salt pans (at Kitros?), together with their foremen Demetrios Panaretos and Andronikos Kontoskalis, undertake to give 100 aspers a year to the hieromonk who was to officiate in the new Church of St Paul in Thessaloniki. The sum would be collected by the foreman by deducting the appropriate amount from each man's wages.

Documents such as this, from the members of a guild or society, are extremely rare.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 14.

N.E.





**13.26 Act** September 1419  
of the Despot Andronikos Palaeologos  
St Paul's Monastery, Archives

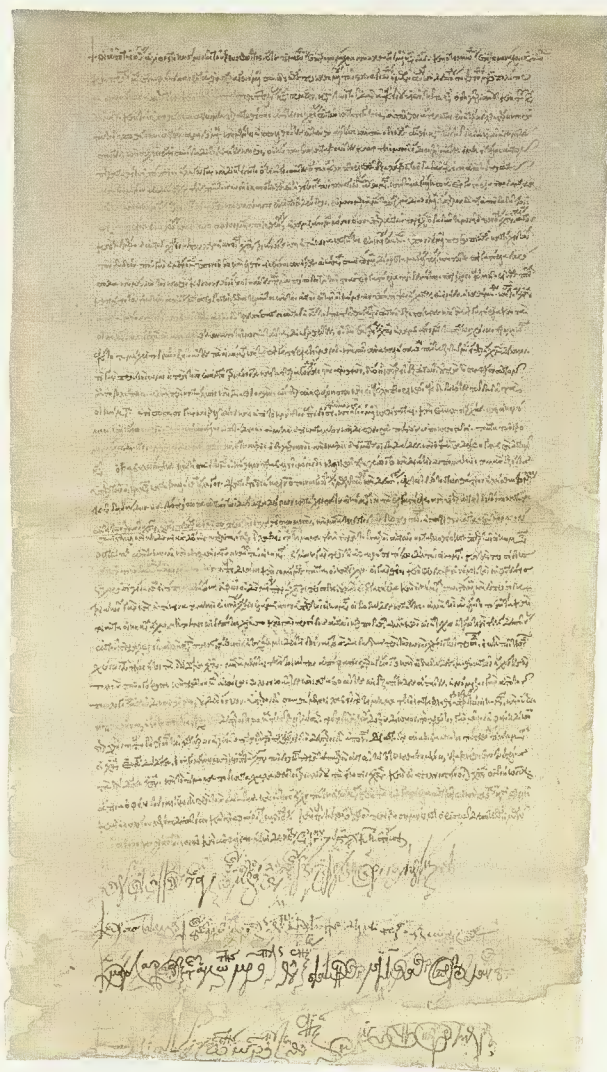
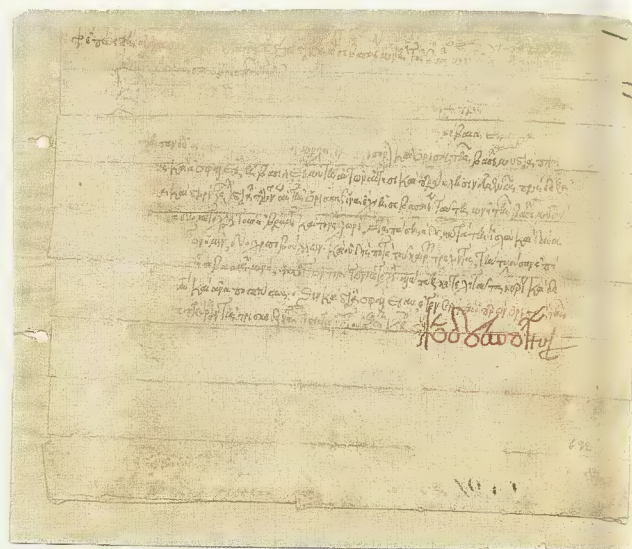
Paper, 20 x 27 cm

The Despot confirms the St Paul's Monastery in its possession of the villages Abramitae and Neochorion.

The Despot does not use his name in this document but, as the son of the Emperor, signs only with his title: Despot of Byzantium.

**Bibliography:** Dölger 1948, no. 31.

N.E.



**13.27 Judicial decision** December 1419  
of the Metropolitan Court  
of Thessaloniki  
Xenophontos Monastery, Archives

Paper, 55 x 30 cm

By order of the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, the senior officers of the metropolitan court have heard a dispute between the Xenophontos Monastery and the brothers Demetrios and Odegetrianos Dadas. Thirty years earlier the Dadas brothers had, at an annual rental of 3 gold pieces, taken a long term lease on certain buildings belonging to the monastery in the Asomaton quarter of Thessaloniki, where they had opened a wineshop which brought them an income of 30 gold pieces a month. Now the monastery wants the property back. This is duly effected, the monastery being ordered first to repay the Dadas brothers the cost of the investment they had made to improve the property.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Xénophon 1986, no. 32.

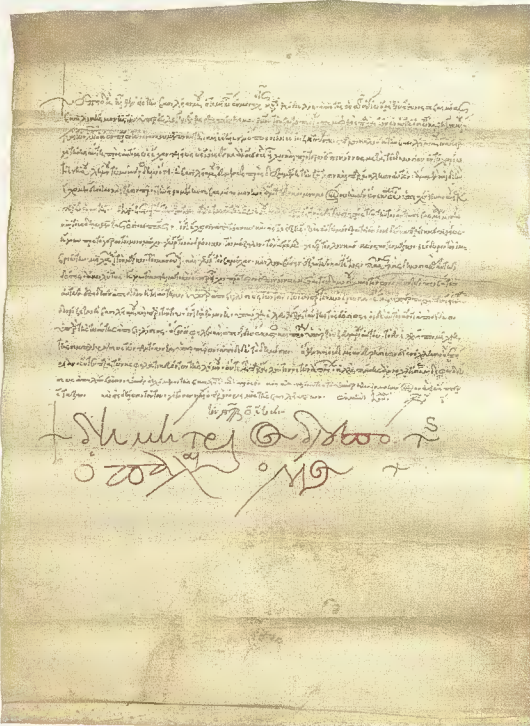
N.E.

**13.28 Act** July 1462  
of the Despot Demetrios Palaeologos  
Vatopedi Monastery, Archives

Paper, 21 x 29 cm

The despot grants the Vatopedi Monastery the





13.28

right to collect from ten tenants of Moudros (Lemnos) the total amount of their taxes (the State had formerly taken half) and exempts it from the contribution to the coastal watch which it had formerly paid on account of these tenants.

Although the Byzantine Empire had been dissolved nine years previously, the despot Demetrios had managed to maintain his sovereignty over Lemnos, which he ruled in accordance with Byzantine tradition. The coastal watch was an obligation on the part of the inhabitants of the island to keep an eye on shipping and alert the Ottoman authorities of the appearance of pirates or enemies.

**Bibliography:** Arkadios 1919, pp. 436-7. Goudas 1926, pp. 47-8. Dölger 1931, no. 36.

N.E.

**13.29 Edict** 25 September 1451  
of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror  
St Paul's Monastery, Archives

Paper, 26.3 x 12.5 cm

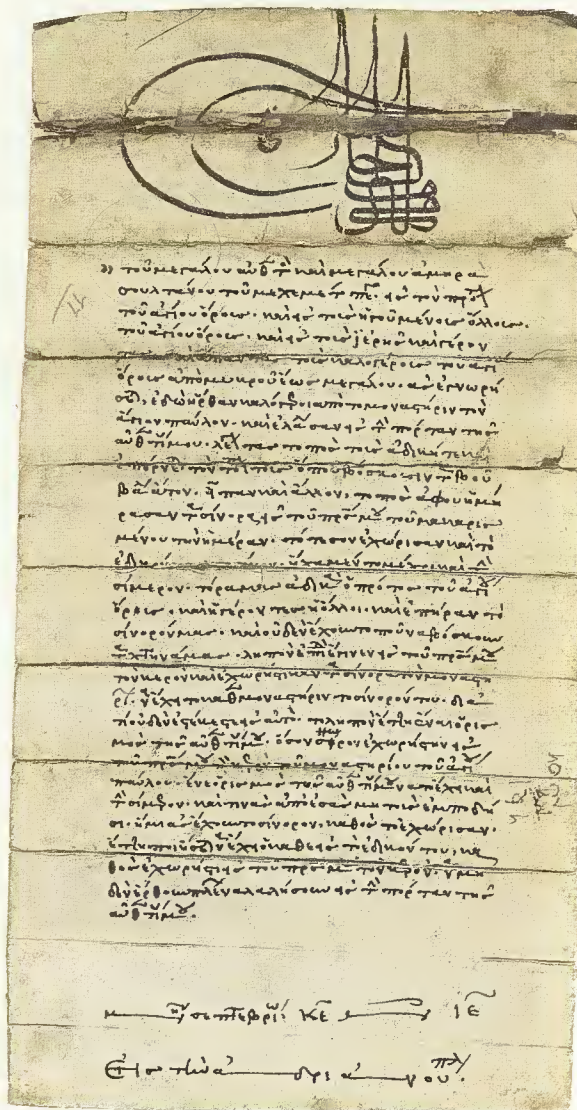
The Sultan orders the *Protos* and the Holy *Synaxis* of Mount Athos to respect the distribution

of lands made during the reign of Sultan Murad II, and in particular to return to the Monastery of St Paul certain pastures seized from it.

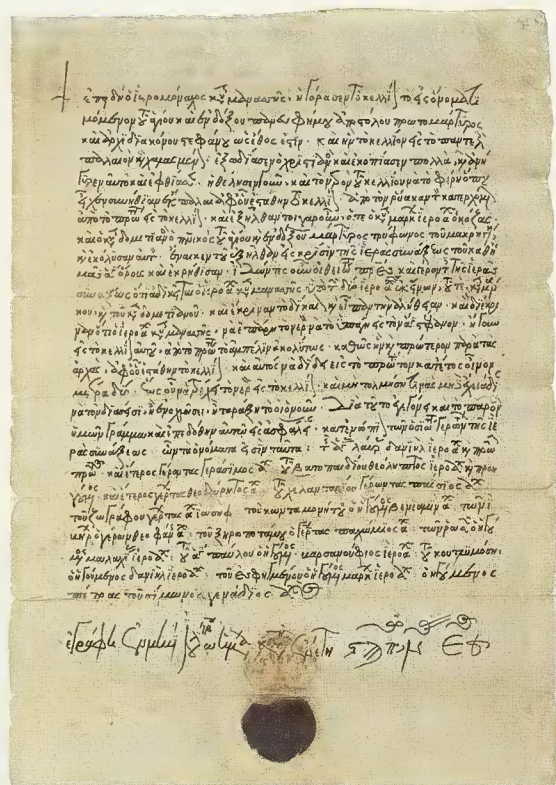
Although this document, which was delivered in Adrianople (then the Ottoman capital) begins with the calligraphic sign of the Sultan, it is written in bad vernacular Greek. The Sultans frequently used Greek for official documents within the Empire and for their foreign correspondence (e.g. with Venice).

**Bibliography:** Binon 1942, pp. 295-8.

N.E.







### 13.30 Document of the *Synaxis* in Karyes Sunday 12 July 1472

Dionysiou Monastery, Archives

Paper (folio), 31.5 x 21.9 cm

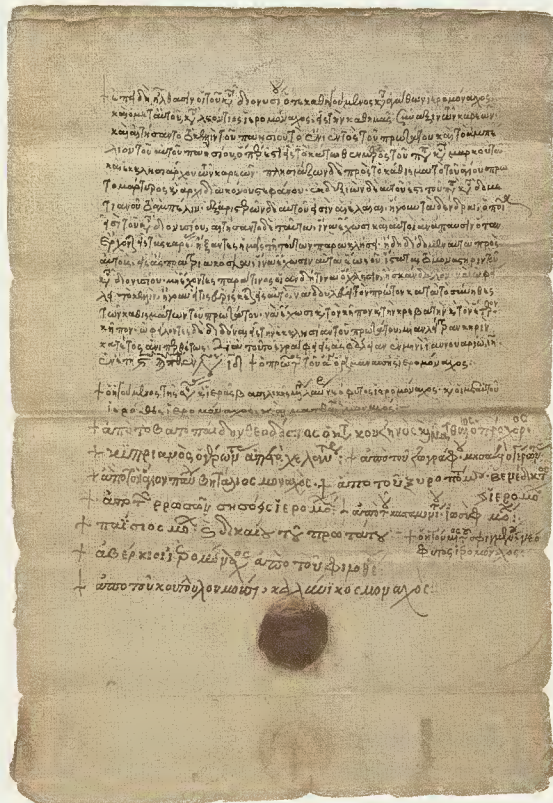
Certified copy from the Secretariat of the Protaton, contemporary with the original.

In the centre of the bottom margin is the wax seal of the Protaton (Virgin and Child in an *enkolpion*).

The hieromonk Manassis bought and repaired the Kellion of Hagios Stephanos in Karyes. When, however, he sought to bring water into this *kellion*, he encountered opposition from the hieromonk Markos Kozas and the confessor of the *kellion*, Tryphon Makrygenis. The dispute was heard by the *Synaxis* in Karyes, which found for Manassis and permitted him to draw water for the *kellion* and for his vineyard from the supply which waters the vineyards of the Protaton. Manassis is to make an annual offering to the Protaton of two measures of wine.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 31, pp. 163-4. Cf. Nikolopoulos - Economidis 1966, no. 59, p. 279.

K.Ch.



### 13.31 Document from the *Synaxis* in Karyes 18 January 1481

Dionysiou Monastery, Archives

Paper (folio), 31 x 21.2 cm

Certified copy from the Secretariat of the Protaton, contemporary with the original.

In the middle of the bottom margin is the wax seal of the Protaton (Virgin *orans* with Christ in an *enkolpion*).

Agathon, the hegumen of the Dionysiou Monastery, and the hieromonk Leontios, has asked the *Synaxis* at Karyes to sell the monastery the *kellion* of Paisios, for use as a lodging for visiting monks, as well as a vineyard and two orchards. The assembly approves, and agrees to sell the property for the sum of three hundred aspers. The monastery assumes the customary labour obligations towards the Protaton, plus an annual contribution of one litre of wax.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Dionysiou 1968, no. 34, p. 175. Cf. Nikolopoulos - Economidis 1966, no. 62, p. 280.

K.Ch.



### 13.32 *Synodikon of the stavrophori of the Great Church*

12 March 1488

Ivion Monastery, Archives

Paper (folio), 30.2 x 22 cm

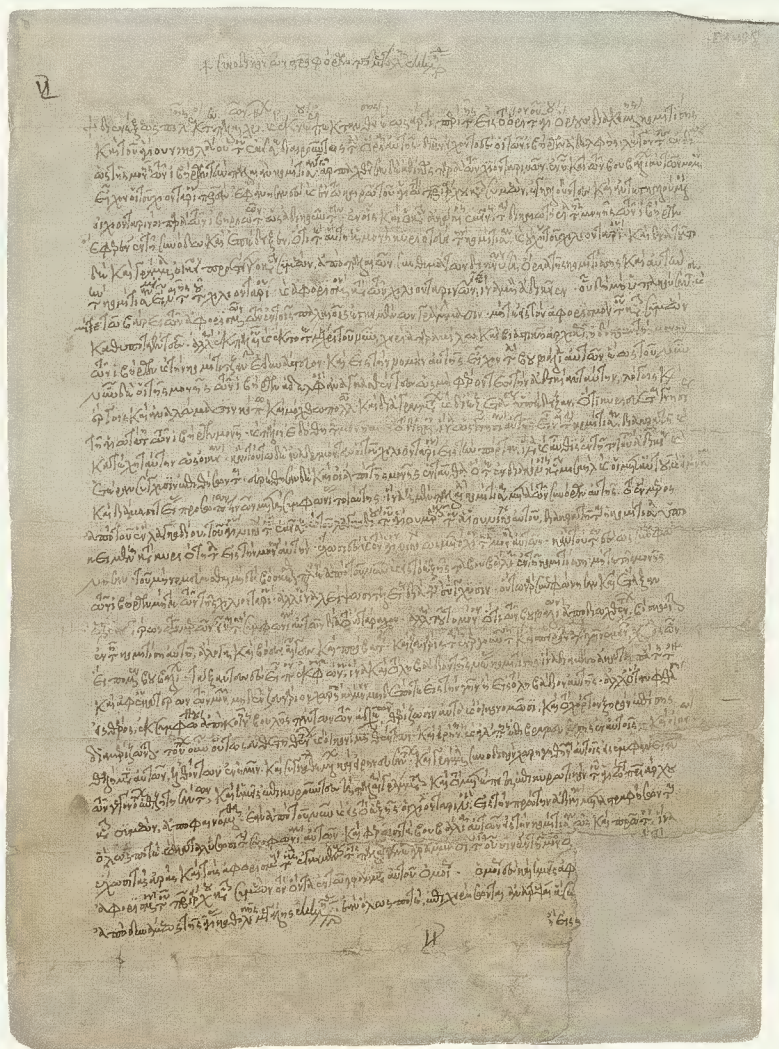
The text continues on the verso of the first sheet, which also bears the signatures of the officials of the Great Church.

The subject is a long-standing dispute between the Ivion and Chelandari Monasteries over Komitissa, which lies on the border of Mount Athos, and Hagios Nikolaos (Skorpiou). The Ivirites claim that Komitissa belongs to them and that it had been unlawfully encroached upon by the Chelandarites. There is an earlier judgement in this matter, pronounced by the Patriarch Symeon, in favour of

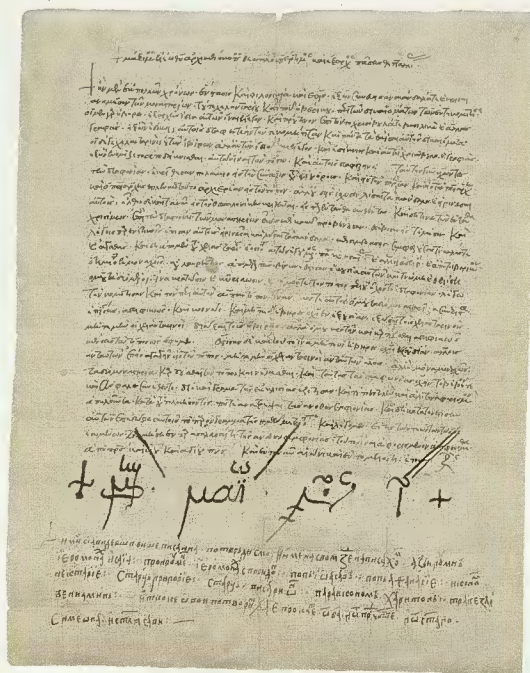
the Ivion Monastery. The monks of Chelandari have continued to trespass upon this property, grazing their buffalo there, and indeed have gone so far as to appeal to the secular courts. Through the good offices of a number of persons the two sides have been reconciled, agreeing that neither Monastery shall graze buffalo there, but only horses, cattle, goats, sheep and yokes of beasts for the plough. Now they have come to Constantinople for the ratification of this agreement. The officers of the Great Church confirm the earlier documents, including that of Patriarch Symeon. The Chelandarites are forbidden to violate this compact on pain of excommunication.

**Bibliography:** Actes d' Ivion 1995, IV, no. 104, pp. 186-8 (with erroneous date, 1503).

K.Ch.







**13.33 Letter from Maximos, May 1492**  
Metropolitan of Thessaloniki  
Ivion Monastery, Archives  
Paper, 38.8 x 30.2 cm

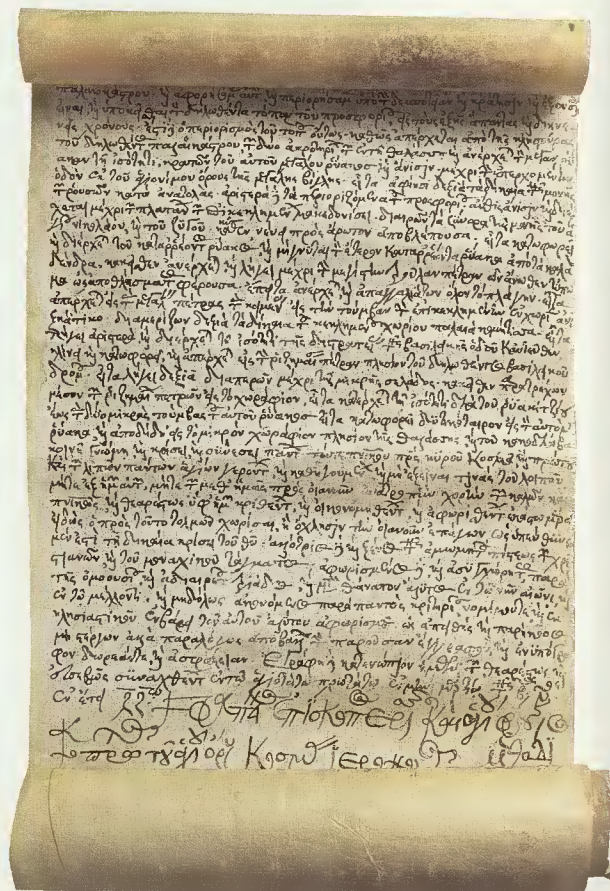
Strife and dissension have for many years been troubling relations between the Chelandari and Ivion Monasteries over the matter of the Komitissa property. The Ivirites contend that it has been always been theirs, supporting their claim with royal chrysobulls and other documents purporting to establish their occupancy of the property. In this matter they have repeatedly sought the judgement of the Athonite *Synaxis*, the Sublime Porte and the Patriarch. In order that this matter might be resolved, the Patriarch dispatched to Athos a senior prelate, who however was unable to settle the dispute. Now the parties have come to Thessaloniki to put their case before the authorities in that city. With the counsel and through the good offices of certain notable personages, the two monasteries have been persuaded to reach an agreement and to make their peace. Hegumen Isaïas and some other monks, on behalf of the Chelandari Monastery, and Hegumen Lavrentios on behalf of the Ivion Monastery, have agreed to joint occupancy and enjoyment of the property. Neither of the monasteries shall have the right to eject the other from the area, nor to assign

the right of exploitation or enjoyment of the property to any third party. The ratification of this agreement on the part of the monks of the Chelandari Monastery appears at the bottom of the document, in Slavonic.

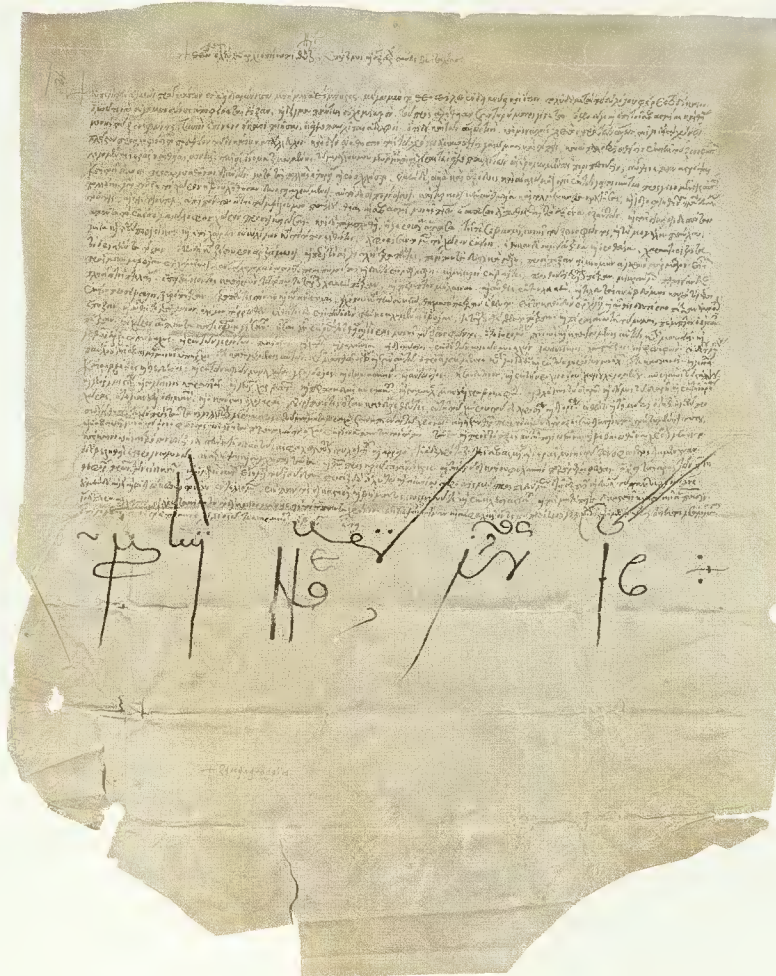
**Bibliography:** Actes d' Ivion 1995, IV, no. 101, pp. 175-6.  
K.Ch.

**13.34 Document of the Synaxis in Karyes and the Protos Kosmas, March 1499**  
Vatopedi Monastery, Archives  
Parchment, 74 x 22.5 cm

A dispute has broken out between the Vatopedi and Chelandari Monasteries over the boundaries of the region known as the Zygyou Monastery (today the village of Prosphori, near Ouranoupolis). The boundaries of the two monasteries in this area are defined on the basis of older chrysobulls and an earlier decision by *Protos Nikephoros* (11th c.).







*Protos Kosmas* and the *Synaxis* remove to the site and trace out the area belonging to *Prospori*, describing the boundary lines in detail. This decision may not be reversed, under pain of excommunication.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

**13.35 Document**      **November 1538**  
signed and sealed by *Theonas*,  
**Metropolitan of Thessaloniki**  
**St Paul's Monastery, Archives**

Parchment, 60.5 x 46.5 cm

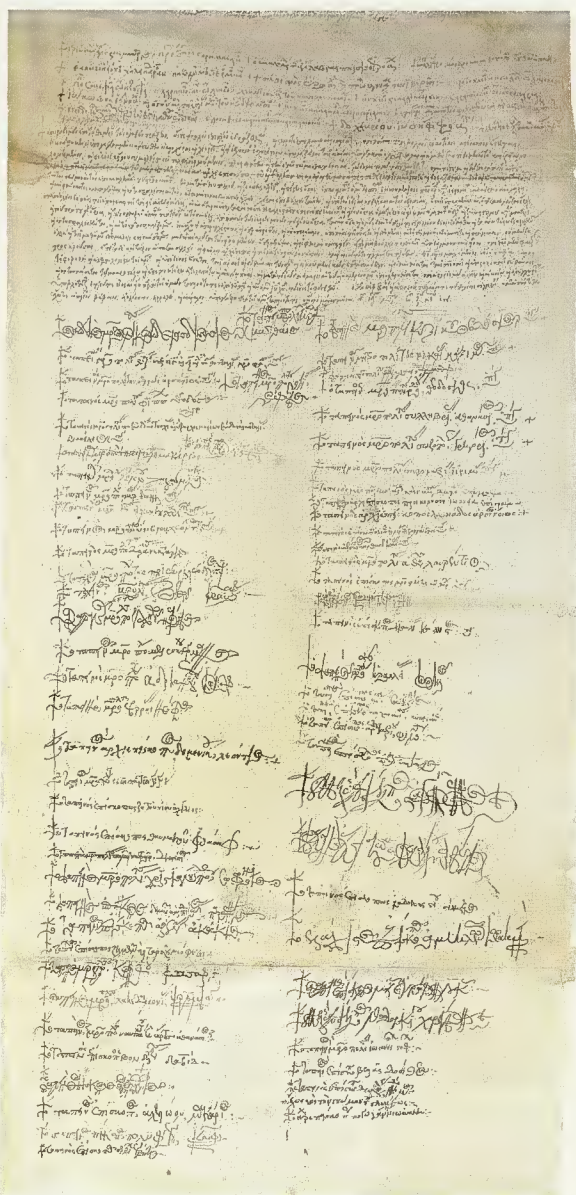
The monks of *St Paul's* have settled a boundary dispute with the *Xenophontos Monastery*, and have restored to the latter the 'hilly place' in *Chalkidiki* belonging to it. The boundary line was

traced with accuracy and precision in the presence of: from the *Xenophontos Monastery*, the Hegumen, hieromonk *Moses*, hieromonk *Gabriel*, the elders *Paΐsios*, *Chariton*, *Gelasios* and *Dionysios*, and the monks *Ioannikios*, *Lavrentios* and *Dionysios*; from *St Paul's Monastery*, the Hegumen, hieromonk *Matthew*, hieromonk *Gennadios*, elders *Kassianos*, *Gennadios*, *Sabbatios* and *Theodosios*, and monks *Gregorios*, *Damaskinos* and *Antonios*; from the village of *Neochori*, *Stylios* *Karatzas*, *Georgios Charvatos*, *Paraskevas Kyriakou*, *Manuel Stamoulis* the Cantankerous, and *Vlaΐkos* and *Demos Daris*; from the village of *Krene*, *Manuel Damianos* and *Constas Logaras*. At the request of the interested parties, the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki legalised the disposition and confirmed the *Xenophontos Monastery* in its possession of the property.

**Unpublished.** Cf. *Chrysochoidis* 1981, no. 13, pp. 264-6.

K.Ch.





13.36 a. Letter from the Holy Synaxis  
January 1541  
b. Ratificatory document signed and sealed  
by all the senior prelates  
May 1541  
Stavronikita Monastery, Archives  
Parchment, 146 x 41 cm

a. Letter from the Holy Synaxis  
Gregorios, the patriarchal exarch, being desirous  
of rebuilding the Stavronikita Monastery, obtained

from the Synaxis at Karyes the concession of the deserted Phakenou Monastery, which belonged to the Pantokrator Monastery. When Gregorios abandoned his attempts to rebuild the monastery, the project was continued by Patriarch Ieremias (I), who requested and in a written document was accorded possession of the Phakenou Monastery. The brothers of Pantokrator, however, broke into the building, wrecked the church and occupied the land. At that point the Patriarch came to Mount Athos in person, pardoned the monks from the Pantokrator for the havoc they had wrought, granted them part of the Phakenou property and, together with the Synaxis, traced out the precise boundaries of the Stavronikita Monastery. The monastery is required to furnish the Protaton with three litres of wax and three litres of oil annually.

#### b. Ratification by the Prelates

The metropolitans and bishops subject to the patriarchal throne confirm the independence and integrity of the Stavronikita Monastery erected by Patriarch Ieremias (I) and dedicated to St Nicholas, as well as of its dependencies.

There follows a long list of sixty-eight autograph signatures of all the prelates subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 118-23. Gabriel S. 1920, pp. 171-3, 224-6. Cf. Economidis 1970 (2), no. 9, pp. 445-6.

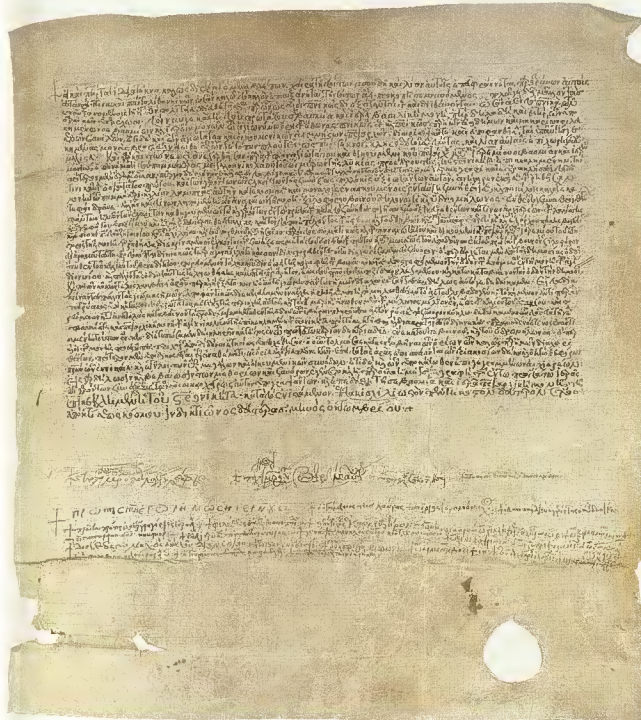
K.Ch.

#### 13.37 Document from the Protos Moses and the Holy Synaxis, October 1543 Stavronikita Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 60.5 x 53 cm

The Synaxis at Karyes, in the presence of Patriarch Ieremias (I), Metropolitans Neophytos of Larissa and Ioasaph of Thebes, Bishops Isaiah of Porthmos and Achilleios of Zetounion, and Moses, *Protos* of Mount Athos, grants the brothers of the Monastery of St Nicholas Stavronikita, recently established by the Patriarch, a wooded hill formerly belonging to the Protaton, that they may cut square timber and





Michael and Gabriel of Docheiariou turned for succour to Bogdan Pasha, Voivode of Moldavia and Wallachia, and his mother Roxandra. These rulers founded the monastery a new, re-purchasing the confiscated property (at a cost of 165 thousand aspers) and bestowing it upon the monastery. The monks undertake to perform every year at the Feast of St Nicholas a pernoctation in memory of Roxandra. This document was drawn up in the presence of the monks and of Roxandra and the Voivode Bogdan in perpetual remembrance of their forefather Alexander, called Brother Pachomios, founder of the Docheiariou Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Ktenas 1928, no. 15, pp. 108-11. Cf. Economidis 1979, no. 118, pp. 241-2. See also no. 16.5.

K.Ch.

boards, as well as a mill-site in the vicinity of Livadogeni, below Karyes. The document sets out the boundaries of the two properties. In exchange, the monastery is required to provide the Protaton with two 'tens' of wax annually.

**Bibliography:** Smyrnakis 1903, pp. 123-4. Gabriel S. 1920, pp. 227-9. Cf. Economidis 1970 (2), no. 10, p. 446.

K.Ch.

### 13.38 Document August 1570 of the Docheiariou Monastery Docheiariou Monastery, Archives

Paper, 48.7 x 41.6 cm

Suspended from the bottom of the document on multicoloured cords are three Wallachian seals.

In the year 7076 (1567/8) Sultan Selim (II) ordered the confiscation of all monasterial property (lands and buildings, goods and dependencies), not only on Mount Athos but throughout his dominions. The monks of the Monastery of the Archangels

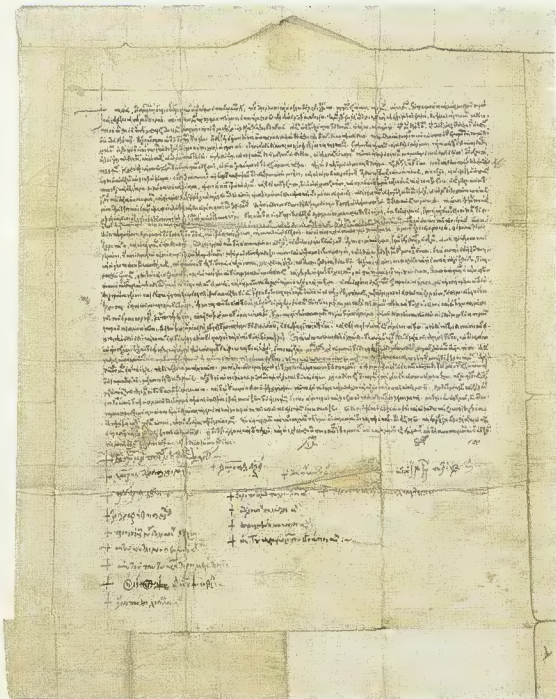




**13.39 Sigillion-letter** 1580/81  
issued by the Grand Synaxis  
Simonopetra Monastery, Archives

Paper, 50.5 x 43 cm. In the middle of the upper margin are traces of the (lost) circular wax seal of the Protaton.

During the night of December 10, 1580, the Simonopetra Monastery was burnt to the ground. The terrible conflagration destroyed not only the



cloisters, the sacred treasures, the books and the vestments, but also all the precious bulls and chrysobulls documenting the possessions of the Monastery and its dependencies. As soon as they realised what was happening, the monks and their superiors hastened to the scene to offer solace and succour.

This document is a signed attestation by the Synaxis of the boundaries of the foundation's property, a record of its *kellia* and dependencies, and a confirmation of its title to them. The document was delivered to Hegumen Eugenios and the brotherhood.

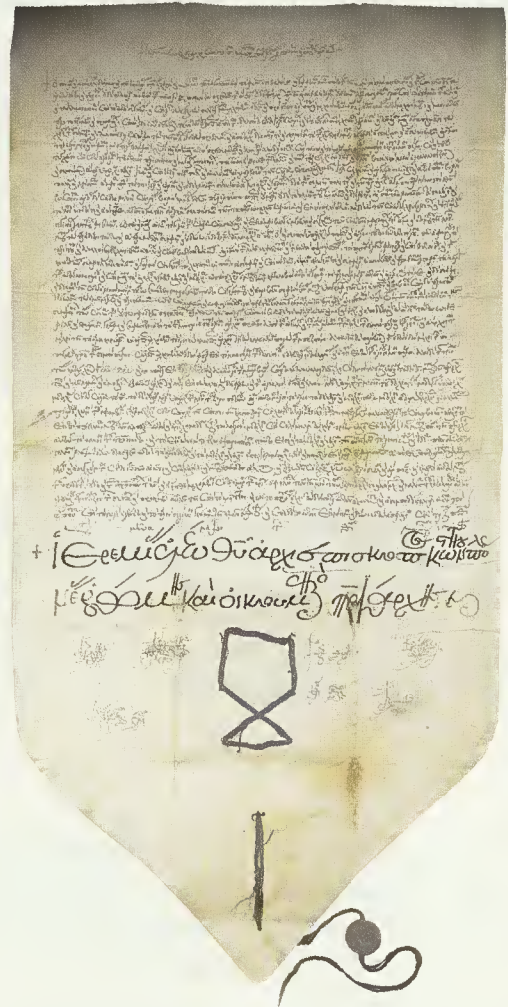
Unpublished. Cf. Vamvakas 1985, no. 21, p. 124-6.

K.Ch.

**13.40 Sigillion-letter** May 1581  
issued by Patriarch Ieremias II  
Simonopetra Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 93.5 x 49 cm. The lead seal of the Patriarch is suspended from the bottom of the parchment on a green cord.

The Simonopetra Monastery, like all the other Athonite foundations, boasted handsome buildings, precious relics and treasures, valuable books and



vestments. By the work of the Devil all this was lost in a great fire (December 10, 1580). The conflagration also destroyed all the monastery's documents, with the result that there is now uncertainty and confusion about the property it possesses. The Athonite Synaxis, in order to put this right, has issued a document listing all the foundation's landed property both on the Holy Mount and elsewhere. The monastery has



requested the Patriarch to confirm the content of this document. The Patriarch agrees to their petition and with this present *sigillion* confirms the content of the document, repeating the list of properties and re-stating their boundaries. No-one may henceforth contest the monastery's ownership of these properties, under pain of excommunication.

Unpublished. Cf. Vamvakas 1985, no. 1, p. 111.

K.Ch.

content of an earlier *sigillion* issued by Patriarch Antonios (in July 1389), proclaiming the monastery a patriarchal *stauropegion*. The Patriarch, having taken the counsel of Patriarchs Athanasios of Antioch and Theophanis of Jerusalem, there present, as well as the retinue of the latter, declares his opinion that the document is valid, certain and irreversible. The Dionysiou Monastery is thus recognised as a patriarchal *stauropegion*, free and



**13.41 Sigillion-letter**      6 December (1616)  
of the Patriarch Timotheos II  
Dionysiou Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 73.5 x 61.4 cm

From the middle of the bottom margin, suspended on a blue cord, is the lead seal of the Patriarch.

The monks of the Dionysiou Monastery have asked the Patriarch and the Synod to ratify the

independent. It is to be a cenobitic community, its hegumen is to be elected from among all the brothers, and it is to commemorate only the Patriarch. Neither the *Protos* of Mount Athos nor the Bishop of Ierissos shall be entitled to intervene in its affairs.

**Bibliography:** Gabriel D. 1959, pp. 104-6. Cf. Nikolopoulos - Economidis 1966, no. 40, pp. 272-3.

K.Ch.

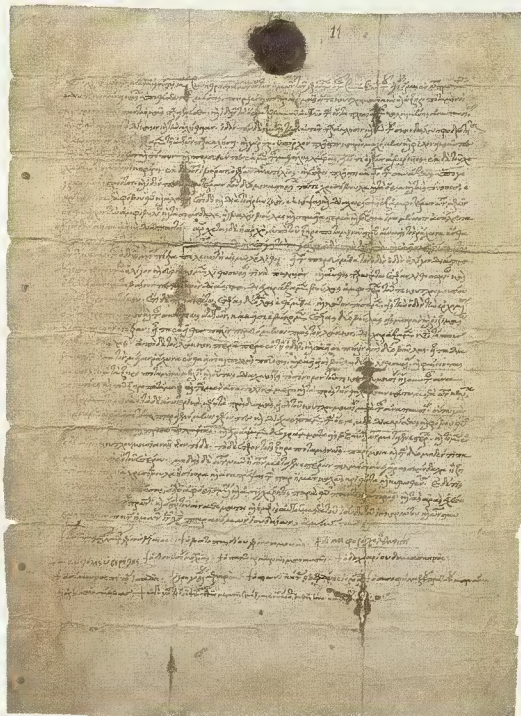


**13.42 Document of the Synaxis in Karyes**  
5 December 1625

Koutloumousiou Monastery, Archives

Paper, 70 x 48 cm. In the middle of the upper margin is the seal of the Synaxis at Karyes.

There is a long-standing boundary dispute between the Iviron and Koutloumousiou Monasteries in the area known as Galiagra (*Kali Agra*). The members of the *Synaxis*, together with Ahmet Aga and men representing Mustapha Aga, the *bostangi-basi*, went to the site and demarcated the boundary. The boundary line begins from two rocks in the sea (one is red and the other is small); between these two rocks, at the margin of the waves, they placed a rock marked with the seals of the two monasteries. From this point the boundary line runs to the road coming from Galiagra and the vineyards belonging to the Iviron and Koutloumousiou Monasteries, to a stone placed there by Mehmet *effendi* and as far as another stone that he himself placed by the road. The land to the right of this line, that is, on the Galiagra side, belongs to the Koutloumousiou Monastery, and that to the left to the Iviron Monastery. This document was drawn up by the *Synaxis* for a perpetual surety, and was delivered to the two



monasteries. No one may attempt to alter this boundary under pain of excommunication.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Kutlunus 1988<sup>2</sup>, no. 67, pp. 193-4.  
K.Ch.

**13.43 Sigillion of the Patriarch Cyril I Loukaris and the Synod, December 1633**

Iviron Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 69 x 54 cm

The lead seal of Patriarch Cyril I Loukaris is suspended from the bottom of the document on a blue cord.

The Patriarch (Cyril I Loukaris), seeing that the patriarchal and stauropegic Vlateos Monastery, commonly known as Tsaousi, in the city of Thessaloniki was contracting, has transferred it together with its estates and bequests to the Athonite Iviron Monastery. His purpose in so doing is to allow its inhabitants to enjoy the succour and 'visitation' of the Athonite monastery, and to be considered as cenobitic brothers of that foundation. With this present document, and with the approval of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Synod, the Patriarch confirms and ratifies this transfer. The Vlateos Monastery, together with its workshops, the estate in the plain, the Church of St Athanasios with its workshops, all the sacred vessels belonging to the church, including the goblet from which Christ drank, and all other real property and goods and chattels belonging to it shall henceforth belong to the Iviron Monastery, which shall have a care to all their needs. The monks of the Vlateos Monastery shall commemorate the name of the Patriarch, shall live in peace and free from strife, shall safeguard the Monastery and shall strive to improve it. The hegumen shall be elected from among all the monks in the monastery, with the approval of the Iviron monastery, which shall afford them whatever assistance it may. Any person, layman or cleric, who shall violate this disposition and shall cause trouble in the monastery or who shall withdraw it from the jurisdiction of the Iviron Monastery, shall be excommunicated. To this intent and purpose the present sigillion is presented to the Iviron Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Ioakeim 1922, pp. 562-5 (with many misreadings in the text and erroneous attributions and gaps in the signatures). Cf. Stogioglou 1971, p. 201 n. 3.

K.Ch.



**13.44 Letter from Vahtang,  
ruler of Iberia (Georgia)**  
Karakalou Monastery, Archives

1674

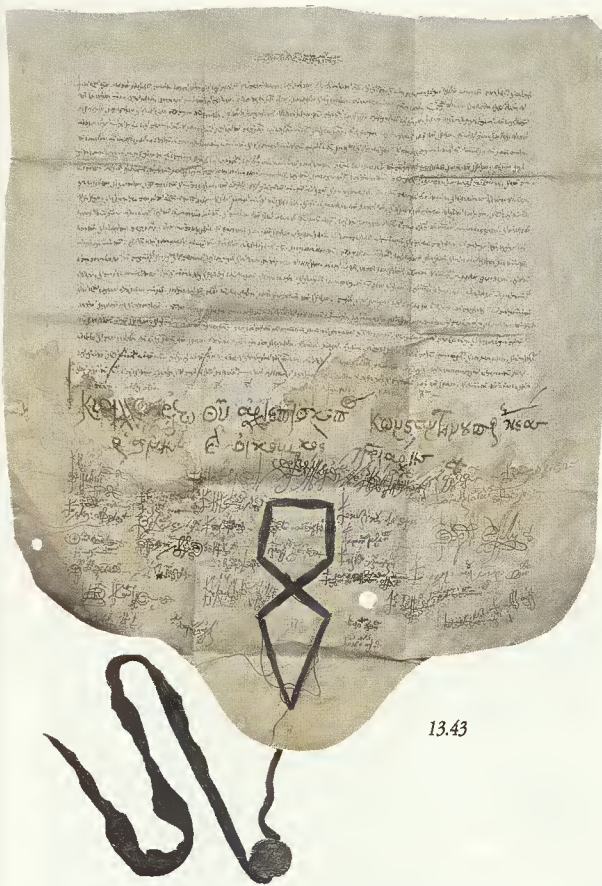
Paper (folio), 29.5 x 21 cm

To the left of the illuminated initial letter  
is the prince's seal, in Georgian.

The ruler of Iberia, Vahtang, informs Hegumen Makarios of the Karakalou Monastery of the arrival of Father Gabriel and hieromonks Zosimas and Malachias, sent to seek funds for the Monastery, and adds that they have told him of the damage to the lead on the dome of the katholikon. He is sending for its repair the sum of one thousand piastres. If he hears that the dome has indeed been repaired, he will make a larger donation and will take the monastery under his protection. He requests that his name and the names of his five sons Artzilin, Georgios, Levan, Louvarsamin and Solomon be commemorated by being inscribed in the prothesis of the monastery.

Unpublished. Cf. Chrysochoidis - Gounaridis 1985, no. 5, p. 17.

K.Ch.



13.43





The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The notation is written in a cursive, handwritten style, likely a form of shorthand or a specific musical notation system. It consists of several lines of notes, some with stems and beams, and some with decorative flourishes. The paper is yellowed and shows signs of wear, including creases and discoloration. The handwriting is dense and fills most of the page.



### 13.45 *Sigillion* of the Patriarch Dionysios IV and the Synod, December 1682

Xeropotamou Monastery, Archives

Paper, 73 x 52 cm

Among the privileges of the Patriarchate is that of awarding a monastery the status of *stauropegion*. The brothers of the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs, that is, of Xeropotamou, have petitioned the Patriarch to designate their foundation a *stauropegion*. The Patriarch and the Synod have accepted their petition and granted the Xeropotamou Monastery stauropegic status. No ecclesiastical or secular authority, not even the Bishop of Ierissos, shall henceforth have any right of interference in the affairs of the foundation. Ordinations shall be celebrated by the present Bishop of Ierissos for the duration of his lifetime, and thereafter by a prelate selected by the monastery. The life of the monastery shall be cenobitic, according to tradition, and it shall be ruled by a hegumen elected by the brotherhood.

**Unpublished.** Cf. Eudokimos 1926, no. 180. Gounaridis 1993, no. 49, pp. 58-60.

K.Ch.

### 13.46 Deed of Gift

by John Serban Cantakuzenos,  
Prince of Wallachia, Indiction 15, 1682

Protaton, Archives

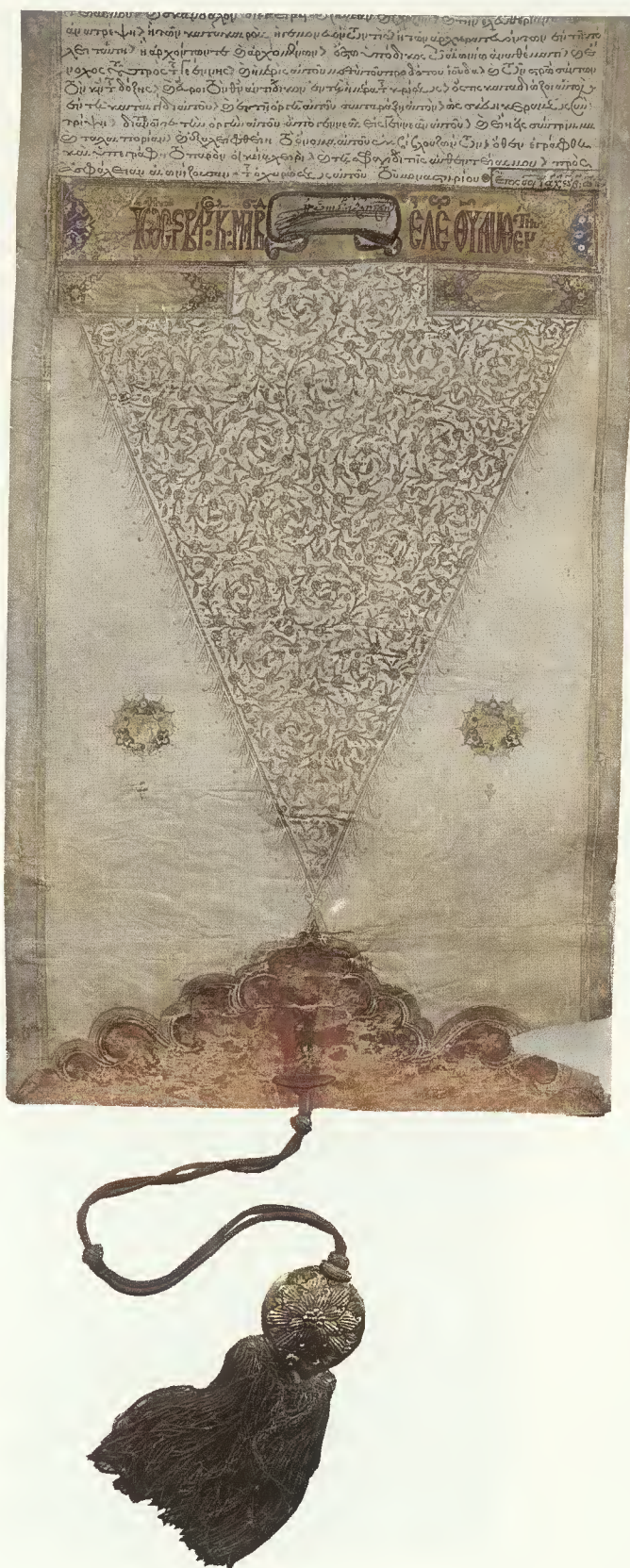
Parchment, 202 x 33 cm

The prince's seal of Spanish wax, protected by a decorated gilt case, is suspended from the bottom of the parchment on a brown cord.

The parchment has an elaborate ornamental headpiece. In the upper section four angels (two to the right and two to the left) hold open a scroll displaying a representation of the Dormition of the Virgin. Beneath the scroll two lions rampant hold up an *enkolpion* with a two-headed eagle, while set out below this are the Prince's titles, inscribed on a gold ground and framed by a floral decoration.

At the bottom of the parchment, beneath the signature, the document has a tailpiece in the form of a triangle decorated with a floral scroll, in imitation of the decrees issued by the Ottoman sultans.

With this deed John Serban Cantakuzenos,





Prince of Hungary and Wallachia, bestows upon the entire Athonite community the Kotrotzaniou Monastery, which he founded.

The hegumen of the monastery is to be elected from amongst all the Athonite monks, regardless of which foundation they belong to, and is to render an annual account to the Holy Community. The monastery's goods and chattels are not to be removed, nor its real property sold.

The monastery is to adhere to the Athonite type of cenobitic rule, and to celebrate the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin and that of Saints Sergios and Bacchus. The founder, upon his death, is to be buried there.

**Bibliography:** Hurmuzaki 1915, pp. 248-55. Cf. Gasparis 1991, no. 2, pp. 270-1.

K.Ch.

### 13.47 Letter from the Great Lavra

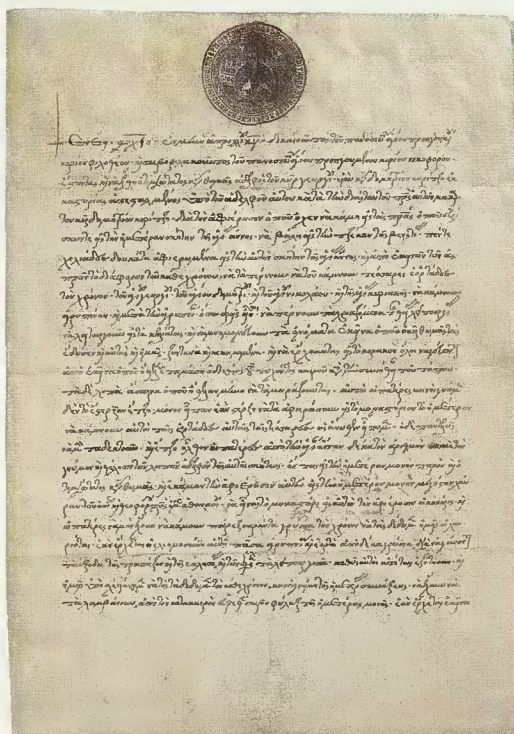
23 April 1698

Skete of St Anne, Archives

Paper (folio), 30 x 20.5 cm

In the centre of the upper margin is the impressed seal of the Great Lavra (bust of St Athanasios the Athonite).

When Prior Philotheos was *dikaios* of the Lavra



and Prior Nikephoros sacristan, there came to the monastery Thomas, brother of George, both being sons of Demetrios Kyritzis of Kastoria, in order to settle the question of the bequest made by his late father. According to his will, the deceased dedicated to the Skete of St Anne and deposited with the Mint in Venice the sum of five thousand ducats, imposing the following obligation: the monks were each year to receive the interest on this sum for the purpose of celebrating four pernoctations, on the Feasts of Sts George, Demetrios, Nicholas and Kyriake. After their vigil the monks were to celebrate the liturgy in their cells, commemorating the names given them by Thomas. Following this there was to be a meal in the *kyriakon* of the *skete*. Any remaining money was to be shared among the monks. The monks of St Anne's, however, did not agree with the terms of this bequest. They preferred that the money be sent to the Great Lavra, which should allow them 40 piastres annually for the requiem vigils and the other expenses. With this present letter the Great Lavra undertakes to give the *skete* the above sums from the interest, as long as they continue to receive the money, of course. Curses are called down upon any who violate the agreement.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

### 13.48 Builders contract for construction work at the Xeropotamou Monastery Xeropotamou Monastery, Archives

1726

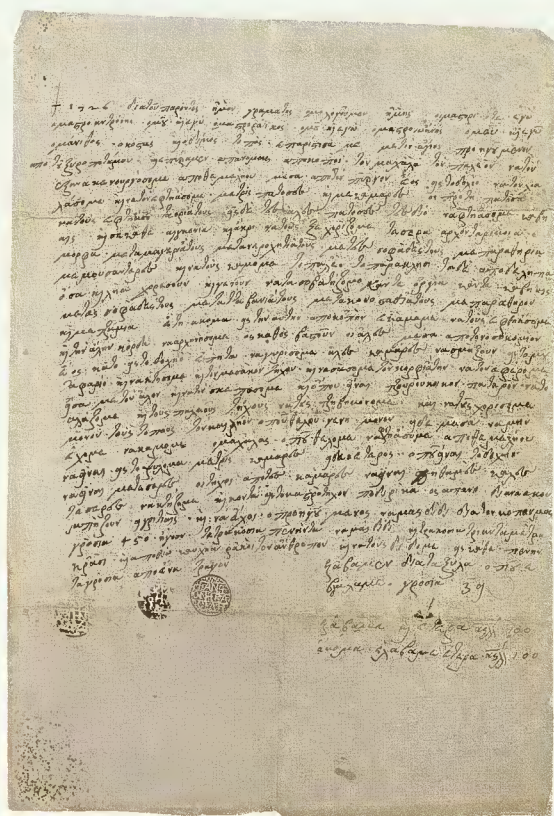
Paper (folio), 33 x 22 cm

At the bottom of the document are the impressions of the seals of the three master-builders.

Master Antonis, Master Ra'ikos and Master Ioannis, together with Manthos, Kostas and Demos, have contracted with the prior of the Xeropotamou Monastery to effect repairs to certain of the monastery buildings. They are to rebuild from the foundations, with three floors and with vaults, the old quarters within the Tower as far as the cellars, and in the other wing (*korda*), the area between the infirmary and the cellars. In exchange for this work they are to receive from the monastery 450 piastres and 330 measures of wine, plus two cups of wine



13.48



apiece. They will also receive one ram for every 50 piastres.

(Later annotations to the document show that the builders were also paid 39 piastres for the timber they used, plus two payments of 100 *aslans* apiece.)

Unpublished. Cf. Gounaridis 1993, no. 63, pp. 69-71.

K.Ch.

**13.49 Deed of donation 12 January 1755  
of a *metochi* at Bebeki, near Constantinople  
Iviron Monastery, Archives**

Paper (folio), 52 x 38 cm

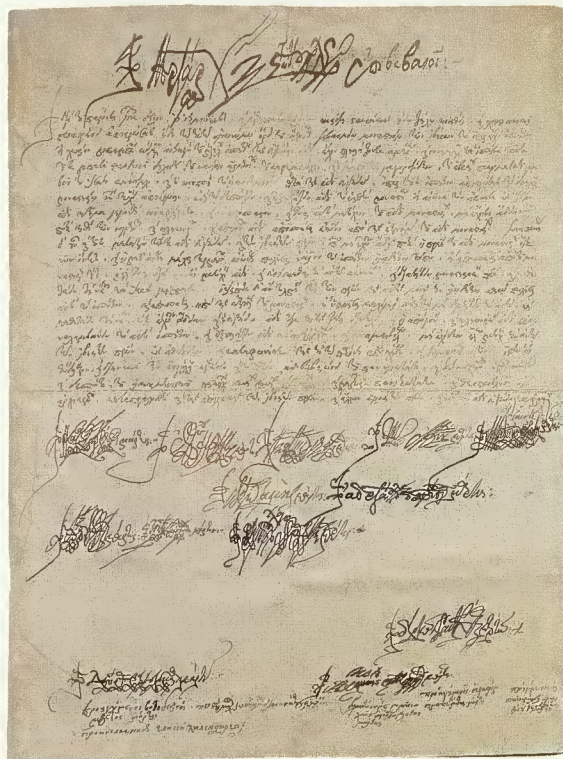
The text, written in reddish-brown ink, continues on the recto of the first sheet. To the left of the signature of the donor is the imprint of his seal.

The *archon* Kyriztis Stavrakis, inspired by divine zeal, has bequeathed to the Iviron Monastery the house of which he stands possessed in the village of Bebeki (near Constantinople) and located opposite the large house which he occupies himself. The property is made over in its entirety and in perpetuity and shall henceforth constitute an indiscerptible and inalienable part of the monastery's estates, and no kinsman of his nor any descendant nor any heir shall be able to divest the monastery of it. Nor shall any Ivirite now or in the future be entitled to sell or in any other way appropriate it from the monastery's possession. The property shall be inhabited by a monk from the Iviron Monastery, and shall serve as a place wherein youth may be instructed in the Holy Scriptures. If any of the conventual fathers shall sell or otherwise abstract the property from the monastery or shall prevent the residence of a monk or the instruction of the young, then the donor, if he shall still be in this life, his descendants and heirs shall be entitled to resume the ownership of the property.

In surety of this the present deed of donation has been drawn up, ratified by the signature of the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril and witnessed by the signatory prelates, signed by the donor, entered into the Sacred Codex of the Great Church of Christ and delivered to the fathers of the Iviron Monastery.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

K.Ch.





### 13.50 *Sigillion* of the Patriarch Cyril V and the Synod, 1750

Vatopedi Monastery, Archives

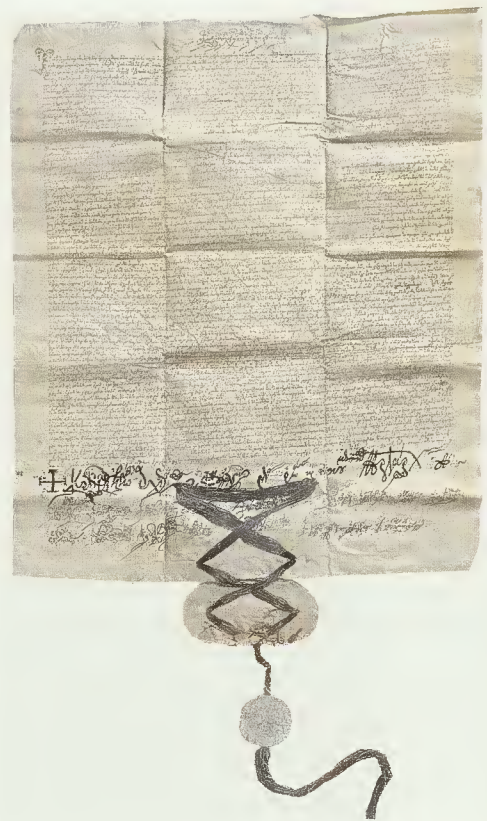
Parchment, 85.5 x 66 cm

The lead seal of Patriarch Cyril V is suspended from the bottom of the document on a blue cord.

Moved by divine zeal, the fathers of the Vatopedi Monastery have, as ardent lovers of learning and education, unanimously decided to found an establishment to provide instruction in Greek and education in all sciences secular and theological. For this purpose they have erected a large building adjacent to the monastery and appointed an experienced schoolmaster able to teach subjects both secular and theological. They have further ordered that the school be open not only to the monks of Vatopedi but to monks from all the Athonite foundations, and indeed to any other person, lay or religious, who is desirous of learning and has the aptitude and the ability for it. They have thus 'created a common academy of virtue and education and instruction.' Although the monastery has already expended vast sums, more money is needed to complete the construction of the building, to pay the salaries of the teachers and to provide for the needs of the students.

For this purpose, and to enable the School to operate smoothly, they are seeking the assistance of the Great Church. The Patriarch and the Synod rejoice in this initiative and welcome the decision of the Vatopedi Monastery to found a school not only for the monastic community of Mount Athos but for all Orthodox Christendom.

The Patriarch and the Synod resolve as follows: a) to appoint four trustees for the School in Constantinople, to wit, the Metropolitan of Heracleia and the Metropolitan of Nikomedeia, plus two prominent members of the furriers guild who shall be responsible for collecting donations and forwarding them to the monastery. It is further decided that Meletios of Vatopedi, who presided over the founding of the School, shall serve as a permanent trustee; b) of the ecclesiastical dues paid to the Patriarchate, the sum of 24,000 aspers annually shall be forwarded for the use of the School; c) the teacher appointed shall be responsible for the instruction of the students.



No monk from any other monastery shall be accepted without the permission of his superiors. The selection of students from outside Mount Athos shall be based on their character and their thirst for learning; d) the trustees shall not only be responsible for the finances of the School but shall also see that it is run in a proper and a Christian manner; e) after the death of Meletios, the Vatopedi Monastery shall elect each successive local trustee, who shall be duly appointed by the Patriarch.

**Bibliography:** Foropoulos 1900, pp. 395-8.

K.Ch.

### 13.51 *Sigillion* of the Patriarch Samuel and the Synod, July 1768

Chelandari Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 52.5 x 49 cm

The lead seal of Patriarch Samuel is suspended from the bottom of the document on a blue cord.

The Patriarch received a letter from the Holy Athonite Community stating that the Chelandari



Monastery once possessed a large fragment of the True Cross, a gift from John Vatatzis. The imperial chrysobull deed of donation was destroyed in the fire that ravaged the monastery in 1721. Lest this treasure be lost, the Chelandarites have divided the relic into two parts and have offered the Community two crosses (one larger and one smaller), which together were found to be of equal weight with the original fragment. At the request of the monks of Chelandari, an attestation under seal of the Community is submitted to the Patriarch for his confirmation. With this present letter the Patriarch and the Synod confirm the content of the above document.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Chilandar 1911, I, no. 171, pp. 366-8.

K.Ch.

**13.52 Open letter 1766-75**  
from the Pantokrator Monastery  
Pantokrator Monastery, Archives

Paper, 70.5 x 53 cm

The document is backed with white cloth.

A representation of the Transfiguration occupies the centre of the upper margin. On either side of this image is the imprint of the seal of the Pantokrator Monastery.

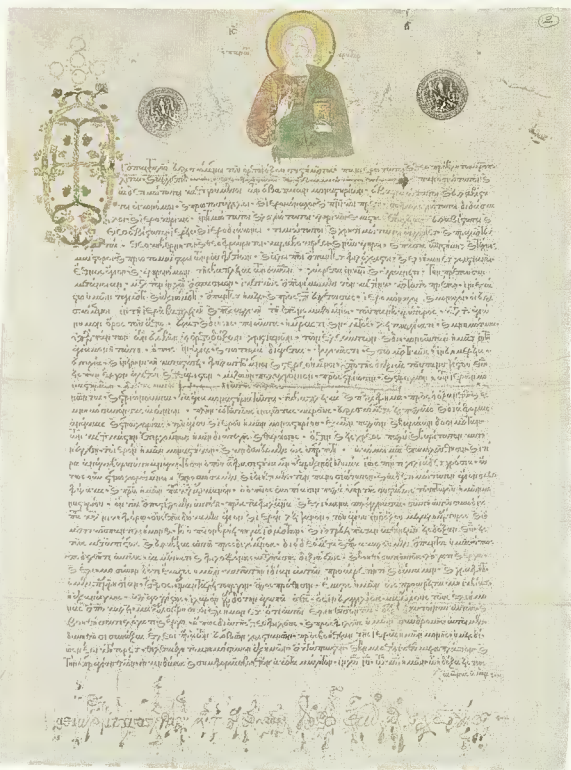
In an open letter addressed to all Orthodox Christians, lay and cleric alike, the brotherhood of the Pantokrator Monastery describes the financial distress of their foundation. Constant severe taxation, recent renovations to various structures in need of repair and excessive interest payments to creditors have resulted in a heavy load of debt, which indeed will only increase, for there are more buildings to be repaired and a new water-supply system to be built, the old aqueduct no longer sufficing for current requirements.

For all these reasons the foundation's confessor Father Gabriel and an escort are being sent out to canvas Christian communities for donations, bearing with them for the benediction of the faithful certain relics of Sts Prokopios, Panteleimon, Tryphon and Anastasia Pharmakolytria. The faithful are begged to help the monastery confront this exigency.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

13.51





**13.53 Sigillion** September 1777  
of the Patriarch Sophronios II  
and the Synod  
Skete of St Anne, Archives

Parchment, 85 x 58 cm

In the lower part of the document are the holes through which was threaded the cord from which was suspended the (lost) lead seal of Patriarch Sophronios II.

The Patriarch and the Synod have decided that each year on the Sunday of Orthodoxy there shall be celebrated a requiem for the souls of departed Patriarchs and prelates. On that day the churchwardens shall prepare nine pans of *kollyva* to be distributed to the faithful, the same to be paid for from the alms collected by the Great Church. To this end the Synod asks all prelates to give from their substance, either while still in this life or by testament after their death, to the coffers of the Great Church, a sum corresponding to what is required for a lavish *parrhesia*. The total sum collected shall be put out at interest, and the annual interest shall be used for the preparation of the *kollyva*. Any surplus money shall be distributed in alms, or may be used to dower destitute girls. Curses are called down upon any who shall attempt to subvert this decision. Two prelates shall supervise

the execution of this decision. It is further decided to make an offering of ten *okades* of candles and to give vicars ten piastres each for the commemoration of these names every Saturday.

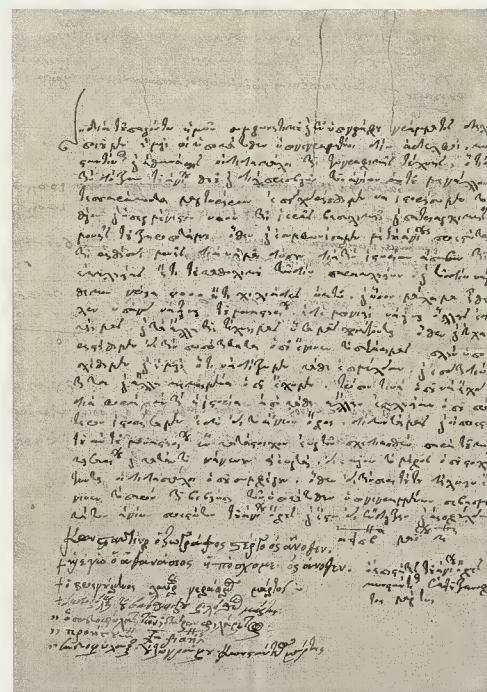
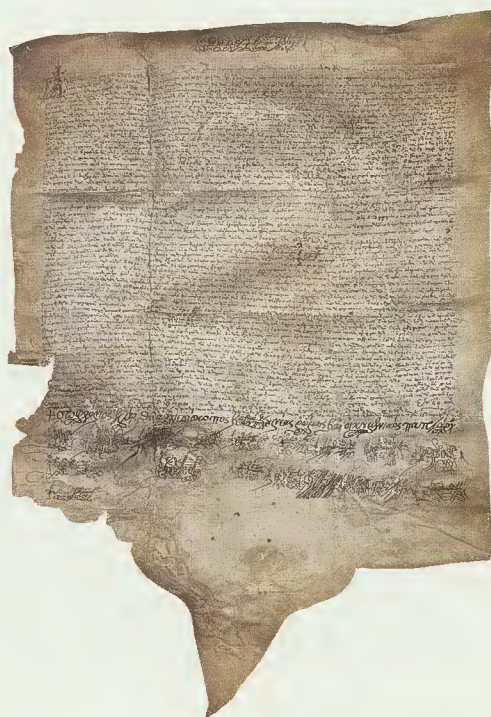
Bibliography: Unpublished.

K.Ch.

**13.54 Contract** 20 May 1782  
for the decoration of the katholikon  
of the Xeropotamou Monastery  
Xeropotamou Monastery, Archives

Paper (folio), 31 x 21.5 cm

The Brothers Constantine and Athanasios, master painters, have contracted with the superiors of the Xeropotamou Monastery for the decoration of the katholikon, two chapels and two narthexes. Their fee for this work is to be 8,000 piastres. The cost of the gold to be used in the decoration is to be borne by the monastery, while the other materials will be supplied by the artists. The painters have promised to display diligence and adroitness. They have further promised that the decoration will be different from anything else they have done on Mount Athos. The superiors of the convent have furnished them with a 'register of feasts' (iconographic programme) prepared by Brother Kaissarios





(Dapontes). The artists will decide where each feast should be portrayed. (The verso of the first sheet and the recto of the second contain accounts and receipts for the completed work).

**Bibliography:** Polyviou 1986, pp. 56-7. Cf. Gounaridis 1993, no. 154, pp. 128-30.

K.Ch.

### 13.55 Promissory bond 15 November 1782 from the furriers' guild in Constantinople

Skete of St Anne, Archives

Paper (folio), 45 x 31.5 cm

The elders and the stewards of the furriers' guild hereby make known the following: the hieromonk Ananias, prior and confessor of the Skete of St Anne, collected alms in Constantinople in the amount of 6,250 piastres. In order to pay the annual poll tax levied upon the monks of the *skete*, he deposited the money with the Great Church of Christ, receiving in pledge the benefice money of the churches of the Virgin in Mouchleion and St Paraskevi in Chaskioi, which together amount to the sum of 500 piastres annually, corresponding to the interest on the initial

capital (40 piastres per purse). At the request of Ananias, the elders of the guild undertake to collect, each year in the month of March, the 500 piastres from the wardens of the Great Church, and to pay the poll tax on behalf of the monks in the *skete*. No-one shall have the right to use this money for any other purpose. To this end therefore this present promissory bond was drafted, signed by all parties and delivered to the *skete*.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

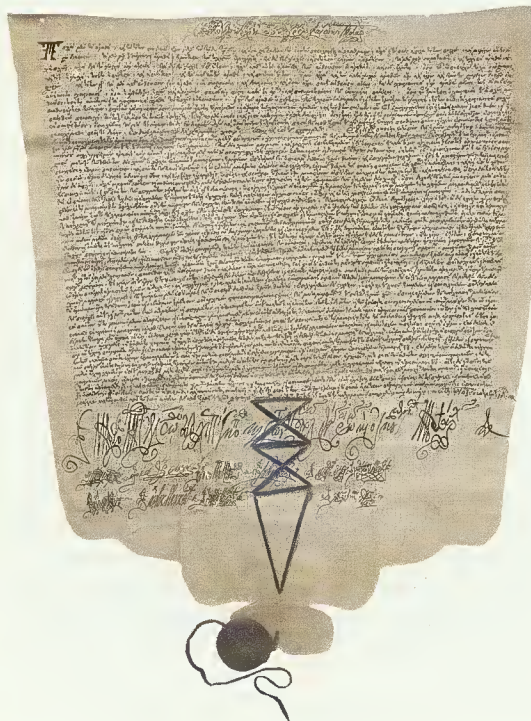
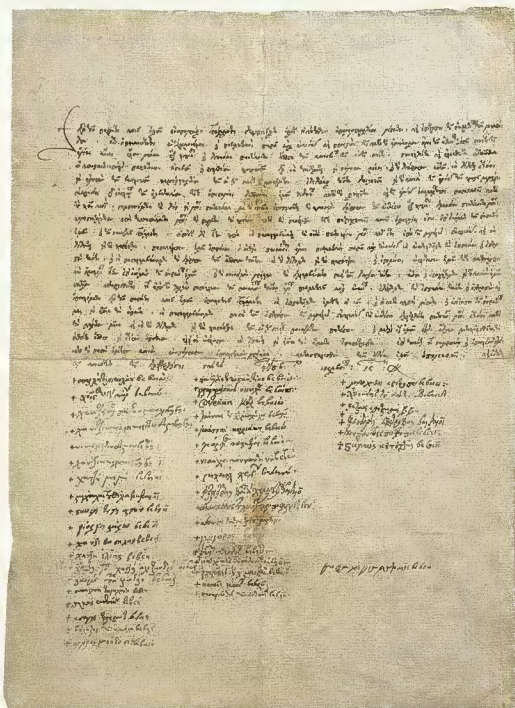
### 13.56 Sigillion 14 September 1787 of the Patriarch Prokopios and the Synod

Koutloumousiou Monastery, Archives

Parchment, 72 x 58 cm

The lead seal of Patriarch Prokopios is suspended from the bottom of the parchment on a blue cord.

The superior of the Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Saviour (called Koutloumousiou), the hieromonk Dionysios, appeared before the Patriarch to submit a statement drawn up by himself and the villagers of Marmaras and Galimi on the





island of Marmaras in the year 1784, and ratified by Archbishop Ananias of Proikonnesos. According to this document, the Monastery of the Virgin called *Stilarion* on that island, being deserted, was given to the said Dionysios, who as its second founder did repair it, on the understanding that it would henceforth be a dependency of the Koutloumousiou Monastery. The agreement with the Archbishop provided that his name should be honoured in the monastery, which should also make him an annual gift. Hegumen Dionysios also presented a letter from the said Archbishop confirming the terms and conditions for the reconstruction of the monastery, and asked the Patriarch to issue a ratification of the deed of cession of the dependency. The Patriarch and the Synod ratify the cession of this convent to the Koutloumousiou Monastery. The monks of that foundation shall henceforth occupy it undisturbed, but must however make the customary annual gift of five florins to the Archbishop.

**Bibliography:** Actes de Kutlunus 1988<sup>2</sup>, no. 74, pp. 205-7.

K.Ch.

**13.57 Sigillion** 1798  
of the Patriarch Gregorios V  
and the Synod  
Protaton, Archives

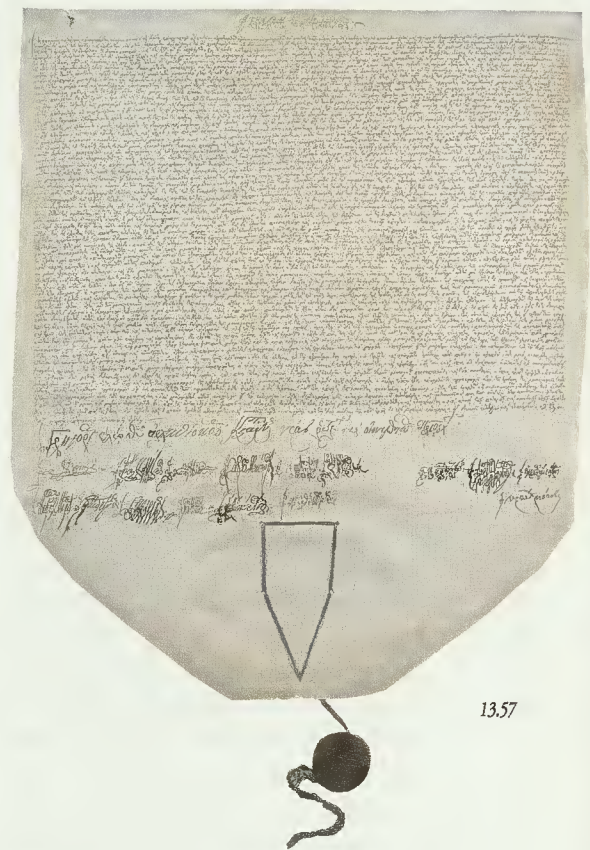
Parchment, 68 x 59 cm

The lead seal of Patriarch Gregorios V is suspended from the bottom of the document on a blue cord.

The Patriarch, in his concern for the betterment and good order of all the monasteries within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Throne, revises the *Typikon* promulgated in 1783 by his predecessor, Gabriel IV. In his solicitude for the Athonite School, he provides for a subsidy of 375 piastres from the Great Church. The overseers of the Holy Community are to elect two monks of repute to serve as trustees of the School, who shall every year collect from the monasteries a further 625 piastres, giving a total of 1,000 piastres, which shall suffice for the salaries of the teachers and for the operating expenses of the institution.

**Unpublished.** Cf. Gasparis 1991, no. 5, pp. 275-6.

K.Ch.



**13.58 Letter of the** 12 May 1806  
**Patriarch Kallinikos IV**  
Skete of St Anne, Archives

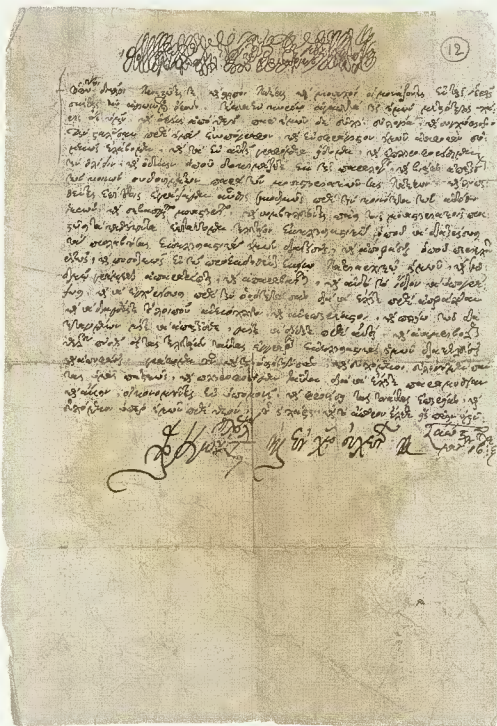
Paper 34.5 x 23.2 cm

In a letter addressed to the monks dwelling in the Athonite *sketae*, the Patriarch of Constantinople acknowledges receipt of their letter (signed and sealed) telling him of their woe and despair at the demand of the monastic foundations that they contribute a greater share of the common levy, and informs them that he has already written to the Holy Community advising the superiors of the monasteries to adhere strictly to the terms of his own recent patriarchal and synodic letter fixing each foundation's share of the common levy. He further requested that the above-mentioned letter be signed by the monastic superiors and given into the hands of the monks in the *sketae*, who in future must not be required to pay higher taxes than those stipulated.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.



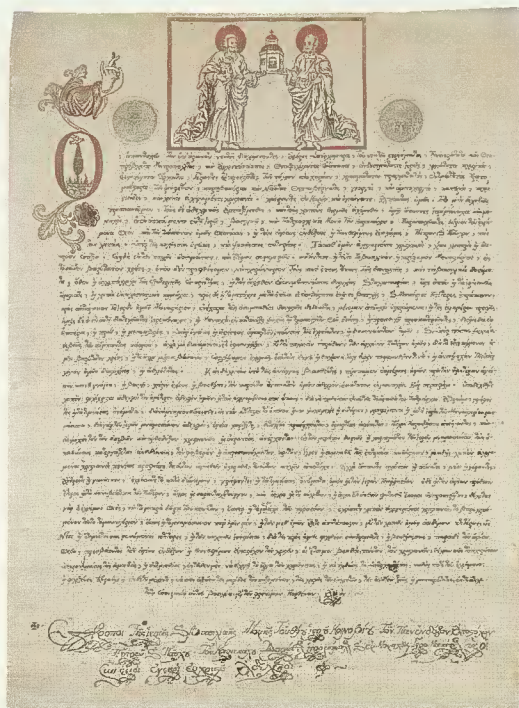


**13.59 Open letter** ca. 1835  
from the Karakalou Monastery  
Karakalou Monastery, Archives  
Paper, 64.5 x 47.3 cm

Within a rectangular frame in the centre of the upper margin are depicted the Apostles Peter and Paul holding up a model of the katholikon of Karakalou Monastery, which is dedicated to these two saints. The elaborate illumination of the initial letter O terminates above in the hand of Christ raised in blessing and below in a floral ornament.

Hieromonk Dorotheos and the elder Makarios, stewards of Karakalou Monastery, have addressed to all Orthodox Christians —lay and clergy alike— this open letter describing the financial distress into which the monastery has fallen under the burden of heavy royal tributes and the inordinate interest payments demanded by creditors. To the latter the monastery has already given as security vestments and treasures and estates, and now lacks even the wherewithal to feed the brotherhood.

In this wretched situation they are sending



one of the monks of the foundation, Brother Seraphim, to visit the Christian faithful, begging that all will receive him with kindness and of their charity give to the monastery whatever they may.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

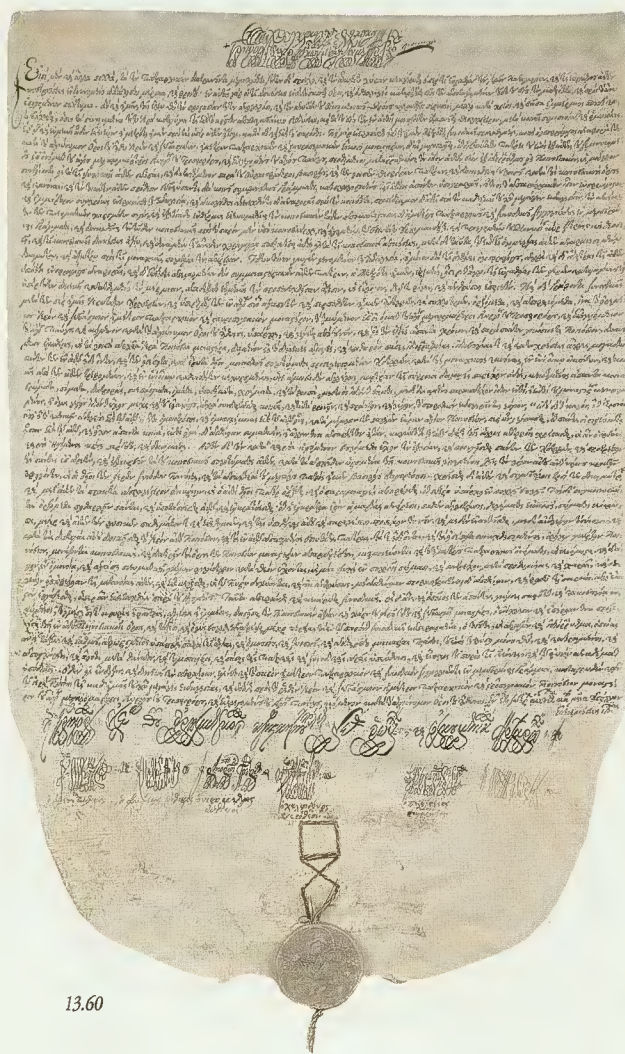
K.Ch.

**13.60 Sigillion** April 1839  
of the Patriarch Gregorios VI  
and the Synod  
St Paul's Monastery, Archives  
Parchment, 70 x 44 cm

The Patriarch and the Synod received a joint petition under the seal of all the Athonite monasteries to the effect that the brothers of St Paul's Monastery, which honours the name of St George Tropaiphoros, wish to alter the status of their monastery from an idiorrhymic foundation to a cenobitic one.

This desire had first been intimated to the





13.60

Athonite Holy Community by communal declaration, a copy of which was attached to the petition submitted to the Patriarch, together with a petition that the cenobitic status of the monastery be confirmed and that the prior of the foundation, Archimandrite Stephanos, be appointed its hegumen. The request was granted and this parchment *sigillion* of the Patriarch and Synod issued to that effect.

The document also includes a definition of the rights and duties of the hegumen and the cenobitic brotherhood.

**Bibliography:** Petrakakos 1915, pp. 33-6. Cf. Chrysochoidis 1981, no. 51, pp. 289-90.

K.Ch.

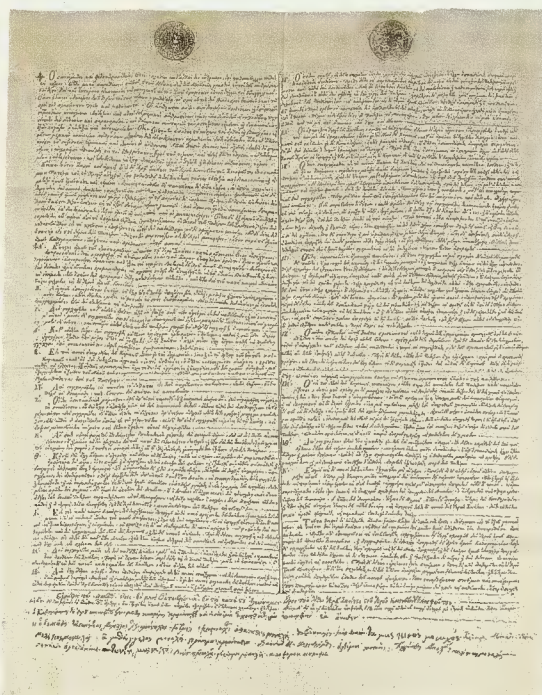
**13.61 Typikon** 20 October 1839  
of the Skete of the Annunciation  
Xenophontos Monastery, Archives  
Paper, 74.6 x 56 cm

The text is set out in two columns. In the upper margin above the left-hand column is the imprint of the seal of the Skete of the Annunciation, and above the right-hand column that of Xenophontos Monastery. In order to preserve peace, harmony and good order among the initiates, the Fathers of the Skete of the Annunciation, which belongs to Xenophontos Monastery, have drawn up a *Typikon* of twenty articles. These regulations deal with the organisation of daily life, economic relations between the brothers, payment of taxes, relations between monks and novices, the duties of the *dikaioi*, the procedure for the resolution of disputes, the duties of the vicar and of the *typikaris* of the *kyriakon*.

The twenty articles shall have force of law in the administration of the *skete*. The document is ratified by Hegumen Nikephoros of Xenophontos Monastery and signed by the monks of the *skete*.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.





**13.62 Arbitrament**                      **May 1866**  
**of the Patriarch Sophronios and the Synod**  
**Skete of St Anne, Archives**

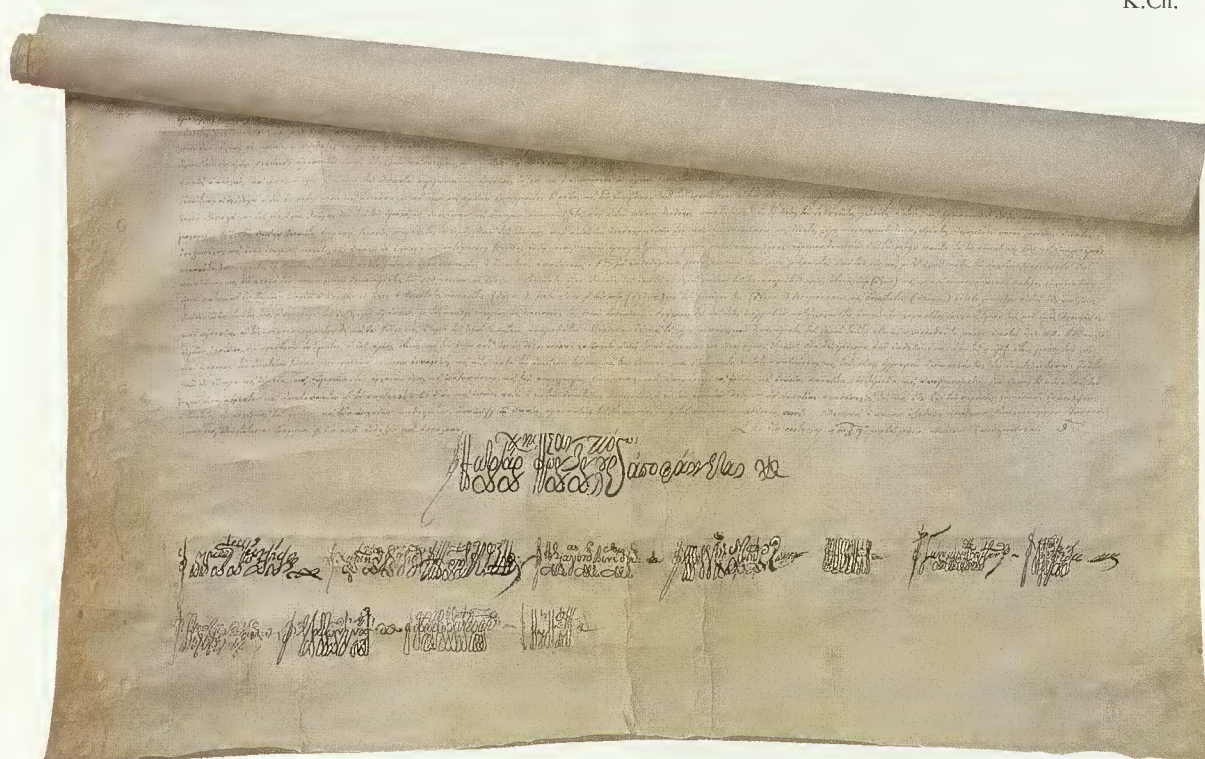
Parchment, 87.5 x 72.5 cm

The monks of St Anne's have petitioned the Synod in the following matter: according to the ancient use and custom of the *skete* the occupancy of a *kalyva*, on the demise of the monk to whom it had been assigned, falls successively to those who shared it with him, upon payment to the mother foundation of 10 piastres for the change of statute and 5 piastres for the registration of the occupants. For several years now, after the *sigillion* issued by Patriarch Anthimos in 1847, not only has this free and unimpeded succession been disallowed, but excessive financial demands have been made. The Patriarch and the Synod, desirous both of satisfying the monks of the Skete of St Anne and of defending the sovereign rights of the Great Lavra, summoned Archimandrite Benjamin, one of the superiors of the Great Lavra, who happened to be in Constantinople, to mediate with the monastery in hopes of reaching a compromise with the brothers in the *skete*. This was refused, and the Synod undertook to resolve the issue. The brotherhood of the *skete*

produced a document issued by Patriarch Kallinikos and the Synod in 1806 according to which the monk replacing a deceased brother in a *skete* paid the sum of 10 piastres only, while 5 piastres were chargeable for registration as a companion occupant. On the basis of this document, the Patriarch and the Synod decided that the successor to a deceased brother should pay the monastery the sum of 100 piastres. Since the *sigillion* issued in 1847 had modified the formulary of the monastic *homologon*, the brotherhood of the Skete of St Anne requested that the ancient formulary be restored. The Synod resolved the following: a) The serial succession of the companions of the occupant of a *kalyva* should remain free and unimpeded. After the death of each occupant, his successor should be recognised by the Lavra and be registered in the foundation's *homologon*; b) for each such registration of an elder, the sum of 100 piastres should be payable to the monastery. For each registration of a companion, the sum payable should be 5 piastres; c) monastic *homologa* should henceforth be drawn up according to the ancient formulary. Those issued before 1847 should be deemed to conform to this type.

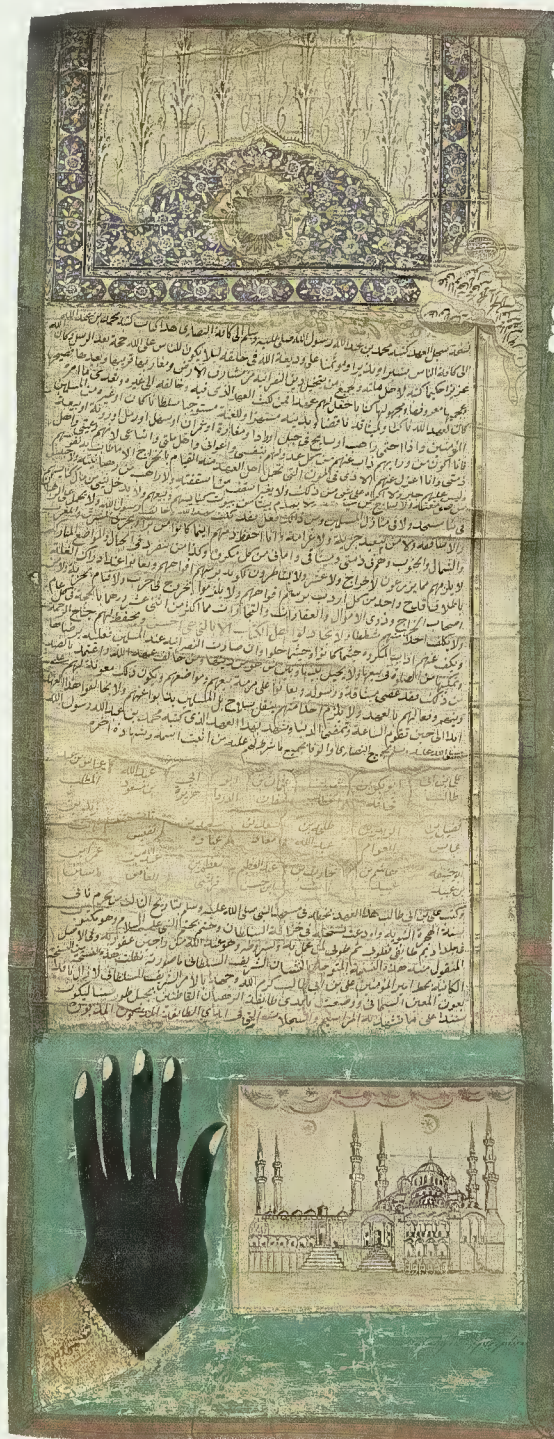
**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.





# 14 OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS



## 14.1 Ahdname. Copy in Arabic of the treaty listing the privileges which by tradition the Prophet Mohammed granted to the monks of the Sinai Monastery in the year 623 (Year of the Hegira 2)

Simonopetra Monastery

Paper, 64 x 33.5 cm. Copy undated

Copies of the *ahdname* exist in most Athonite monasteries, usually ratified by a Muslim judge, either in Arabic or translated into Turkish. The documents are usually decorated with flowers, and many bear the image of a hand drawn in black or green, symbolising the ratification of the original document by Mohammed, by placing his palm on it, for by tradition he was unlettered. The names of the first caliphs and of several of the Prophet's disciples are appended as witnesses to the 'contract'. Such documents were carried by monks travelling in various parts of the Empire for the purpose of collecting funds for their foundations.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

B.D.

## 14.2 Firman of Sultan Murad I 26 October-23 November 1386

St Paul's Monastery

Paper, 29 x 14 cm

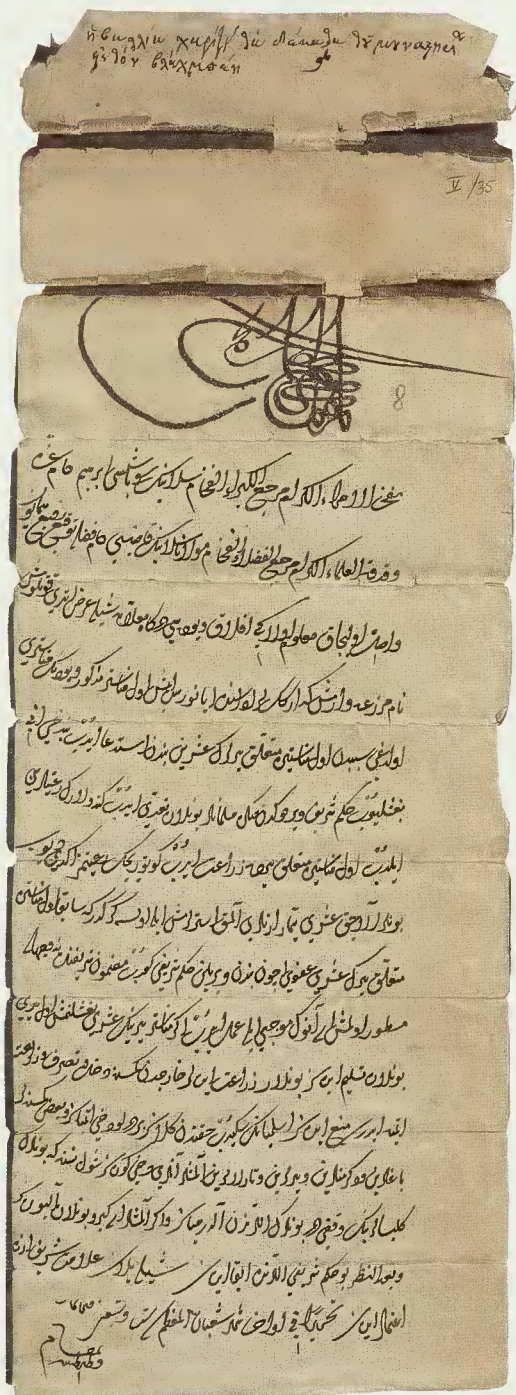
This is the oldest Ottoman document so far found on Mount Athos.

Sultan Murad I declares that he recognises the contents of the decree issued by his father Sultan Orhan (ca. 1324-60), the second sultan of the Ottoman dynasty. He confirms the monks in possession of all they owned during his father's reign. The Sultan bestows upon the monks the villages of Antigoneia and Agathe, assigning to their use the produce of the same. He further orders









**14.4 Firman of Sultan Bayezid II**  
29 June-7 July 1491  
Koutloumousiou Monastery  
Paper, 43 x 15 cm

The Voivode of Wallachia had petitioned the Sultan to exempt the lands belonging to the

Koutloumousiou Monastery (in which he had an interest) from the payment of the tithe. Although the Sultan had issued an edict granting the exemption, the Moslems were actively hostile towards the monks, exploiting the peasants who worked for the monks and cultivating the lands belonging to the monastery. The feoffees of these lands also demanded continued payment of the tithe. The governor (*subaşı*) and the *kadi* of Thessaloniki were ordered to study and implement the imperial firman granting exemption from the tithe, to prevent exploitation of the monasterial lands by any other persons and, finally, if anyone should have seized any vineyards, mills, fields or anything else belonging to the monastery, to see that these were restored to their rightful owner and prohibit any intervention.

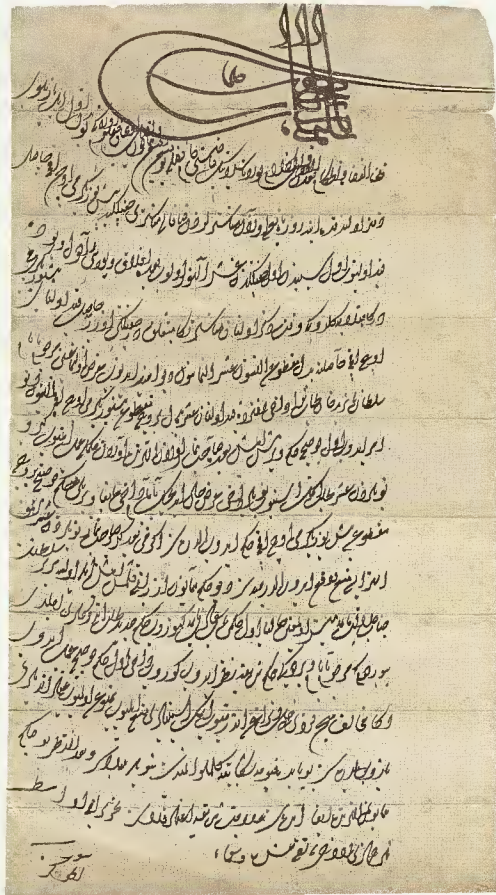
**Bibliography:** Lemerle - Wittek 1948, pp. 411-72.

B.D.

**14.5 Firman of Sultan Selim I**  
4-13 August 1513  
Dionysiou Monastery  
Paper, 35 x 19 cm

In a register of past tax revenues it was recorded that the *metochi* (*çiftlik*) known as Katakali, belonging to one of the Athonite foundations, used to pay 523 aspers a year as a tithe. Radul, the Voivode of Wallachia came to the Sublime Porte during the reign of the Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), the father of Selim, and, having an interest in the monastery, petitioned that instead of being tithed each year, the property should pay a single aggregate annual tax of 523 aspers. The petition was granted and the relevant edict issued. The feoffees, however, ignored the edict and continued to exact tithes. The monks petitioned for the promulgation of a new edict, and Sultan Bayezid issued a firman upholding the levying of a single tax of 523 aspers and strictly prohibiting the exaction of tithes. The monks brought this firman to Constantinople and petitioned the Sultan to renew it. Sultan Selim ordered the *kadi* of Thessaloniki to study his imperial father's firman and to apply it, preventing any contravention. If any should fail to comply with the edict, then the *kadi* was to make a report to the capital. The monks were to have





for repairs to the monastery and for the maintenance of the monks, in accordance with the charter (*vakifname*) of the foundation. In order to prevent anyone from outside the monastery from intervening in their affairs in violation of the charter and the court's decision, the monks requested that these documents be ratified by the Sultan. The *kadi* of the *kaza* (district) of Siderokausia ordered the implementation of the firman and prohibited any action in contravention of it.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.

no further cause of complaint in this matter.

**Bibliography:** Zachariadou 1971.

B.D.

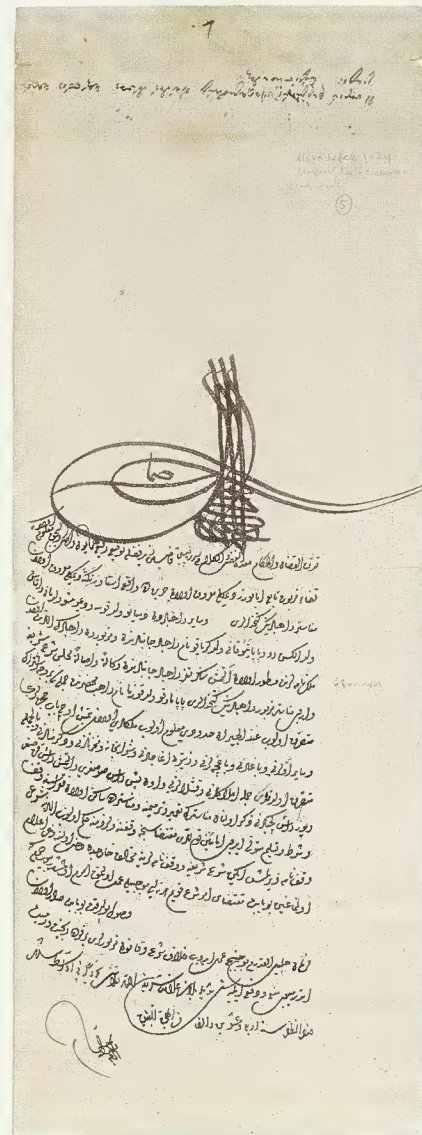
#### 14.6 Firman of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1615)

12-21 March 1615

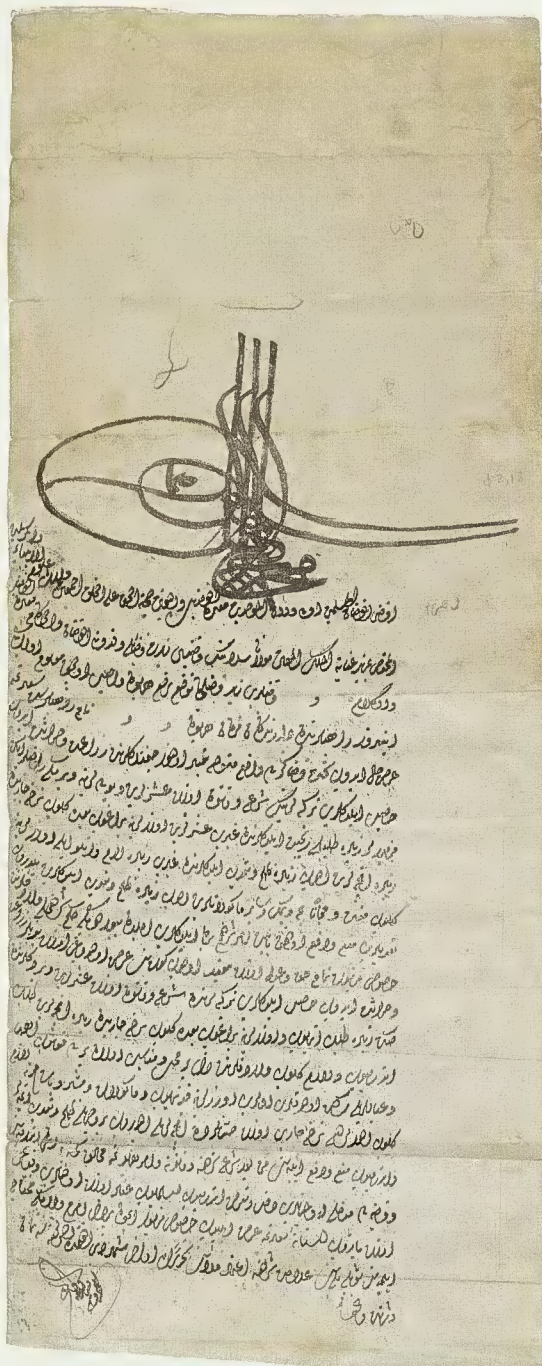
Stavronikita Monastery

Paper, 57.5 x 21 cm

Certain monks from the Stavronikita Monastery appeared before the clerical court at Siderokausia as representatives of the 68 monks in the foundation and declared that they had appointed as their representative and as administrator of all their monasterial property the monk Father Markos, son of Kosmas. This property consisted of 73 kellia and other houses, and included vineyards, gardens, olive groves, wine cellars, storehouses, mills and other buildings, winter pasturage, fifteen water buffalo, sixty black buffalo and one hundred goats. The revenues from this property were to be used







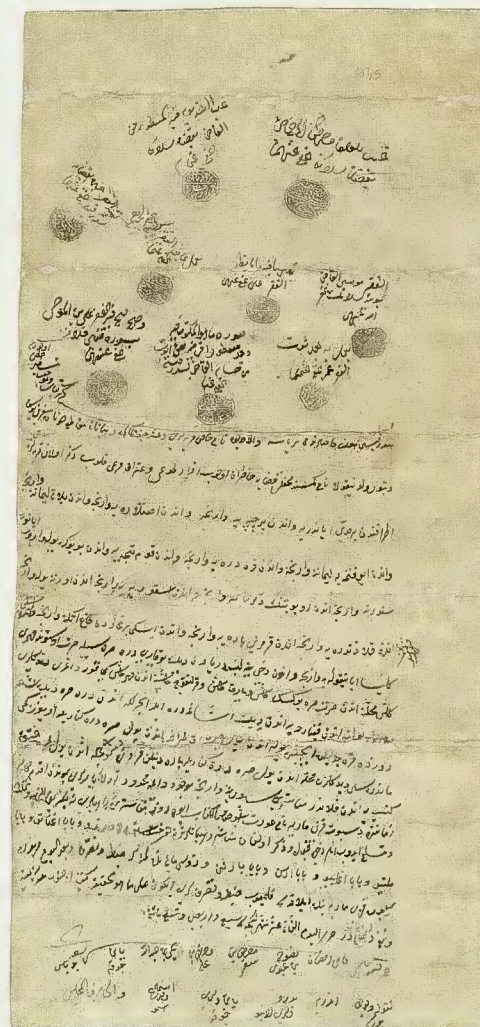
14.7 Firman 16-25 January 1678  
of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687)  
Ivion Monastery  
Paper, 53.5 x 21.5 cm

Addressed to the *kadis* of Thessaloniki and other districts; the officials are not named.

The monks of Mount Athos reported that they while they are perfectly willing duly to remit to the voivodes (the administrative officials charged with the collection of taxes) the tithe of the produce of the estates they own in these districts, these officials do not collect the tithes when they are due, but rather come at a later date and, in order to garner greater sums, demand more than the value assessed. They also make illegal demands for additional food supplies. The edict orders that nothing be required from the monks apart from the regular payment of the tithe, that the sum demanded not exceed the assessed value, and in general that officials be prevented from making illegal exactions in cash or kind. Any infringement is to be reported to Istanbul.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

B.D.





**14.8 Ecclesiastical decision (*hodjeti*)  
ratified by nine civil judges from Thessaloniki  
and Siderokausia, 9 April 1541**

Iviron Monastery

Paper, 45 x 20.5 cm

Monks from Mount Athos define the boundaries of the area between the villages of Ierissos and Aladiava bequeathed to the Iviron Monastery by Maria, the daughter of Despotis, the Turkish name for Maria, the daughter of George Branković, Despot of Serbia, wife of Sultan Murad II and mother of Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror of Constantinople.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.



**14.9 Receipts of payment  
of the poll tax**

Vatopedi Monastery

Paper, 30 x 21 cm

From 1691 and until the abolition of the poll tax in 1839, all non-Moslem subjects of the Ottoman

Empire had to procure each year a receipt of payment of this tax, which they were required to carry with them. These receipts were issued in three different colours, corresponding to the tax category of the tax-payer (high, middle or low), and bore five or six large seals, indicating his tax category, the year for which payment was received, the tax district and the names of the receiving officials. The receipt was completed with the name of the tax-payer.

Mount Athos was obliged to pay for three thousand such receipts annually (300 in each of the high and low categories and the remainder in the middle category); these were issued to the Holy Community and distributed to the monasteries according to the number of monks in each, to be supplied to monks when they left the territory of the Community. Large numbers of unused receipts still exist in all the monasteries. Each sheet contains four uncut receipts.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.

**14.10 Berat appointing  
the monk Gregorios  
Bishop of Stromnitsa**

10 September 1818

Vatopedi Monastery

Paper, 147 x 55 cm

After the death of Ananias, Metropolitan of Stromnitsa, Radovista and Tikves, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy Synod elected Father Gregorios to replace him, and requested the Sultan's approval of this appointment. The appointment was approved upon payment of 13500 aspers to the public treasury. The document details the metropolitan's rights, spiritual and administrative, over the clergy and faithful in his see. It also orders that public officials not obstruct the Metropolitan in the execution of his duties, but rather support him when he asks for their assistance.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.









### 14.11 Firman of Sultan Mustafa III

7-16 June 1759

Protaton

Paper, 72 x 47 cm

Addressed to the governor (*mutasarrif*) and the civil judge (*kadi*) of Thessaloniki.

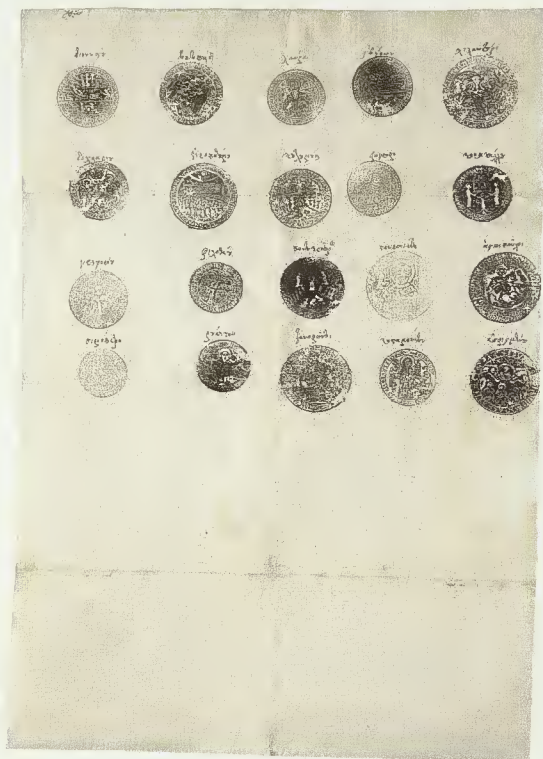
Since Mount Athos is barren and has no produce of its own, the produce of the monasterial lands in Chalkidiki is (once the tithe has been paid) by tradition and decree to be used exclusively for the maintenance of the monasteries, its carriage by boat to Mount Athos being exempt from any further

taxes or imposts. Since the previous year, however, and with flagrant disregard for the documents in the possession of the monks, numerous officials have demanded the payment of a variety of taxes. The Head Gardener (*bostangi-başı*) of the Palace, for the use of whose Corps the revenues from Mount Athos are intended, has petitioned for the implementation of the decrees issued to date with regard to this matter. The Sultan forbids the exaction of any other tax or impost during the carriage of the produce from the monasterial farms to the monasteries, as happened in the past.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.





#### 14.12 Petition of the monks of Mount Athos to the Sultan

Undated

Protaton

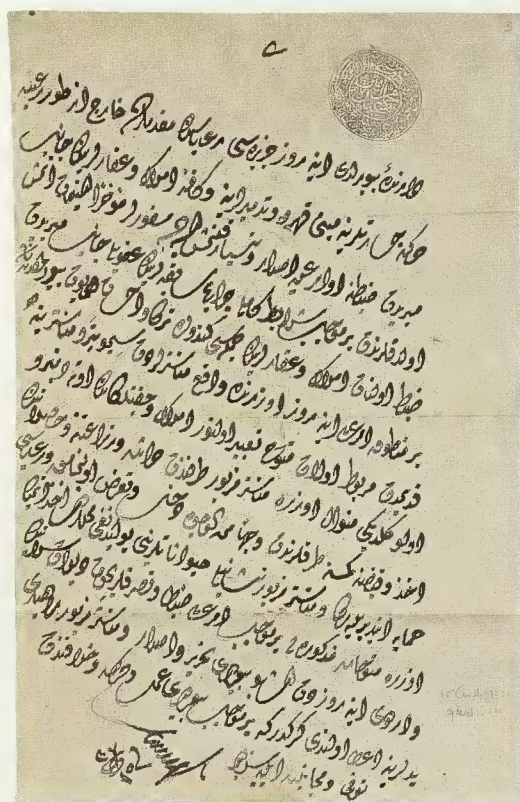
Paper, 52.5 x 37 cm

Every year, without fail, the Athonite monks pay their taxes to the public treasury. They also pay five hundred piastres annually to the agent of the *Bostangis*, or Palace Guard, based in Thessaloniki, as well as various other incidental sums to an annual total of four to five hundred aspers. The monasteries are also taxed, paying a total of two thousand purses of aspers annually. Despite all this, they are under constant pressure to pay more, although such an intolerable burden would lead to their dissolution. They therefore petition the Sultan to prohibit the exaction of taxes other than those lawfully prescribed.

The petition is ratified on the second sheet with the seals of the twenty Athonite monasteries.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

B.D.



#### 14.13 Order (*bouyiourdi*) issued by Mehmet Emin (Ebu Lubut Pasha)

Governor of the *sanjak* of Thessaloniki

9 March 1822

Simonopetra Monastery

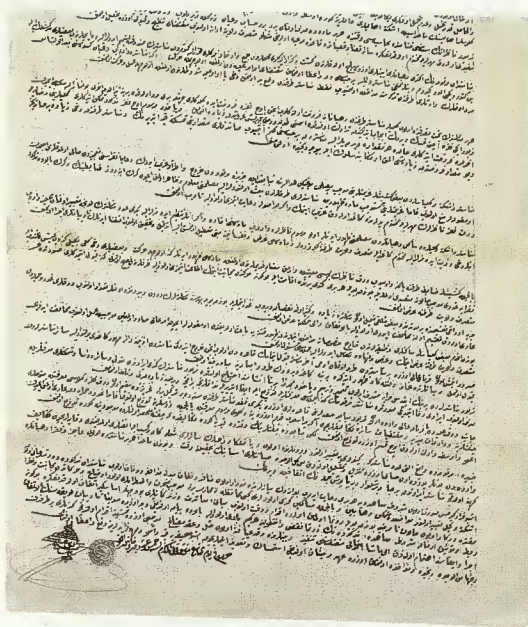
Paper, 35.5 x 22.5. Bears Mehmet Emin's seal

Although Imperial edicts have been issued ordering the extermination and the destruction and the confiscation of all the property belonging to the infidels on Mount Athos, who have long dared to act in a manner unbecoming to a subject people, since however these same infidels have recently petitioned for pardon their crimes have been forgiven and all their property restored to them. In accordance with this order, therefore, the monks of the Simonopetra Monastery may cultivate the lands belonging to the *metochi* called Dabiliv which has belonged to them from of old and may enjoy the fruits of this estate without let or hindrance from any person. This order was issued at Mount Athos by the Administration of Thessaloniki and the Army and was given into the hands of the monks.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

B.D.





#### 14.14 Administrative Rule of Mount Athos 8 November 1810

Protaton

Paper, 77 x 27 cm. Ratified by Yusuf Bey, deputy-governor (mütesellim) of Thessaloniki

Since over the past few years there have been many disputes regarding the administration of Mount Athos, leading to friction between certain of the monastic foundations, a Rule, to be implemented obligatorily by all, has been drawn up following discussions attended by representatives of sixteen of the twenty monasteries. The 22 articles of the Rule prescribe the manner in which the various taxes levied by the Ottoman State are to be paid, the administration and control of the monasteries revenues and expenditures, and the manner in which land disputes between them are to be settled. Particular articles deal with the question of funds for building repairs to the *sketae* and cells, as well as how the cells belonging to individual monasteries are to be allotted and what is to happen to them upon the death of their occupants. Certain provisions deal with the management of the six cenobitic monasteries which existed at that time. Regulations are also laid down for the movement of monks both within the territory of Mount Athos and beyond.

The role of the four overseers in the administration of the Rule is also fundamental. The Rule was drafted

by monks Theodosios Koutloumousianos, Gregorios Gregoriatis and Christodoulos Balanos, Overseer of Mount Athos in Thessaloniki.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished. Cf. Alexandros L. 1963 (2), pp. 20-4.

B.D.

#### 14.15 Order (*bouyiourdi*) issued by Kapoudan Pasha 7 September 1797

Simonopetra Monastery

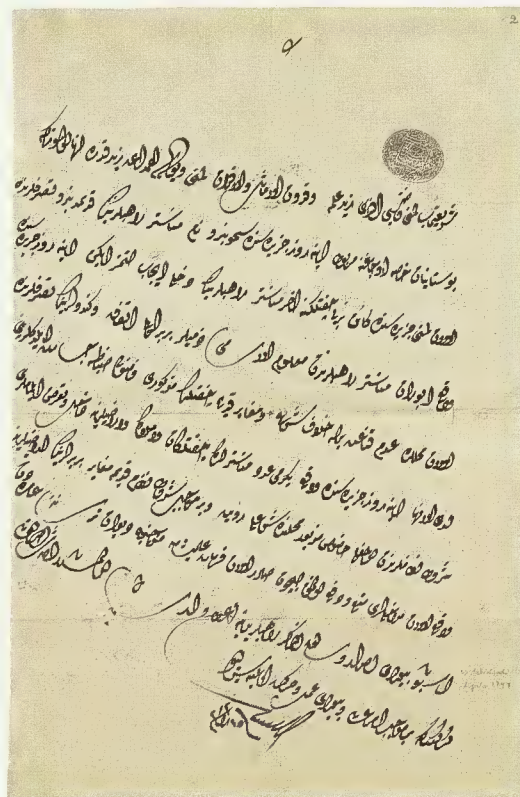
Paper, 54 x 34.5

Addressed to the local governor (voivode), Ahmet Aga, and the *kadi* of Lemnos.

While the monks from the Simonopetra Monastery used to enjoy undisturbed the *metochi* the monastery had long owned on the island of Lemnos, this has recently been illegally occupied by monks from the Iviron Monastery. You are hereby commanded by the Governor of the Imperial Naval Base to look into this question and to forbid such trespass.

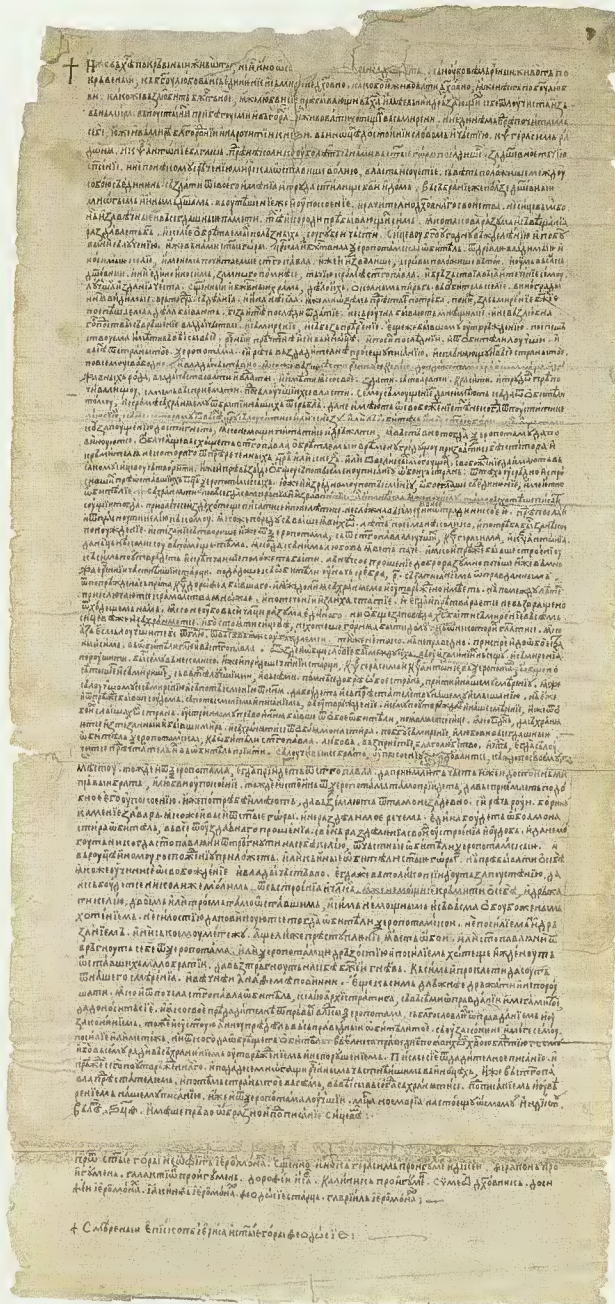
**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

B.D.





# 15 SLAVONIC DOCUMENTS



## 15.1 Deed of transfer of a *kellion* of Xeropotamou Monastery for the founding of St Paul's Monastery November 1409

St Paul's Monastery

Slavonic document, Cod. 9  
Paper, 76 x 35 cm

The syntax shows that this is an Old Serbian translation of a Greek document, which has not survived.

The document transfers to Gerasim Radonya and Antoniye Bagash, Serbian monks of princely descent, a *kellion* consecrated to St Paul, so that they can turn it into a monastery. The transfer is made on the understanding that the cell will remain Serbian for as long as Serbs of princely lineage predominate; it shall on no account be transferred to any other king, prince, or monastery. If it falls empty, it will revert to Xeropotamou Monastery.

The Serbian founders of St Paul's had already paid Xeropotamou 100 ounces of gold, as confirmed by the *Protos* of Mount Athos, Dorotheos. It is also agreed that the monks of St Paul's will receive the monks of Xeropotamou hospitably and pay them honours, and the monks of Xeropotamou will do the same. The document is signed by the *Protos* of Mount Athos, Neophytos, and the priors and other clerics of Xeropotamou, and it is ratified by the Bishop of Ierissos and Mount Athos, Theodosios. The document's value lies in the fact that it sheds light on details connected with the founding of St Paul's Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Stojanović 1890, pp. 49-50. Sindik 1978, pp. 188-91.

A.-E.T.

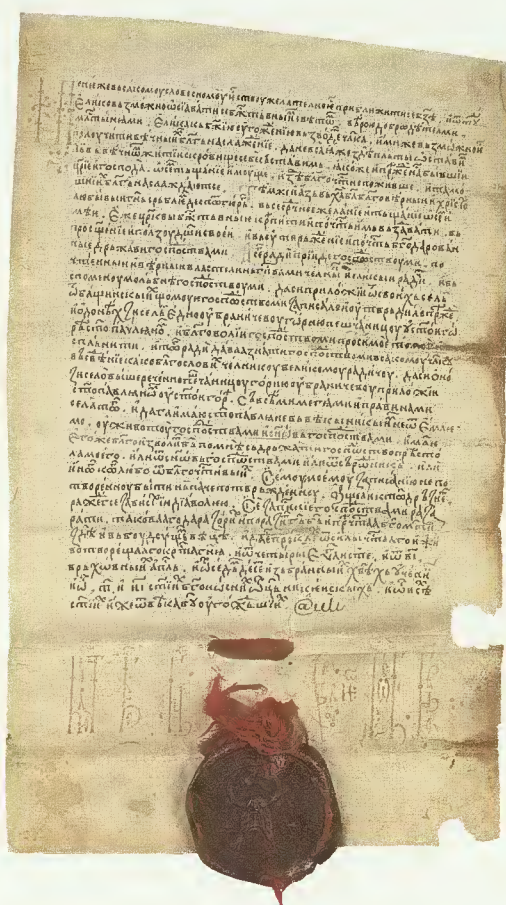


## 15.2 Order of the Serbian Despot George (Djuradj) Branković, ca. 1430 St Paul's Monastery

Slavonic document, Cod. 21 (1)

Paper(?), 26.2 x 43.8 cm

The despot of the Serbs, George Branković, permits the 'noble great eparch (*celnik*) of my realm, Radić' to make a gift to the monks of St Paul's Monastery. The gift consists in the transfer of the village of Gornya Peshtsanitsa in the district



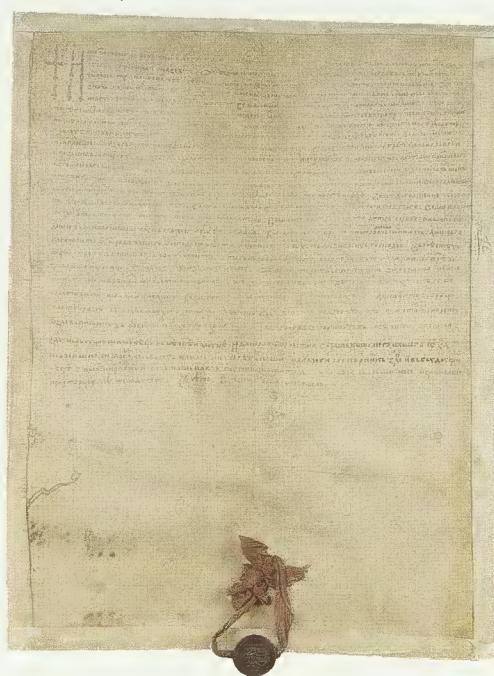
of Branitchevo, which had been part of the despot's patrimonial estate and was transferred to Radić by Branković himself. The despot now permits the village to be given to the monks of St Paul's with all its territory and rights. As long as the despot and his children live, the gift shall be inalienable, and no-one shall have the right to revoke it.

The despotic order comprises 33 lines of

calligraphic text in the Serbian script of the Resava School. The ornamental red initial capital is preceded by an ornamented cross. There are also red initials within the text. In the lower part of the document there is the signature: 'By the mercy of God, the master of the Serbs despot George', together with a piece of red braid passing through a wax seal 8 cm in diameter, bearing the coat of arms of the Branković dynasty surrounded by the inscription: 'In Christ the Lord, the faithful and Christ-loving master of the Serbs and the Cis-Danubian territories, George'. The document is undated, but an approximate dating may be reached on the basis of other documents connected with Radić.

**Bibliography:** Stojanović 1890, p. 5. Novaković 1912, pp. 531-2. For a correct reading of the seal, see Sindik 1978, p. 196.

A.-E.T.



## 15.3 Donation by George Branković to St Paul's Monastery, 3 October 6922 (1413) St Paul's Monastery

Slavonic document, Cod. 16 (2)

Parchment, 49.3 x 38.5 cm

The Serbian prince Gregory Branković, his mother Mara, and his brothers George and Lazaros



donate to St Paul's Monastery the villages of Dobrasevtse in the district of Drenitsa, the plain of Vraniny in Laba, and the village of Patey in the district of Trupovshitse, with all their territory and rights. It is also stipulated that the house of Branković shall give the monastery twenty litres of silver a year. The endowment is made in the time of the elder (hegumen) Theodoulos.

At the beginning of the document is an ornamented cross and the letters IC XC, followed by the initial letter H. The document is 27 lines long. In the lower part, suspended from a strip of fabric of later date, is an iron seal 3.3 cm long, with the initials Vlk' on the obverse. The reverse is quite smooth. The document attests the unceasing interest of the Serbian royal families in the St Paul's Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Miklosich 1858, pp. 277-9. Novaković 1912, pp. 529-30.

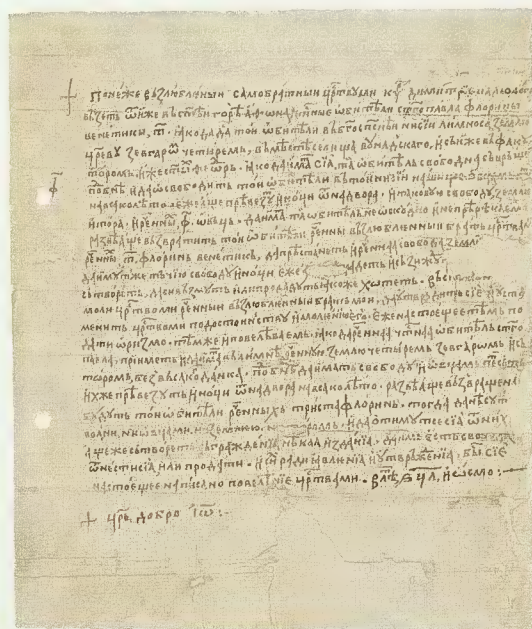
A.-E.T.

#### 15.4 Order of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologos on behalf of St Paul's Monastery 6938 (1429/30) St Paul's Monastery

Slavonic document, Cod. 56 (9)  
Paper, 22.3 x 18.9 cm

Emperor John VIII Palaeologos confirms an agreement between his brother Demetrios and the monks of the St Paul's Monastery. Demetrios borrowed 300 Venetian florins from the monastery and in exchange granted the monks the right to exploit four yokes of royal land and the pastureland at Hagioi Theodoroi on the island of Lemnos, where there is grazing for 500 sheep. The monks are also granted the right to erect small buildings for their own essential needs there. If Demetrios repaid his debt to them, their right to exploit the land would cease, but any buildings the monks had erected would remain at their disposal.

The document is 30 lines long and is a Serbian translation of a lost Greek original. Towards the bottom is a cross in red ink, followed by the



words 'Emperor good-John' in Serbian.

**Bibliography:** Sindik 1977, pp. 205-12.

A.-E.T.

#### 15.5 Chrysobull of the Serbian Despot Angelina and the Despots George and John on behalf of St Paul's Monastery 3 November 1495 St Paul's Monastery

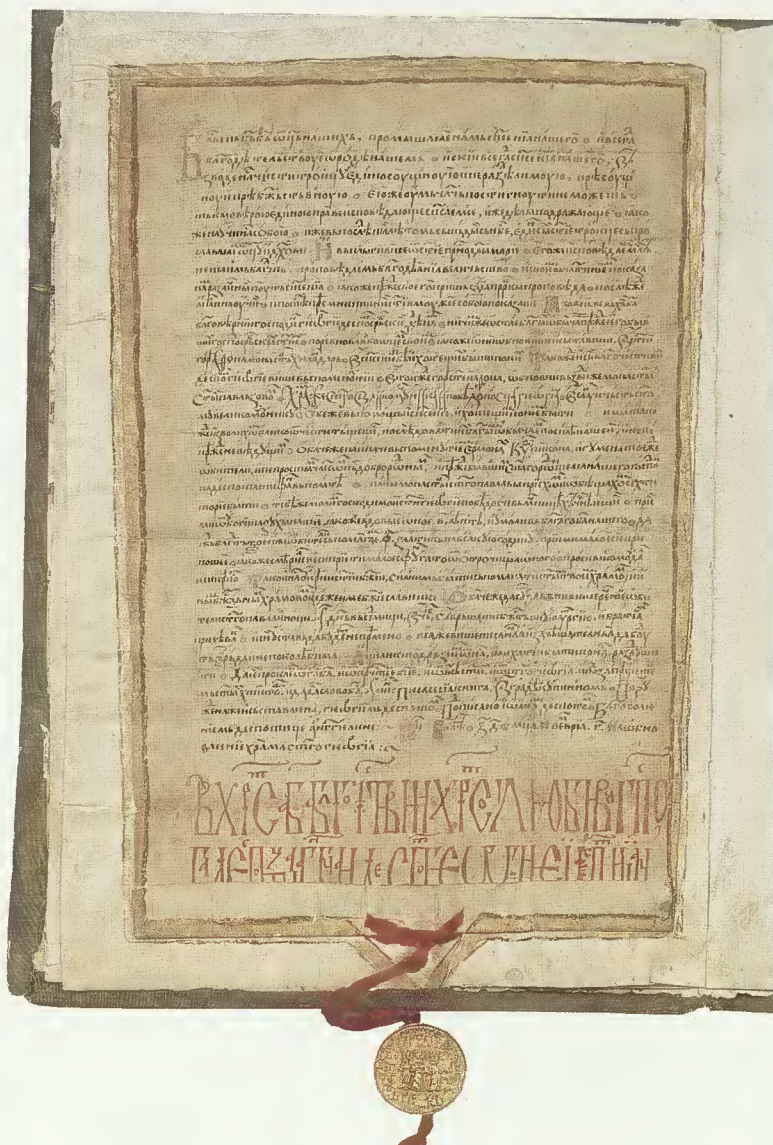
Slavonic document, Cod. 3 (4)  
Parchment, 37.9 x 24.3 cm

Angelina, Despot of the Serbs and wife of the Despot Stephen Branković, and their sons, the Despots George and John, continue their forebears' pious tradition of devotion to St Paul's Monastery, and, owing to their connection with the Hegumen, hieromonk Nikon, who has spent some time at Stephen's palace, have decided to make the monastery an annual gift of 1,000 gold coins. The donors ask those in charge of the monastery to hold a divine Liturgy in the Church of St George every Thursday and to supply wine in the refectory for the monks. The document, issued in the city



of Kupinovo, the dynasty's last seat before the Ottoman conquest, reflects the Branković family's reverence and love for St Paul's Monastery: out of the little they now have, they offer this annual

being passed through a solid gold seal 4 cm in diameter, which bears on the obverse the standing figures of the three donors and the inscription: 'The lady Despot Angelina, the lord Despot



assistance to the monastery.

The text of the document, which is framed by a line which may once have been gold, begins with a not particularly decorative red letter, and there are red initial capitals within the text. At the bottom, in large capitals, is the signature: 'In Christ the Lord, the devout and Christ-loving Despot Angelina, Despot George, and Despot John'. A length of braid hangs from the document,

George, the lord Despot John.' On the reverse is a representation of St George on horseback slaying the dragon, accompanied by the inscription: 'Saint and great martyr George, have mercy on your servants.'

**Bibliography:** Julinac 1765, pp. 120-4. Rajić 1794, pp. 120-4. Karano-Tvrtković 1840, pp. 340-1. Miklosich 1858, pp. 539-41.

A.-E.T.



**15.6 Injunction of the Empress  
Anna Ioannovna (1730-40)**

**5 June 1730**

**St Panteleimon Monastery**

Parchment, 27 x 19 cm

This imperial injunction confirms an earlier one issued by Peter the Great on 7 March 1710. It renews the privileges granted to the Mayor (*voit*), Dmitrii Polotskii, the Governor (*burmistr*), Lavnikov, and the notables of Kiev, namely the right to possess and exploit land, forest, and water resources, to trade in the products got

covers four leaves of membrane. Each of the eight pages is elaborately decorated with a broad frame containing the branches of a plant with red and blue flowers. The predominant colours are light grey, red, and gold. Half the first page is taken up by the imperial coat of arms with the two-headed eagle, which is painted on a circular gold field and surrounded by multicoloured flowers. The text begins with a lovely gold monogram of the Russian word *Bogou* (God). The document is signed on page eight by the 'State Chancellor, Count Kyril Golytsin'. Two thick, gold-tasselled pieces of cord hang from the last page. One passes through a red seal of



from them, and generally to engage in commerce and professions. Clerics, secular dignitaries, and Cossacks are specifically excluded from these rights. The injunction was obviously issued on the occasion of the Empress' accession to the throne.

The injunction is written in Russian and

Spanish wax in a round gilded case bearing a relief representation of the imperial coat of arms and the two-headed eagle.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished. For a photograph of the first page, see Tachiaos 1989, p. 197, fig. 118.

A.-E.T.

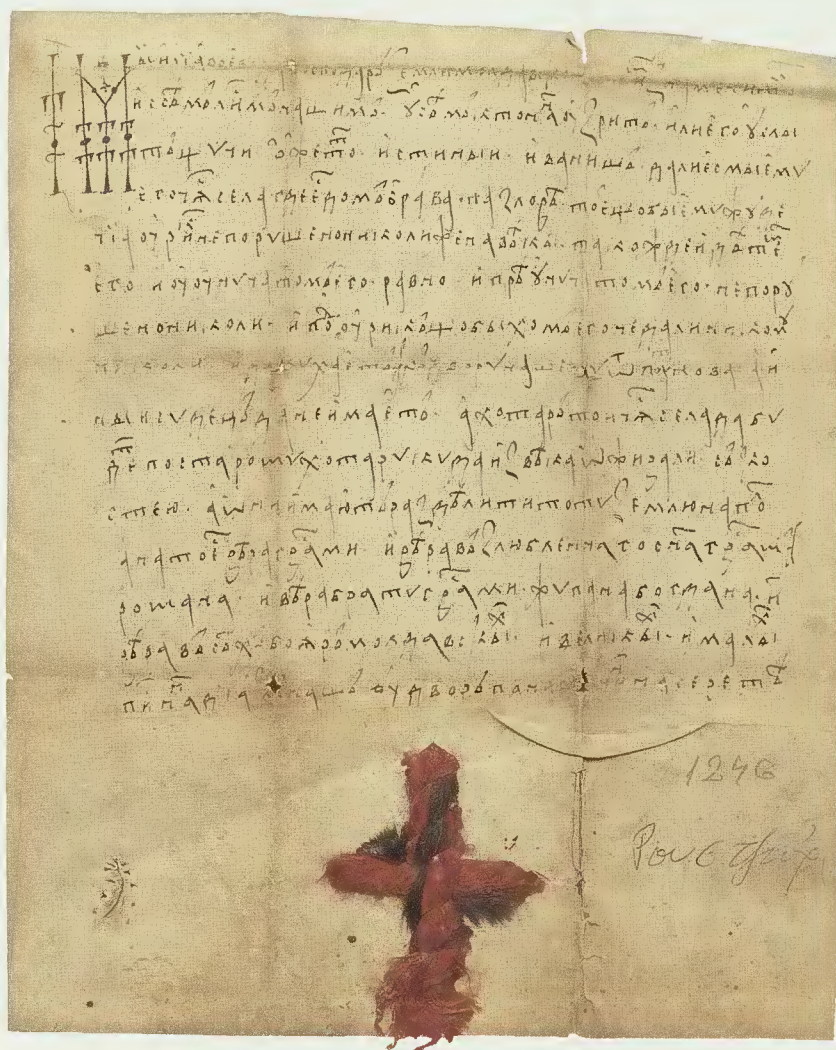




15.6 Detail.



## 16 ROMANIAN DOCUMENTS



### 16.1 Chrysobull of the Voivode of Moldavia, Elias, 7 August 1432 (1432)

Iviron Monastery, Sacristy

Romanian Archives, no. 1246

Language: Slavonic

Paper, 20.8 x 16.3 cm

The Prince of Moldavia, Elias, informs all concerned that he has made over to Ivanish half

of an unnamed village near the river Tazlau. Ivanish has the right to transfer ownership of the village to his children, his grandchildren, and so on. The boundary of the land must remain as it has always been. The other part of the village belongs to Costea. Signed by the Prince himself, his son Roman, his brother Bogdan, and the members of the Divan of Moldavia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.





**16.2 Strip of fabric** 20 March 1553 (7061)  
Dionysiou Monastery, Library

Language: Slavonic  
Silk, 902 x 29 cm

Alexander Lapushneanu, Prince of Moldavia, announces the building of the iconostasis in the katholikon of Dionysiou Monastery.

The text on the strip of fabric reads in translation:

‘By the will of God, the instrumentality of his Son, and completion by the Holy Spirit, Voivode Alexander, by God’s mercy Prince of the land of Moldavia, son of Voivode Bogdan, grandson of Voivode Stephen, built this iconostasis and assigned it to the Church of the Divine Nativity of John the Prodrome and Baptist of Christ, on Mount Athos, in its foundation, the monastery called Dionysiou, as an offering (prayer) for himself and his relations, in the year 7061, on the 20th day of the month of March.’

**Bibliography:** Năsturel 1986, p. 154 (French translation).

F.M.

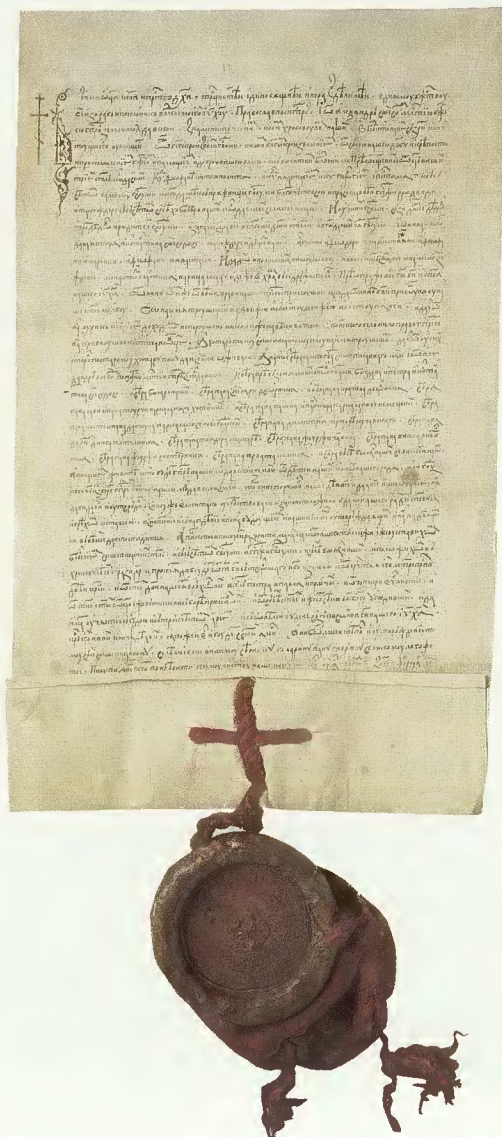
**16.3 Chrysobull of the Prince of Moldavia,**  
Alexander Lapushneanu

15 February 7076 (1568)

Protaton. Romanian Archives, no. 1020

Language: Slavonic  
Parchment, 52.6 x 30.9 cm

Alexander Lapushneanu, Prince of Moldavia,





makes a gift to Slatina Monastery, which is in the district of Suceava, was built recently, and is dedicated to the Transfiguration of the Saviour. The gift is the village of Trusesti on the River Jijia, formerly a royal village, with mills on the river.

Witnessed by Alexander's sons, Bogdan, Petru, and Constantine, and twelve notables, members of the Divan of Moldavia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

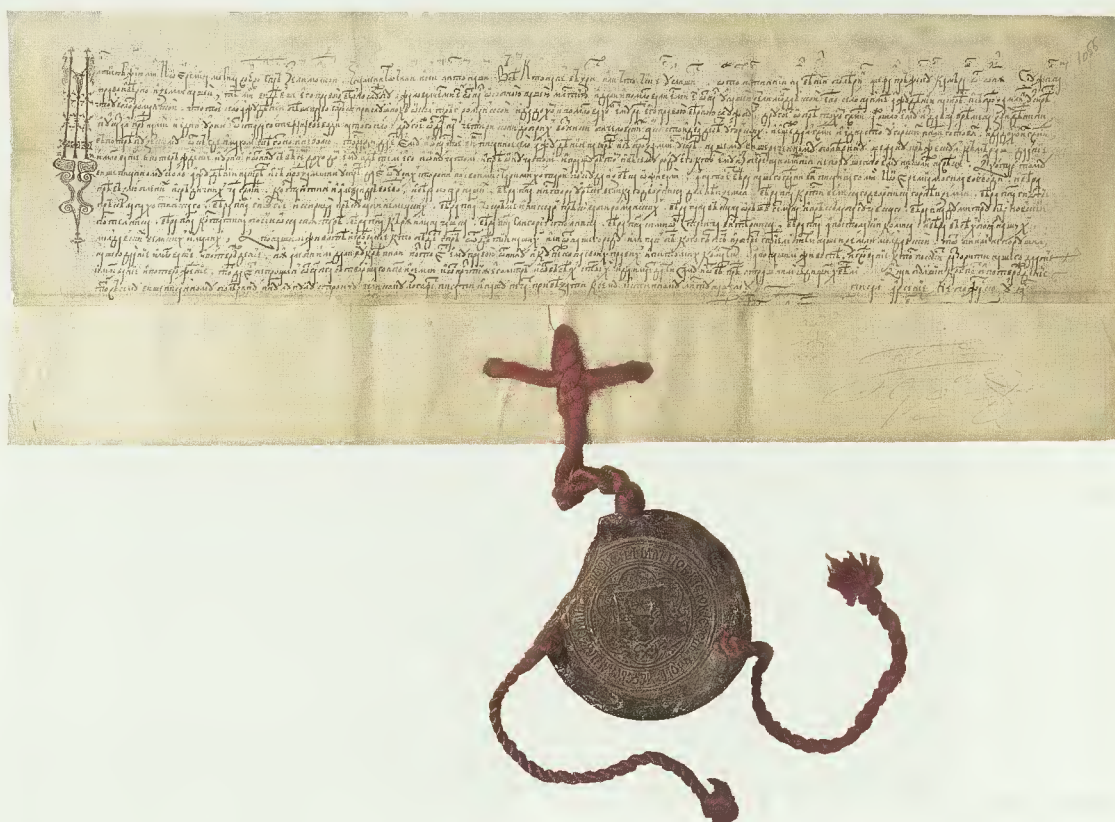
F.M.

Roman. He gives it to him both because he has learned that it belonged to him of old, on the basis of a chrysobull of the Voivode Stephen the Elder, and because Prajescu has given the country four horses, with a total value of 120 *ughi*, and 100 *ughi* in cash.

Witnessed by the Prince's sons, Constantine and Alexander, and fourteen notables, members of the Divan of Moldavia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.



**16.4 Chrysobull of the Prince of Moldavia, Jeremy Movila, 16 February 7111 (1603)**  
Protaton. Romanian Archives, no. 1055

Language: Slavonic. Scribe: Arsenios Nepozatco  
Parchment, 24.3 x 60.0 cm

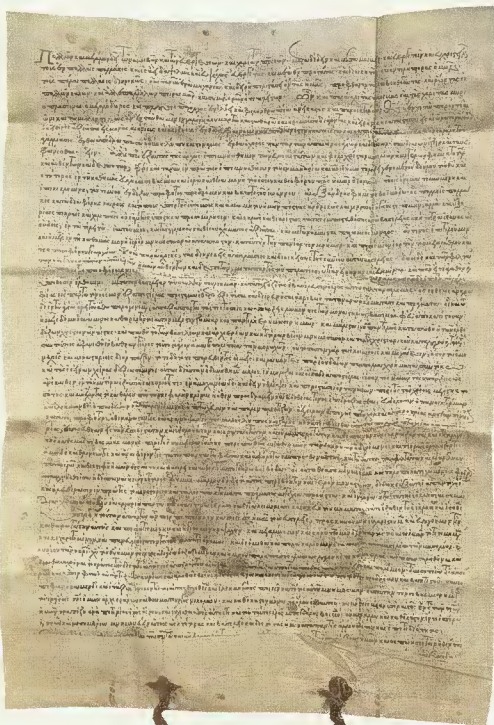
The Prince of Moldavia, Jeremy Movila, gives to Stephen Prajescu, *camarash* of the salt mines, for his loyal service, the former royal village of Adjjudeni on the River Siret in the district of

**16.5 Letter 7078 (1570)**  
from the Dionysiou Monastery  
with the seal of the Holy Community  
Dionysiou Monastery, Sacristy

Language: Greek  
Parchment, 56 x 39 cm

The Assembly of Dionysiou Monastery thanks Roxandra, widow of Alexander Lapushneanu, Prince of Moldavia (later the monk Pachomios,





16.5

and a founder of the monastery), for her generosity to Dionysiou Monastery.

In 1568, when Sultan Selim confiscated the monastery's property, Roxandra put up the money to redeem the debts, estates, pledges, and the rest of the monastery's movable property.

The monks will frequently commemorate both Roxandra and her son, the Voivode Bogdan.

**Bibliography:** Gabriel D. 1959, pp. 111-13. See also no. 13.38.

F.M.

**16.6 Chrysobull of the Prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave**  
**28 August 7107 (1599)**  
**Simonopetra Monastery, Sacristy**  
**Romanian archives, no. 1**

Language: Slavonic  
 Scribe: Stan, *logothetis*  
 Parchment, 69.8 x 58.1 cm

Prince Michael the Brave gives to the Monastery of St Nicholas (*Mihai-Voda*), of which he is the founder, the following: the villages of Dralea, Suharna, Costeni, Popeshti, Cuneshti, Romaneshti, Suhavi, several plots of land in the villages of Despiciatzi, Campeni, Buciumeni, and Spantzovul de Sus, and the Manea and Cosma gypsy families. Some of these villages have been bought by private individuals, Popeshti was bought by Prince Michnea, and the villagers are now dependent.

After this gift, the Prince dedicates the monastery to Simonopetra, and calls down anathema on all those who do not respect his gift and dedication.

Michael appoints as witnesses seven great boyars of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Documenta 1975, pp. 476-83.

F.M.







### Jeremy Movila, Prince of Moldavia, confirms



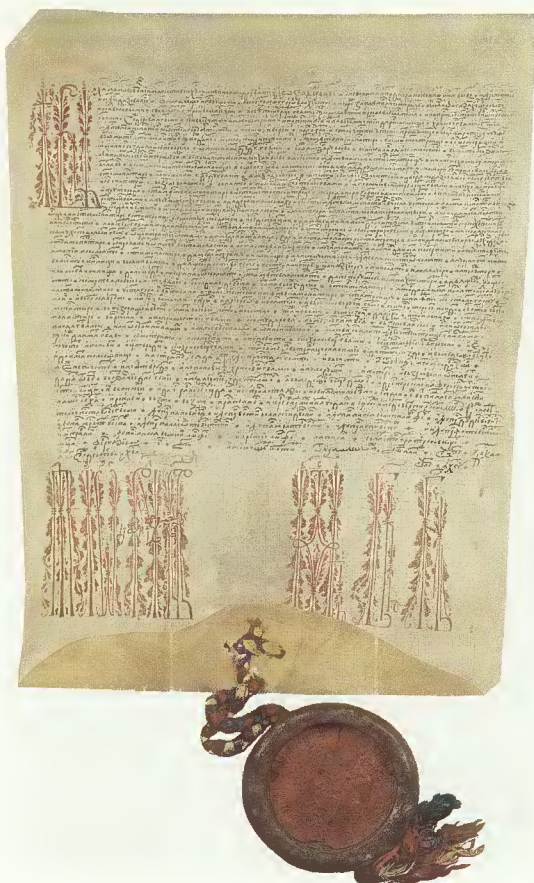
the dedication of Golia Church — which was rebuilt by the *logothetis* Golia — to Vatopedi Monastery. The dedication was made by the *logothetis*' wife, Anna, and their son, Michael.

For the salvation of her soul and the souls of her children, Michael, Maria, Solonica, Lazaros, Gregory, and Demetrios, her parents, and other relations, and also in memory of her late husband, the *logothetis* John, Anna has endowed the church with: the villages of Rujintzi, Burnareshti, Golaeshti (half), Terchileshti (half), Rushi (half), Turceshti (one third), two vineyards, some plots of land, and fourteen gypsy slaves with their families.

It has been decided that two memorial services a year shall be held in Vatopedi Monastery for all her relations, and the monks shall take care of Anna if the need arises.

**Bibliography:** Melchisedec 1885, pp. 232-6.

F.M.



**16.8 Chrysobull of Radu,**  
Prince of Wallachia, 10 February 7121 (1613)  
Ivion Monastery, Library  
Romanian Archives, no. 1786

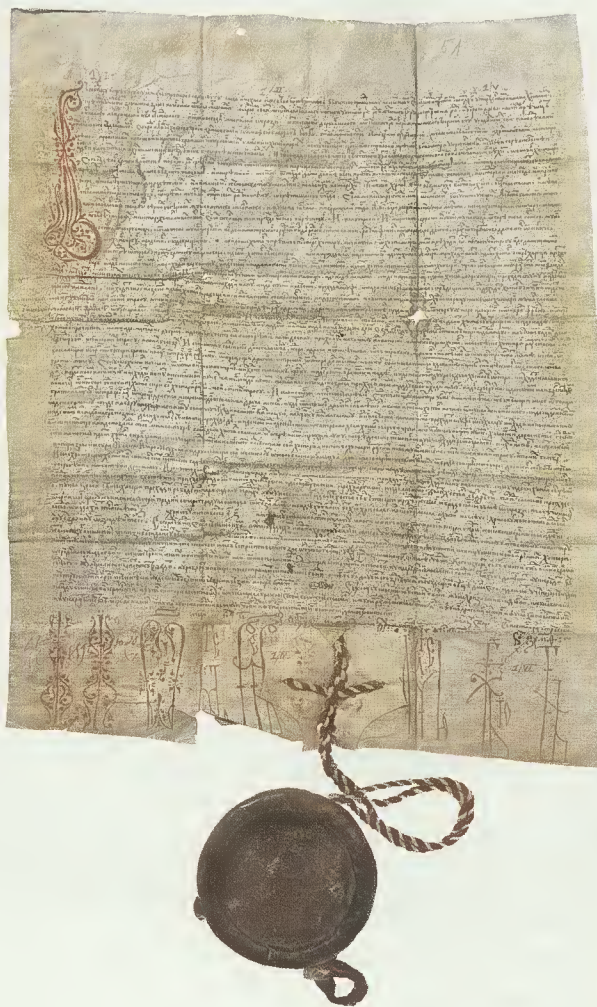
Language: Slavonic  
Scribe: Jeremy, *logothetis*  
Parchment, 56.5 x 43.2 cm

Radu, Prince of Wallachia, son of the Voivode Michnea, dedicates to Ivion Monastery on Mount Athos the Monastery of the Holy Trinity (*Radu Voda*), built by his grandfather, Prince Alexander II Mirtchea. During the reign of Michnea, the monastery fell into disrepair, and the villages and the implements which had formerly been ceded to the monastery were scattered among other monasteries. The new prince has repaired the monastery and is now dedicating it to Ivion Monastery as a dependency. Ivion shall send wise priests to take care of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity and invigorate it. Whatever is left over from the income shall be sent to Ivion. Witnessed by nine officials of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** D.I.R. 1952, no. 147, pp. 150-2.

F.M.





**16.9 Chrysobull**  
of the Prince of Wallachia, Matthew Basarab  
June 7149 (1641)  
Koutloumousiou Monastery  
Library, showcase, no. 51

Language: Slavonic  
Scribe: Soare  
Parchment, 56.0 x 43.8 cm

The Voivode Matthew Basarab confirms the ownership by Koutloumousiou Monastery of the villages dedicated to it by previous princes, and also restores their old boundaries, which have from time to time been encroached upon by the owners of neighbouring lands. These are the villages of Tsiresov, Calugareni, Maracina,

Daneshti, Laiov, Comanca, Giurgiu, Prislop, and Hrateshti, and the old settlements of Sura, Saca, Ciora, Suhaia, and all the old settlements around the marshlands of Calmatzui, together with all the marshes and streams of the region. The monastery was repaired by the Princes of Wallachia, Mirtchea and Vladislav, the latter having sent officials to determine the boundaries of all their lands, which Matthew subsequently confirmed.

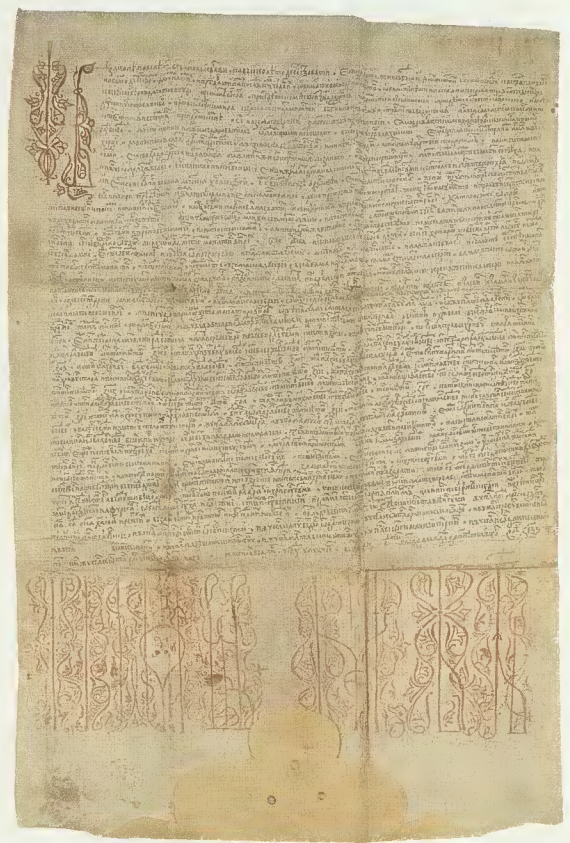
**Bibliography:** Documente 1936, pp. 174-84.

F.M.

**16.10 Chrysobull**  
of the Prince of Wallachia, Michael Radu  
1 May 7166 (1658)  
Xenophontos Monastery, Library

Language: Slavonic  
Scribe: Constantine, grand *logothetis*  
Parchment, 58.5 x 38.2 cm

The Prince of Wallachia, Michael Radu,





confirms previous gifts made to Xenophontos Monastery. These consist of an unspecified sum of money, together with the ownership of the village of Recika and the old village of Plopi in the district of Dolj, with corresponding tracts of forest, water, marshland, etc., which are also exempted from taxes and statute labour. He goes on to mention, by name and date, the previous chrysobulls granting gifts, from the one issued by Neagoe Basarab (in 1513/14) to the one issued by Gabriel Movila (1616-20), including the one issued by the present Prince's father; as also the dedicatory documents of the *bans* Barbu the Elder and the Younger and the *vornic* Serban, all of them damaged and erased.

Wishing to distinguish himself as the new founder of Xenophontos Monastery, the Prince confirms all the above. He appoints as witnesses eleven boyars, members of the Divan of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Documente 1936, pp. 228-36.

F.M.

# 16.11 Chrysobull of Prince Stefanitza Lupu 22 March 7168 (1660)

Vatopedi Monastery

Romanian Archives, no. 1363

Language: Slavonic. Scribe: Basil Corlatescu  
Parchment, 48.5 x 67.7 cm

Stefanitza Lupu, Prince of Moldavia, with the blessing of the country's four supreme prelates, namely the Metropolitan of Suceava and the Bishops of the districts of Roman, Radautzi, and Hushi, re-dedicates the recently renovated Golia Monastery to Vatopedi. He grants it the villages of Clicicautzi and Mileneshti, free of taxes and statute labour. He also exempts the monastery from the tax of 1,000 sheep, 1,000 beehives, 50 swine, etc. The monks shall mention his name in their services all year round as long as the monastery exists. Signed by fifteen high-ranking officials, members of the Divan of Moldavia.

**Bibliography:** Catalogul 1968, p. 126.

F.M.



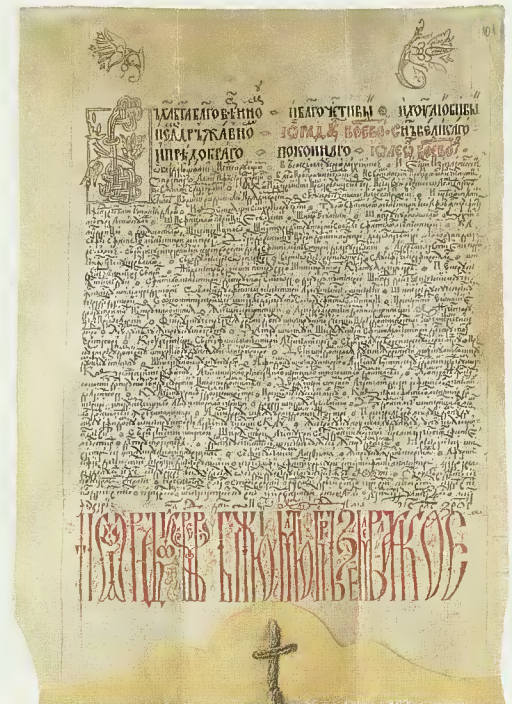


**16.12 Chrysobull of Radu Leon,  
Prince of Wallachia**  
4 February 7173 (1665)  
Protaton. Romanian Archives, no. 1101  
Language: Romanian  
Scribe: Dumitrash  
Parchment, 51.4 x 35.7 cm

Radu Leon, Prince of Wallachia, renews and ratifies the gift of the Voivode Gregory I Ghikas (1660-4) to all the monasteries on Mount Athos, granting them the right to receive one thousand salt blocks a year from the great salt mine in Wallachia. The blocks shall be received on the Feast of the Prophet Elijah. Witnessed by eleven notables, members of the Divan of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.



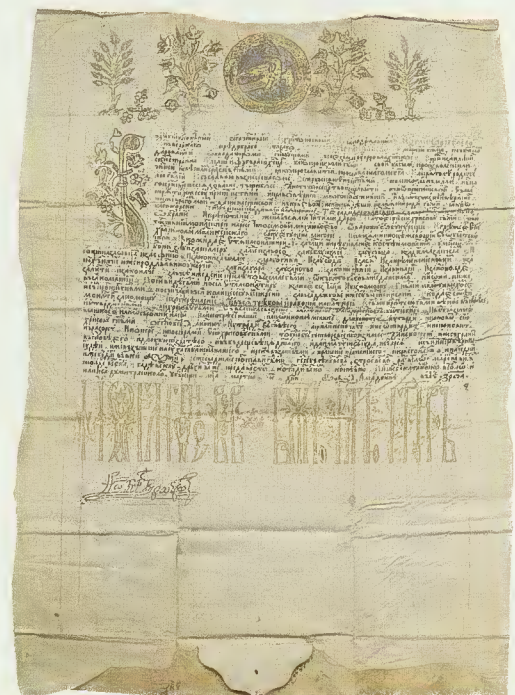
**16.13 Chrysobull of the Voivode of Wallachia,  
Gregory I Ghikas**  
20 March 7171 (1663)  
Simonopetra Monastery, Sacristy  
Romanian Archives, no. 57  
Language: Slavonic  
Scribe: Dumitrashcu, *logothetes*  
Parchment, 57.4 x 40.8 cm

The Prince of Wallachia, Gregory I Ghikas, exempts ten people from the Monastery of Mihei-Voda in Bucharest, which is dedicated to the memory of St Nicholas and is a dependency of Simonopetra Monastery (its hegumen is Gregory), from all the taxes and statute labour (twenty-four items in all) incumbent upon the country's other tax-payers. For example, he exempts them from the poll tax, the thalers, the payment of a quantity of honey, wax, and hay, the tithe on commodities and bees, the tax on barren swine, on sheep, on horses for use by royal officials, from manual labour, and from the tax on households. No royal official shall harass them, because the monastery is poor and lacks income.

The Prince appoints as witnesses eleven great notables of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.







16.14

**16.14 Chrysobull of the Prince of Wallachia, Serban Cantakuzenos**  
14 January 7194 (1686)  
Docheiariou Monastery  
Romanian Archives, no. 1

Language: Romanian  
Scribe: Stanciu, *logothetis*  
Paper, 72.7 x 57.4 cm.

Serban Cantakuzenos, Prince of Wallachia, confirms that a monastery named Vaideei, in Slobozia, in the district of Ialomitza, which is a dependency of Docheiariou Monastery, owns a plot of land in Pareiatzi (or Fundeni) with an area of 200 *stânjeni*.

According to evidence from the year 7144 (1635/6), it was bought by Prince Matthew Basarab from the *paharnic* Michael for 70 *ughi* and later given to the Slobozia Monastery. The monks there owned it in peace until the reign of the Voivode Constantine [Serban] (1654-8), when some villagers laid claim to it.

Prince Serban Cantakuzenos confirms that the monastery owns the land.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.

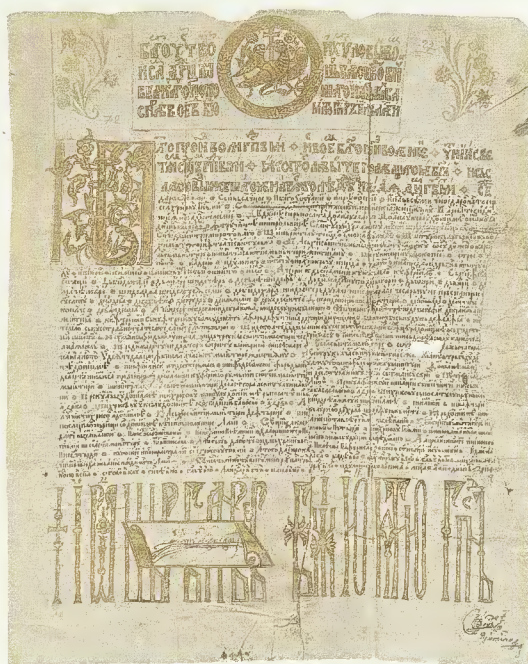
**16.15 Chrysobull of the Prince of Wallachia, Serban Cantakuzenos**  
1 April 7189 (1681)  
St Paul's Monastery, Sacristy  
Romanian Archives, no. 72

Language: Romanian  
Scribe: Dumitrashcu, *logothetis*  
Parchment, 46.7 x 36.6 cm

The ruling Prince of Wallachia, Serban Cantakuzenos, dedicates to Jitianu Monastery, which is a dependency of the St Paul's Monastery and was built by Balasha, wife of his uncle, Prince Constantine Serban, the village of Ianicu in the district of Dolj, together with twenty *rumâni*, who will be exempt from taxes and statute labour. Having ascertained, by reading chrysobulls issued by previous princes, such as those of Radu Michnea of 7121 (1612-13), Radu Serban of 7115 (1606-7), and (the most recent) his uncle, Constantine Serban of 7162 (1653-4), that Jitianu Monastery is in need of income, the ruling Prince confirms the aforementioned gift for its financial support. Nine high-ranking officials of the Divan of Wallachia sign as witnesses.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

F.M.





**16.16 Chrysobull of the Prince of Wallachia,  
Gregory II Ghikas, December 7242 (1733)  
Vatopedi Monastery  
Romanian Archives, No. 1571**

Language: Romanian. Scribe: Parvan, *logofetel*  
Parchment, 48.2 x 42 cm

oil. Lastly, he urges the rulers who succeed him to renew these rights for the monastery.

Witnessed by thirteen boyars, members of the Divan of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Caion 1906, pp. 104-6.

F.M.



Gregory II Ghikas, Prince of Wallachia, makes a gift to Precista Monastery in Focshani, which was built 'from the foundations' by his uncle, the Voivode of Moldavia, Nicholas Mavrokordatos, and is a dependency of Vatopedi Monastery. He grants it the right, for the duration of his reign, to receive 200 blocks of salt a year from the royal salt-mine at the time when other monasteries are receiving theirs, for his commemoration. He also permits the monastery to receive from the royal custom-house at Focshani the sum of 60 thalers a year (five thalers a month) for wax and

**16.17 Chrysobull of the Prince of Wallachia,  
Scarlat G. Ghikas**

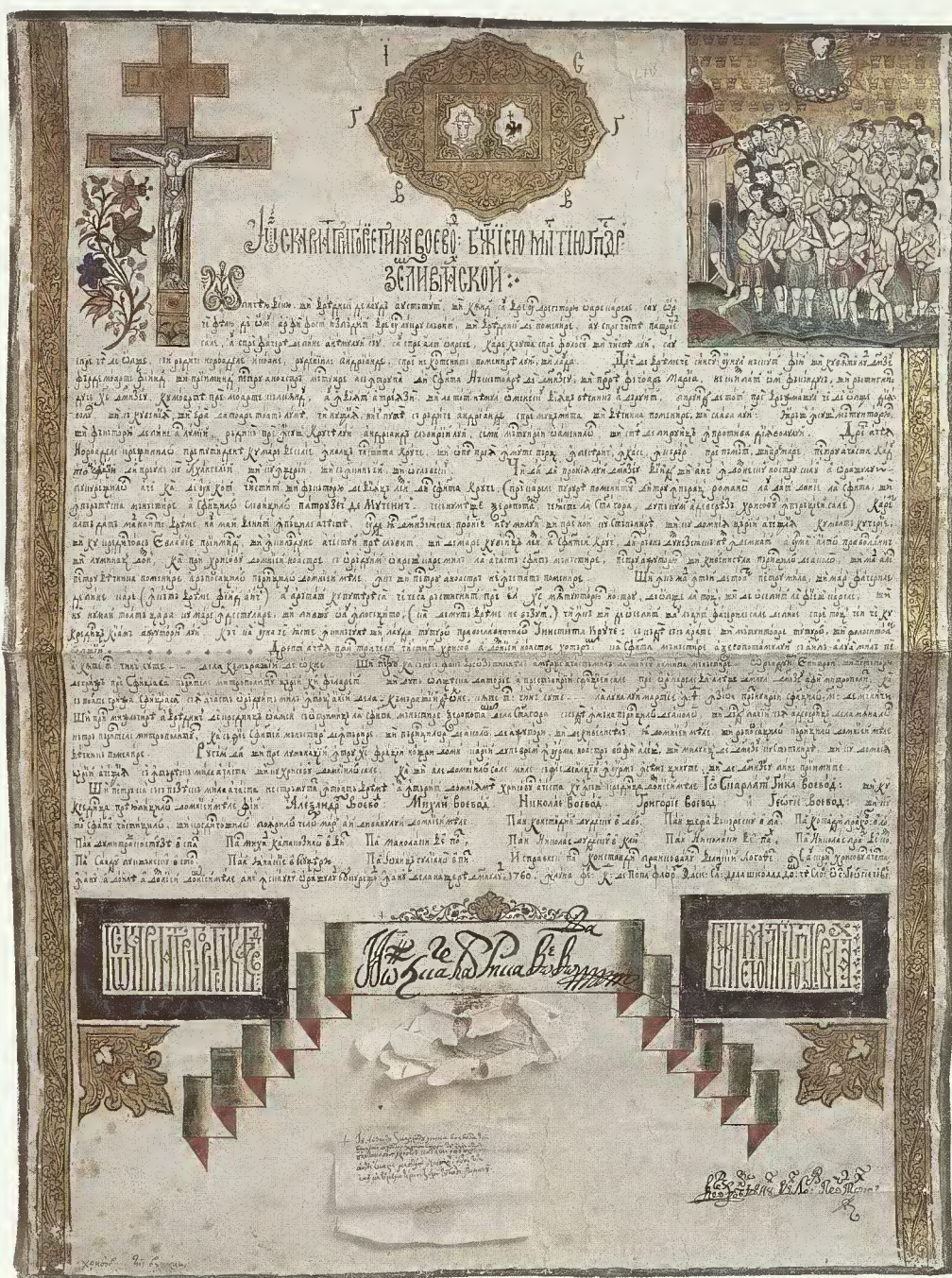
**20 February 1760**

**Xeropotamou Monastery  
Romanian Archives, no. LIV**

Language: Romanian. Scribe: Floru, priest,  
Professor of Slavonic in the Church  
of Old St George in Bucharest  
Paper, 73 x 53 cm

Scarlat G. Ghikas, Voivode of Wallachia, announces the arrival in Bucharest of the miraculous





fragment of the True Cross, which is one cubit in length and was given to Xeropotamou Monastery by the Emperor Romanos. Following the example of previous princes, the Voivode confirms the old gift to the monastery of 500 thalers from the *camarashes* of the salt-mines on 9 March (the Feast of the Forty Martyrs). He also makes the Metropolitan Philaretos and his

successors in Wallachia responsible for sending the sum to the monastery.

Confirmed by the Prince himself, his sons Alexander, Michael, Nicholas, Gregory, and George, and eleven great boyars of the Divan of Wallachia.

**Bibliography:** Erbiceanu 1887, pp. 343-7.

F.M.



## 17 MONASTERY SEALS

### 17.1 Seal of Makarios, 16th c., 1st half Metropolitan of Thessaloniki Vatopedi Monastery

Copper alloy, diameter 2.6 cm (1st side),  
2.4 cm (2nd side), height 6 cm



This is the only known example of the personal seal of an early post-Byzantine Archbishop of Thessaloniki. It belonged to the scholar-prelate Makarios who, having occupied the episcopal throne of Thessaloniki from 1517 to nearly 1527, then retired to the Vatopedi Monastery, where until his death in 1546 he lived as Brother Michael, a monk of the highest rank. Apart from his personal belongings, he left the monastery a considerable number of very fine manuscripts, now preserved in its library (Glavinas 1973, pp. 167-77).

**Bibliography:** Chrysochoidis 1996, p. 58, figs. 37-9  
K.Ch.

Double matrix belonging to Metropolitan Makarios of Thessaloniki, for use with sealing wax. The two matrices are joined by a multi-faceted knob which serves as a handle. Matrix (a) bears the legend: '+ Makarios by the grace of God Archbishop of Thessaloniki and all Thessaly', while on the second face is engraved a bust of the warrior saint Demetrios, the symbol of the Church in Thessaloniki and patron saint of that city, together with his name: 'Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)Σ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ' (St Demetrios).

### 17.2 Seal of the Vatopedi Monastery Vatopedi Monastery

1600

Silver alloy, diameter 6.3 cm, preserved height 3 cm

The seal bears on the matrix the scene of the Annunciation, the Feast to which the monastery is dedicated. The figures of the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel stand out against an elaborate architectural background. The legend above the



scene reads: 'The Annunciation' and that beneath it: '+ Seal of the Holy Royal and Patriarchal Monastery of Vatopedi'.

**Bibliography:** Chrysochoidis 1996, p. 55, fig. 33.

K.Ch.



17.2

### 17.3 Seal of the Vatopedi Monastery

Silver alloy, diameter 4 cm, preserved height 2.5 cm

The matrix of this seal bears an austere and stylised representation of the Annunciation. Above the scene, between the figures of the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel, is a legend reading: 'Annunciation', and beneath it the date '1620'. Around the perimeter is the legend: '+ Sacred seal of the Holy Royal and Patriarchal Monastery of Vatopedi'.

**Bibliography:** Chrysochoidis 1996, p. 57, fig. 35.

K.Ch.



### 17.4 Seal of the Dionysiou Monastery

Silver alloy, diameter 4.5 cm, height 7.3 cm

The matrix of this seal is divided horizontally into two half circles, each bearing a scene from the life of John the Baptist. The upper half contains, on two planes, the Birth of St John the Baptist, with the monograms 'ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗΣ)' (John) above the figure of the infant and 'Ζ(Α)Χ(ΑΡΙΑΣ)' (Zacharias) behind the seated figure on the far right of the scene; the lower half contains the Beheading of the prophet, with the legend 'Beheading of John'. The words 'Seal [of the Monastery of] Dionysiou' appear to either side





of the second scene, and beneath it the date '1636'. Around the perimeter runs the legend: '+ Birth of John, Baptist, Prophet and Forerunner'.

Although the monastery and its katholikon are dedicated to the Birth of John the Baptist (June 24), the presence of the two scenes may well indicate the parallel celebration of the two great feasts of the prophet.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.



**17.5 Seal of the hieromonk  
Bessarion of Pantokrator  
Pantokrator Monastery**

Copper alloy  
diameter 1.8 cm, height 4 cm

1777

Personal seal of the hieromonk Bessarion, of the Pantokrator Monastery. The engraving represents the Dormition of the Virgin, to which the owner evidently owed a special veneration. Around the perimeter runs the legend:

'+ ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧ(ΟΥ)  
ΠΑ(ΝΤΟ)Κ(ΡΑΤΟΠΙΝΟΥ) 1777.' (Bessarion,  
hieromonk of Pantokrator, 1777)

Three corals are set into the ornate handle, and on the top there are rings through which a

ribbon or cord may be passed. This is the only known reference to Bessarion.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

**17.6 Seal of a dependency 19th c., 1st half  
of the Iviron Monastery  
at Kalyvia in Eastern Thrace  
Iviron Monastery**

Copper alloy, diameter 7.1 cm

On the matrix of this seal is a stylised representation of the Virgin and Child, in the type of the Hodegetria. The base to which it was once secured by means of a hole in the centre has been lost. The haloes behind the Virgin and the Christ Child display, respectively, the abbreviations: ΜΗΡ ΘΥ and Ο ΩΝ (I am the Being); to the left of the figure of Christ is his monogram: ΙΧ ΧC. Around the perimeter runs the legend: '+ This seal belonged to the [Church of] the Panagia Phaneromeni in Kalyvia'.

The Church of the Virgin in Kalyvia (Eastern Thrace) was bequeathed to the Iviron Monastery as a dependency in 1763.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

**17.7 Seal  
of the Simonopetra Monastery  
Simonopetra Monastery**

1848

Copper alloy, diameter 4.4 cm, height 6.3 cm

A sketch of the Simonopetra Monastery adorns the matrix of this seal. Around the perimeter runs the legend: '+ Debit seal of the cenobium of Simonopetra 1848'.

Debit seals were made specifically for use on financial documents, particularly sureties of debt, that is, receipts for money lent to the monastery by its various creditors.

**Bibliography:** Ioustinos 1991, p. 247.

K.Ch.





17.6



17.7

### 17.8 Seal of the Holy Community Protaton

Copper alloy, diameter 4.7 cm

1850

The seal is quartered along its horizontal and vertical axes, the four sections numbered on the reverse in Greek (A, B, Γ: the section numbered 'Δ' is missing). The matrix when reconstituted bears a representation of the Virgin Vlachernitissa with Christ in an attitude of benediction. The

figure of the Virgin is flanked by her monogram, MP ΘΥ, and that of Christ by the corresponding IC [XC]. Running around the perimeter is the legend (in Greek and Turkish): '+ Seal of the Holy Community of Mount Athos 1850 / Community of Mount Athos'.

The four-part matrix was introduced by the *Typikon* issued by Patriarch Gabriel IV in 1783. The second article of this document deals with the seal of the Holy Community: 'The former seal of the community is to be broken and taken out of use; henceforth the four-part seal lettered in Greek and Turkish, which has already been prepared, is to be used for all purposes and requirements, including sureties of debt... Each of the four parts of the seal shall be retained by one of the four overseers, and at the end of each year's term of service shall be surrendered to the new officers.'

The quartering of the seal reflects the collegiate nature of this administration. The four overseers, who together constitute the executive arm of the Holy Community, each hold one part, thus making it impossible for a document to be sealed (and therefore validated) in the absence or without the approval of any one of the four.

**Bibliography:** Alexandros 1886-7, pp. 409-13. Meyer 1894, p. 244, cols. 18-28. Delikanis 1902, p. 282. Gabriel S. 1922, pp. 114-5. Mamalakis 1971, p. 629.

K.Ch.





**17.9 Seal** before 1888  
**of the Stavronikita Monastery**  
 Stavronikita Monastery

Neither the representation nor the legend on this monastic seal are known; it is wrapped in a piece of cloth that has been tied up with string and sealed with Spanish wax. Written on the part of the cloth covering the head of the seal is an



annotation recording the fact that this was the seal of the Stavronikita Monastery and that it was cancelled in 1888. This seal was in fact annulled by decision of the Holy Community of Mount Athos, since the foundation had in 1887 been taken under the tutelage of the Community on account of its overwhelming load of debt. It did not recover the status of an independent foundation until 1902, but was administered by a trustee appointed by the Community.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished. Cf. Ktenas 1935, pp. 577-9.  
 K.Ch.



**17.10 Seal** 1620  
**of the Iviron Monastery**  
 Iviron Monastery  
 Copper alloy, diameter 4.2 cm

The matrix of this seal bears a representation of the Dormition of the Virgin, to which the monastery is dedicated. Around the perimeter is the legend: '+ Seal of the royal and venerable Monastery of Iviron of our most holy and glorious Lady the Portaïtissa'.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.



17.11



**17.11 Seal of the Karakalou Monastery** late 19th c.  
Karakalou Monastery

Copper alloy, diameter 4.75 cm, height 6.45 cm

Represented on the matrix of this seal are the Apostles Peter and Paul (to whom the Karakalou Monastery is dedicated) holding up a model of the katholikon of that foundation. Around the perimeter runs the legend: ' + Seal of the Cenobitic Monastery of Karakalou'.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.

**17.12 Seal of the Pantokrator Monastery** 19th c.  
Pantokrator Monastery

Copper alloy, diameter 3.5 cm, height 8 cm

The seal is divided horizontally into two halves. The reconstituted matrix bears a representation of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, to which the monastery is dedicated. The end of the handle securing the two parts is shaped like a pinecone. Around the perimeter runs the legend: ' + Seal of the Athonite Monastery of the Pantokrator'.

This double matrix reflects the particular administrative system of the Monastery of



Pantokrator, which since the late eighteenth century had been governed by two trustees. For more effective control of administrative acts, the seal was divided into two parts, of which each officer held one, thus requiring the presence (or approval) of both for a document to be sealed and therefore valid.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

K.Ch.



**17.13 Seal of the Protaton** 1912  
Protaton

Copper alloy, diameter 4.7 cm, preserved height 2.7 cm

The last bilingual (Greek and Turkish) seal used by the Holy Community was introduced in January 1912 and abolished in June 1913, a few months after the liberation of the Holy Mount. It is divided diagonally into four quarters, numbered on the back in Arab numerals (1-4). The reconstituted matrix bears a representation of the Virgin Vlachernitissa with Christ in the attitude of benediction. The figure of the Virgin is flanked by her monogram, ΜΡ ΘΥ, and that of Christ by the corresponding ΙΣ [ΧΣ]. Running around the perimeter is the legend (in both Greek and Turkish): ' + Seal of the Holy Community of Mount Athos 1912 / Community of Mount Athos'.

**Bibliography:** Gabriel S. 1922, pp. 119-20.

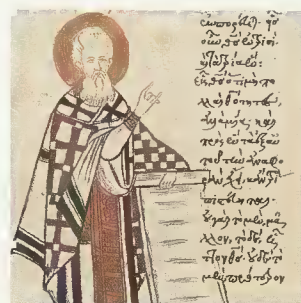
K.Ch.



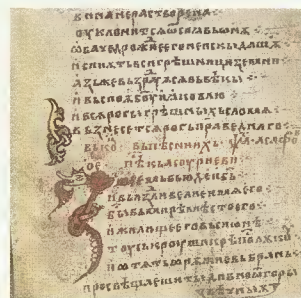
# LIBRARIES



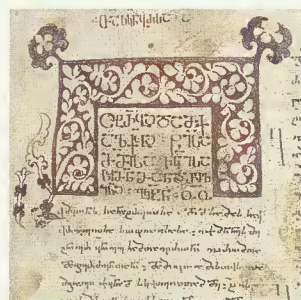
## 18. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS



## 19. SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS



## 20. GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS



## 21. MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS



## 22. INCUNABULA









*Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*

**M**anuscripts - that is, books which have been written by hand - are the main vehicles of any people's cultural and historical heritage; as unique, unparalleled creations of the human spirit with special qualities of their own, they arouse wonder and admiration, not least by their material form. Many manuscripts are true monuments of art in terms of their writing alone, not to mention their content or decoration.

Amongst the priceless treasures preserved on Mount Athos today are its manuscripts.

From the time monks first settled on the Holy Mountain and formed an organised monastic community there was a need for books to satisfy their devotional and liturgical needs and also to cultivate the mind. These factors proved decisive in determining the types and content of the manuscripts which gradually began to accumulate in the monasteries and other foundations and which were eventually to form the manuscript collection of each.

Today we know for certain that on Mount Athos there are both manuscripts which were written locally - a limited number from the early centuries of minuscule script, and a much greater number from post-Byzantine and modern times - and also manuscripts (as a rule, the oldest, most notable and sumptuous) which were written outside Athos and came into its possession by way of commissions, purchases, donations, etc.

The total number of Greek manuscripts which exist on Mount Athos today, let alone those scattered around the world, is difficult to determine.

If we impose no limits - in terms of date, quality or content, for example - according to the data currently available (September 1996), the total number of Greek manuscripts recorded as existing on Mount Athos today is estimated to be around 15,000. This number, which is unlikely to change significantly with the addition of unrecorded or wrongly attributed manuscripts, represents a little over one quarter of all the Greek manuscripts in the world, most of which are scattered throughout Europe and the rest in America.

The Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos, therefore, constitute the largest collection of Greek manuscripts in the world, since in number they greatly exceed the combined total of the two largest collections in Europe, those of the Vatican and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which together amount to fewer than 10,000.

Of course, at this point it ought immediately to be made clear that this superiority is only in terms of quantity and not quality. On Mount Athos, as we shall see, Greek manuscripts continued to be produced for many centuries after the invention of printing, with the result that many of the surviving manuscripts date from later periods. Also, as regards content, many of the manuscripts are of a religious or liturgical nature, while the best manuscripts of Classical non-Christian literature, through a continuous process of abstraction and theft, have found their way to libraries abroad.

The Great Lavra, the oldest cenobium and therefore the highest-ranking monastery on Athos, also comes first in terms of the number of manuscripts it holds in its possession. It has been



calculated that Lavra possesses 2,242 manuscripts, of which about 100 are Slavonic. This rich collection suffered its worst and most systematic acts of plunder between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the nineteenth century, during which time it also sustained certain losses as a result of natural decay. The manuscripts which survive in the monastery today include not only ones of religious, ecclesiastical and liturgical content, which is natural for a monastic centre, but also geographical, medical and legal ones, as well as manuscripts of Classical texts.

Of the most notable manuscripts - apart from the illuminated manuscripts, which are discussed in another section - space permits us to mention here only the eight leaves of the well-known Codex Euthalianus, or Codex H, of the Epistles of St Paul, which are written in sixth-century majuscule *biblique*, and Codex  $\Omega$ 75, which was written in the twelfth century, is lavishly decorated and comprises the *Herbal* of Dioscurides.

Vatopedi, the second monastery in the hierarchy, also occupies second place in terms of the quantity of manuscripts currently in its collection. According to recent, reliable data, the monastery's collection contains 2,058 manuscripts, of which 26 are parchment rolls. It ought to be pointed out, however, that Cods. 643 and 644 are in Latin, and Cod. 1049 is in Arabic and Greek, and that the library also contains 9 Slavonic manuscripts. As for the type and content of the manuscripts, what was stated about the manuscripts of the Lavra also holds true here.

Special mention ought to be made of one of Vatopedi's most notable treasures: the celebrated manuscript of the geographers Ptolemy and Strabo (the thirteenth-century Cod. 655), which, apart from its priceless decoration, assists in the textual restoration of the geographers' works and the compilation of critical editions; this is especially true with regard to Strabo's text, since this manuscript is one of the most complete copies of it. Likewise worthy of note is Cod. 1221, which consists of 17 bound fragments of various manuscripts of the New Testament (amongst which are some parchment leaves with majuscule script) and also the 21 precious manuscripts stored in the sacristy which remained unknown to research until August 1993.

As for the collection at the Iviron Monastery, according to recent information supplied by the team of professors and researchers collaborating there on the new manuscript catalogue, it contains some 2,000 manuscripts. To these should be added 15 liturgical rolls, as well as about 100 parchment codices written in Georgian, which constitute the largest collection of Georgian manuscripts outside Georgia.

As for the content of the manuscripts, the same applies as for those in the two monasteries mentioned earlier, except that in this case there is an impressive number of manuscripts containing non-religious material. Whilst Iviron occupies third place in terms of the overall number of manuscripts in its collection, it far outstrips all the other monasteries in terms of the number of manuscripts of texts by Classical authors, since it holds about 220 of the total of 600 manuscripts of this type which survive on Mount Athos.

The fourth largest collection of manuscripts is to be found in the St Panteleimon Monastery, which lies 19th in the monastic hierarchy. Today its collection numbers 1,320 Greek and 600 Slavonic manuscripts. If, however, one excludes approximately the first 100, which are early parchment manuscripts, the rest are of paper and later date, in fact mainly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The collection at the Dionysiou Monastery until recently numbered 831 manuscripts; however, after the collection in 1987 and 1988 of all the manuscripts from the *katholikon*, the *typikarion*, the *parekklesia*, the *kellia* and other places, the number rose to 1,080, of which 1,053 are parchment codices and 27 parchment rolls. Of the manuscripts gathered recently, most are liturgical and musical ones from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The monastery also possesses 6 Slavonic manuscripts.



As for their content, the same applies as before, although quite a few of the manuscripts are of Classical texts, and of these only a few are old and the majority of later date. A good many of the codices are interesting from a palaeographical and codicological point of view (such as Cods. 30, 126, 311), either because they come from notable scriptoria in Constantinople or because they have been written by monks who lived on Mount Athos.

The number of manuscripts which the Koutlounousiou Monastery is reckoned to possess today is 770, of which 95 are old parchment ones. Outstanding among these are Cods. 25, 90 and 324. Of the later manuscripts, mention ought to be made of those, approximately 50 in number, which were written in a period of forty years (1542-1583) by Sophronios Koutlounousianos (the monk Euphrosynos), and Cod. 293, a Four Gospels manuscript (*Tetraevangelon*) of 1597, written by Matthaïos of Myra.

The collection at the Xenophontos Monastery is highly typical in terms of the constant increase in the number of its manuscripts. Whereas in 1895 some 163 manuscripts had been recorded by Lambros, in a publication issued in 1989 this number rises to 600. Of these manuscripts, only 11 (7 codices, 1 fragment and 3 rolls) are of parchment and quite old, while the vast majority of the rest are of much later date. The monastery also possesses 1 Slavonic manuscript.

The manuscripts in the possession of the Monastery of St Paul today amount to 494. Without doubt, the most important is Cod. 2, the surviving section of which contains the Acts of the Apostles with marginal *scholia*, and, according to recent opinion, was probably written in the tenth or eleventh century.

The collection at the Docheiariou Monastery contains 440 manuscripts, of which quite a few are of parchment (62), a large number musical (121), and 1 Slavonic.

The Xeropotamou Monastery holds 425 manuscripts in its possession, of which only a few are old parchment ones and a few illuminated, while the majority are of later date. Particularly worthy of note are the manuscripts of Kaissarios Dapontes, which are either autographs or contain notes signed by him.

The manuscripts of the Esphigmenou Monastery, though relatively few in number - 372 in total, of which 3 are parchment rolls - are of manifold interest. There are 75 old parchment manuscripts, some of which are important for their date - Cod. 13, for example, was written in A.D. 937 'by the hand of the monk Ioannis, unworthy sinner', who is not to be confused with the well-known calligrapher, the 'unworthy sinner' Ioannis of the Lavra who was a contemporary and friend of St Athanasios the Athonite. Others are important for their decoration - Cod. 14, for example (11th-12th c.), with its 80 miniatures - and others still for their content - Cod. 3, for example (12th c.), which, amongst other things, contains the *Manual* of Epictetus, and is the oldest of the 65 manuscripts which preserve this text.

The Pantokrator Monastery has 352 manuscripts, of which 68 are old pre-fourteenth-century parchment ones, 2 liturgical rolls, and the rest of later date. It is worth mentioning that some of the manuscripts were written by monks who lived in the monastery.

The manuscript collection of the Gregoriou Monastery, following the great fire of 1761, is comparatively poor. It contains 297 manuscripts, of which just 11 are old parchment ones; of particular interest are the 6 leaves of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which constitute the only manuscript in the world which preserves the original Greek text of this work.

The Karakalou Monastery possesses 279 manuscripts. Of particular note are Cod. 11, an *Evangelion* written in ninth-century majuscule script and adorned with decorative initial letters, headpieces and musical notation, Cods. 1-38 and the two manuscripts described in volume II of Lambros's work - all of which are old parchment codices and Cod. 243, a parchment roll of the thirteenth century.



The Philotheou Monastery has 250 manuscripts. Outstanding among these are Cods. 2, from the eighth century, and 33, an illuminated Four Gospels (*Tetraevangelon*) from the tenth century.

The number of manuscripts held by the Chelandari Monastery, according to the facts supplied to us by two researchers, is uncertain: according to one, the collection consists of 181 Greek manuscripts, a large number of fragments and 809 Slavonic codices; according to the other, it contains 241 (208 manuscripts and 33 fragments).

The Stavronikita Monastery possesses 206 Greek and 5 Romanian manuscripts. Of the Greek ones, 58 are old parchment codices (chiefly from the 12th-14th c.). As for their subject-matter, the same applies as above, though in this case there are a large number of music manuscripts (35). Outstanding amongst these are the illuminated manuscripts and certain others, such as Cod. 97 (AD 1598), an *Evangelion* written by Matthaïos of Myra.

The Zographou, Monastery according to recent information, has 170 Greek and 388 Slavonic manuscripts. Of the Greek ones, only 3 are of parchment, while the others - most of which are music codices - are of paper and date from post-Byzantine times.

The Simonopetra Monastery used to possess an important collection of 245 manuscripts, which were totally destroyed in a fire in 1891. In recent decades, after a series of concerted efforts, about 140 manuscripts have been gathered together at the monastery from its various dependencies: of these, according to a recent publication, just a few are parchment fragments, while all the rest are of later date, and many of these are musical in content.

The Konstamonitou Monastery, last (20th) in the monastic hierarchy, and also last in terms of the size of its manuscript collection, has 111 codices: 14 are of parchment, while the remainder are of later date and mostly liturgical or musical.

Apart from the 20 main monasteries, however, manuscripts also exist in the various other foundations on Athos, which are generally dependencies of the main monasteries (*sketae*, *kellia*, *kalyvae* etc.), as well as in the library of the Protaton.

The latter contains 117 Greek and 7 Slavonic manuscripts. The Greek manuscripts at the Protaton, though few in number, are interesting nonetheless: 47 are old parchment codices, and indeed two of these are written in majuscule.

As for the *sketae*, manuscripts are held by the following:

St Anne (a dependency of the Lavra) 494; Kausokalyvia (Lavra) 272; the Nea Skete (St Paul's) 200; St Demetrios (Vatopedi) 73; St Panteleimon (Koutloumousiou) 40; Little St Anne (Lavra) 37; St John the Baptist (Iviron) 20; the Evangelismos (Annunciation; Xenophontos) 13; the Prophet Elias (Pantokrator) 1. The 73 manuscripts in the Skete of St Demetrios (Vatopedi) and the 20 in that of St John the Prodrome (Iviron) have been transferred and today lie in the libraries of Vatopedi and Iviron respectively, though they retain their original numbering.

Particularly worthy of note are the fortunes of the manuscripts belonging to the Skete of St Andrew, the largest *skete* on Mount Athos, though space does not permit us to give an account of them here.

The manuscripts held by the *sketae* are generally of later date, with most in fact dating from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. They are mainly of liturgical or musical content, while a few contain religious works, and are of no especial interest, except for a few isolated cases, such as Cod. 3 of the Skete of St John the Prodrome (Iviron), which contains works by Justin the Philosopher and Martyr.

The time-span during which the manuscripts in the monasteries and other Athonite foundations were written was, as we have noted repeatedly, a long one, extending over the course of many centuries. There are manuscripts in majuscule script (6th to 10th-11th c.) and manuscripts in minuscule from between the ninth and the nineteenth century, and in some cases even the



twentieth. Of course, the number of old parchment manuscripts is small overall, while there is a much greater abundance of paper codices, particularly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Particularly worthy of mention are a large number of old dated parchment codices written in an early form of minuscule; apart from their subject-matter, these are also interesting from a palaeographical and codicological point of view.

Special mention ought to be made of the group of approximately 140 rolls, a special category of manuscript with a distinctive form, which preserved the old traditional form of book, the scroll, and contained the texts of the Liturgies of Basil the Great, John Chrysostom and the Presanctified Gifts. Many of the rolls stand out for their antiquity, decoration and script, executed as they were by the hands of experienced scribes, who had worked in well-known scriptoria, such as that of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople.

The reason why the number of post-Byzantine and more recent manuscripts is high - they are estimated to form 40-50% of the total - is because the continued production of Greek manuscripts in the East generally and on Mount Athos in particular after the invention and spread of printing, especially during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was both a conscious choice and a pressing need. The production and distribution of books during this time was a highly costly business, which meant that in a closed society, like that on Athos, it was both easier and more expedient to produce manuscripts - proof that, not infrequently, the writing of many later manuscripts was influenced by the production of printed books, where these served as models for the former.

As for the content of the manuscripts in general, as has often been pointed out already, this usually consists of religious works ('theological literature') or ecclesiastical, liturgical or musical texts, although there are also a number of manuscripts - particularly those of Classical authors - which deal with 'secular' or 'technical' subjects, such as astrology, botany, geography, medicine and law. Unfortunately, we do not possess reliable and systematic statistics on all the categories of manuscripts. An indication, however, is provided by the details we do have for certain categories: approximately 3,000 music codices, 1,000 illustrated manuscripts, and 600 of works by Classical authors. As for the latter, it should be noted that, although they are few in number a study carried out in 1956 estimated that they formed about 5% of the total of 11,000-12,000 manuscripts a considerable number of them are valuable for the manuscript tradition and textual criticism of the works of quite a few Classical authors.

The greatest number of manuscripts, and the best in quality, are to be found in the collections of the three largest monasteries: the Great Lavra, Vatopedi and Iviron.

The total number of Greek manuscripts surviving on Athos today undoubtedly falls far short of what it was in the past, if one takes into account the manuscripts which have been lost as a result either of natural causes or the continuous abstractions of one kind or another. An idea may be gained from the figures provided by Curzon, who estimated in 1837 that the libraries on Athos contained approximately 3,500 parchment and 14,000 paper manuscripts: a total of 17,500.

Immediately after the Fall of Constantinople, organised missions were sent out to the old Byzantine centres (Constantinople, Mount Athos, Meteora, Sinai, Southern Italy, Sicily) in order to find and collect Greek manuscripts for the new centres in Europe, initially mainly in Italy and France, then later in other countries. This is the reason why the best Greek manuscripts today lie scattered in the greatest libraries of Europe. The few manuscripts, chiefly illuminated ones, which exist in American libraries and museums were added to these collections in recent times.



To be specific, those involved in missions to collect manuscripts from Mount Athos, either as organisers or mere participants, include the following:

Ianos Laskaris (1445-1534), perhaps the most important Greek intellectual of the Renaissance, who, on a mission undertaken in 1491-1492, carried off about 200 Greek manuscripts, of which about 80 contained works which were unknown in the West at that time. Many of these came from the monasteries of Mount Athos: 50 from the Great Lavra, and a smaller number from other monasteries, such as Vatopedi, Esphigmenou and Chelandari.

The Corfiot scholar Nikolaos Sophianos (d. ca. 1552), who between 1540 and 1544 copied and gathered on Mount Athos some 300 manuscripts on behalf of Hurtado de Mentoza, the bibliophile ambassador of Charles V to Venice.

Athanasios the Orator (d. 1669), who, in about the middle of the seventeenth century, carried off 109 manuscripts to France, of which 74 came from the Great Lavra and now lie in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Menas Minoïdis, who between 1840 and 1855 removed many Greek manuscripts to France, both from Mount Athos and also, to a lesser extent, other Greek monasteries (e.g. the Timiou Prodromou Monastery at Serres).

Greek manuscripts found their way into Russia through the concern of, amongst others, the following:

Michael Trivolis (d. 1556), alias Maximos the Greek 'the Enlightener of the Russians', who transferred many Greek codices there; Arsenii Suchanov (d. 1668), a Russian monk, who denuded many monasteries of notable manuscripts, many of which contained Classical texts in all, he removed 498 Greek and Slavonic manuscripts from many of the monasteries on Mount Athos; the renowned Porfirij Uspenskij (d. 1885), Archimandrite and later Archbishop of Kiev, who travelled around the monasteries on Sinai, Meteora and Mount Athos and did not hesitate to remove from them as many manuscripts and even individual leaves as appeared to be of value.

Despite these great and serious losses of Greek manuscripts, however, not to mention others which cannot be included in this brief note, the Greek manuscripts which have survived and are to be found on the Holy Mountain today constitute, as mentioned earlier, the largest collection of Greek manuscripts in the world and, as vehicles of culture, are important testaments not only to our own heritage but also to that of Orthodoxy and the world's culture in general.

*Basil Atsalos*

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, 1900. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909. Eustratiadis - Arcadios 1924. Spyridon - Eustratiadès 1925. Korovskij 1931, cols. 113-8. Lake 1934-9. Rudberg 1956, pp. 174-85. Politis 1957 (1), pp. 403-8. Manousakas 1958, pp. 262γ-7α. Patrinelis 1963, cols. 935-43. Politis 1963, pp. 116-27. Politis - Manousakas 1973. Thesauroi 1973, 1975. Politis 1975. Stathis 1975, 1976. Politis 1977 (1), pp. 291-302. Thesauroi 1979. Kadas 1986. Litsas 1986, pp. 191-3. Sklavenitis 1986, pp. 83-122. Christou 1987. Thesauroi 1991. Lamberz 1991, pp. 25-78. Nikodemos L. 1992, pp. 60-1. Stathis 1993. Richard - Olivier 1995.







### 18.1 Acts of the Apostles 10th-11th c. with marginal scholia

St Paul's Cod. 2

Parchment, 24.5/26 x 19.5 cm, ff. 429

This is undoubtedly the monastery's most important manuscript; the surviving part contains the Acts of the Apostles with marginal scholia. There is a great difference of opinion regarding its date. Traditionally — and this tradition has been recorded by later hands at various points in the manuscript — it was believed to have been written by Maria, wife of Constantine VI, and to date from about the year 800. Lambros accepted

At the end of the Table of Contents in an eighteenth-century hand:

'Written by Queen Maria in the year 800'.

In the title of the third section of the manuscript:

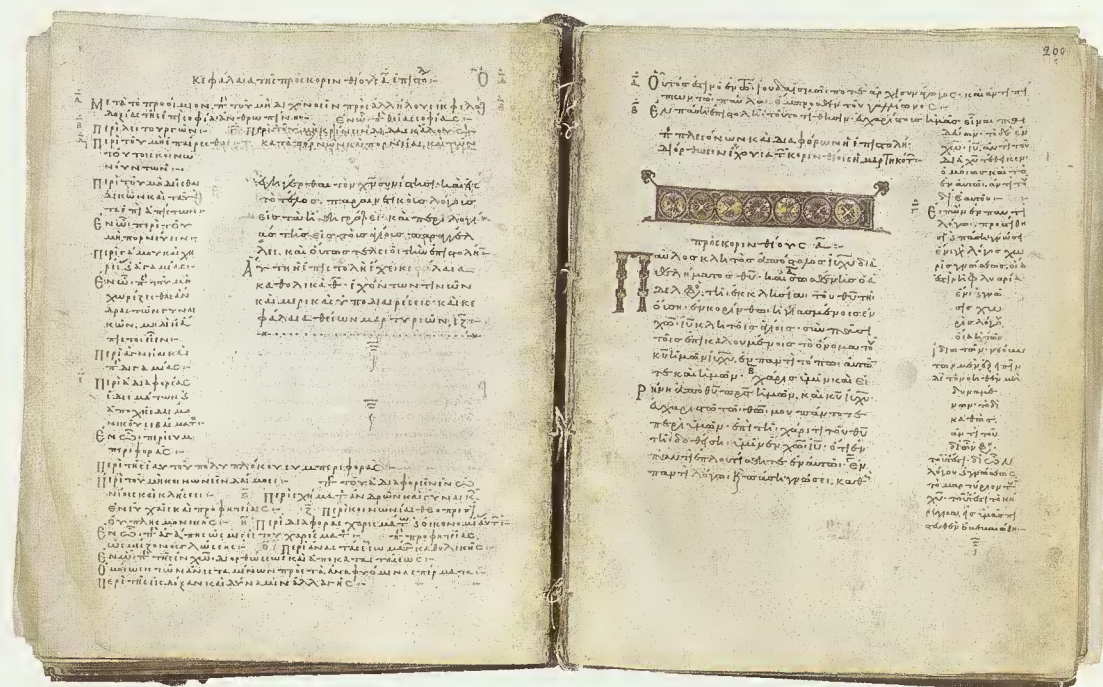
'Ioannis Zonaras: For Queen Maria who copied this book.'

'O Cross, protect Queen Maria.'

**Note.** Leaves which have fallen out at the beginning and at various other points have been replaced by eighteenth-century paper ones.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1886-1908, IV, p. 37 (= facsimile). Lambros 1895, p. 19. Lambros 1902-3, pp. 235-6. Thompson - Lambros 1903, p. 271 n. 2. Brockhaus 1924<sup>2</sup>, pp. 231, 288. Sigalas 1934, p. 213 n. 1. Politis 1963, p. 123. Malamakis 1971, p. 202.

B.A.



this view both in his *Catalogue* (1895) and his well-known *Manual of Palaeography* (1903). According to A. Sigalas, it is not possible for the manuscript to date from before the tenth century. This view was shared by L. Politis, who also believed that the manuscript is to be dated to the eleventh century and that the Maria mentioned in the note may be the wife of Michael VII Ducas and the donor of the manuscript. It is worth noting that the nineteenth-century Codex 48 at the same monastery is a copy of this manuscript.

### 18.2 St John Chrysostom, Commentary on the Gospel of St Matthew (Homilies 45-90)

Ivion Cod. 46

Parchment, 38.5 x 31.5 cm, ff. 307

1007

**Scribe.** The writer of this manuscript is Theophanis Iviritis, by whose hand 14 manuscripts survive - 10 dated between 1004 and 1023, and 4 undated - of which 2 are to be found on Mount Athos, 7 in





Moscow, 2 in the Vatican, and one each in London, Paris and Turin.

On the basis of codicological evidence, research has found that the dated manuscripts of Theophanis fall into two groups: a) those written between 1004

and 1014, and b) those written between 1020 and 1023. In the manuscripts of the first group, the quaternions begin with the hair side of the parchment and are numbered in the bottom inside corner. In the manuscripts of the second group, the quaternions





**Decoration.** Similar to that of Cod. 18.5

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 5. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 145 (9 MSS, 6 dated and 3 undated). Lake 1934-9, III, no. 96, pls. 168-9. Irigoien 1959, pp. 200-4. RGK 1981, no. 136. RGK 1989, no. 180. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, pp. 85, 154. Lamberz 1991, pp. 37-41 n. 35-56 (with a detailed bibliography of both general and specialised works for each manuscript). See also Koutloumoussiou no. 18.3.

B.A.

begin with the flesh side and are numbered in the middle of the bottom margin. These codicological characteristics of Theophanis' manuscripts, together with certain others (e.g. the method of ruling the parchment), display a connection with manuscripts of Southern Italian origin and suggest that Theophanis came to Mount Athos from Italy. This activity of Theophanis on Mount Athos, albeit subject to foreign influences, is of great importance, and together with that of the calligrapher John shows that manuscripts were being produced on Mount Athos itself, on a limited scale, in the early period of minuscule script.

#### **Scribe's note.**

At the end of the manuscript:

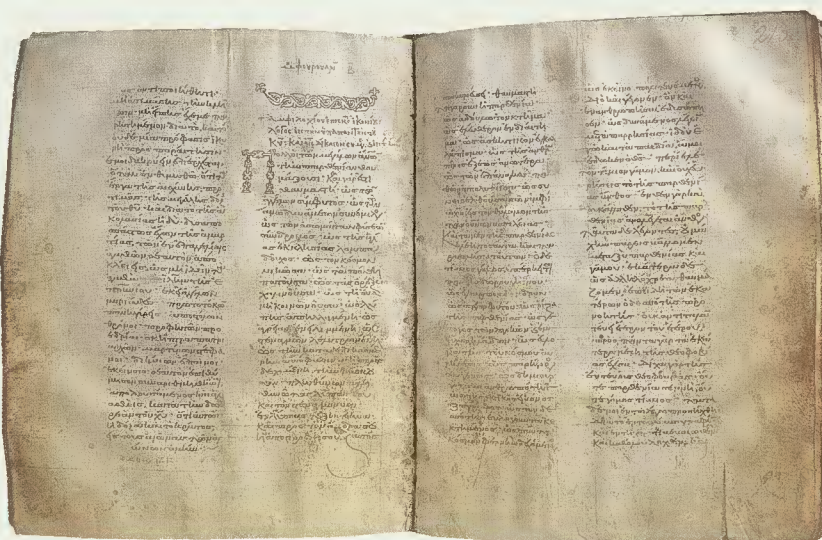
'This book was finished in the year 6515 (= 1007) and written by the hand of the humble monk Theophanis.'

### **18.3 Six-month hagiographical collection for the winter months 'Vermischte Metaphrast', acc. to Ehrhard Koutloumoussiou Cod. 25**

Parchment, 34.5 x 27 cm, ff. 257

**Scribe.** Theophanis Iviritis. See also no. 18.2.

We owe the discovery of this manuscript by Theophanis to Ehrhard, the German scholar who studied the Greek hagiographical manuscripts and provided us with a monumental three-volume work on them (see bibliography). Ehrhard, however, did not recognise Theophanis of Iviron Monastery as the writer of this manuscript, despite the fact that it is signed twice by him (on fols. 230v and 257v). At the beginning, Theophanis wrote folios 1-230v and at the end he added the first scribe's





note, which includes the date; then he wrote folios 231-257v and added the second scribe's note on folio 257v.

The manuscript is very badly damaged at the beginning; in folios 1-92 the outside half of each leaf is missing; in folios 92-172 the upper part of each leaf is missing.

One flyleaf at the beginning and one at the end are from a music manuscript.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 276. Ehrhard 1936-52, II, p. 311, III, pp. 130-2. Lamberz 1991, pp. 37-41 n. 35-56 (exhaustive bibliography).

B.A.

the continuous text, which consists of Gospel extracts for the *Orthros* on Palm Sunday (Matthew 21:1-11, 15-17) and the Divine Liturgy on the same day (John 12:1-18).

**Script.** Perlschrift type.

**Decoration.** A multicoloured at the beginning of the Gospel for the Divine Liturgy. Red-gold initial letters, notes inscribed in red ink, and a red-gold inscription on folio 1v.

**Note.** Fine parchment, singed at the bottom margin near the corner.

**Bibliography:** Soteroudis 1994, pp. 228-9.

B.A.



#### 18.4 Lectionary Simonopetra Cod. 124

Parchment bifolium, 32 x 24.5 cm

11th c.

As was pointed out in the introductory note, the collection at the Simonopetra Monastery was completely destroyed by fire in 1891. In recent decades, after a great deal of effort, some 140 manuscripts have been gathered at the monastery from its dependencies. Of these, the only one of parchment is this bifolium from a manuscript lectionary containing Gospel readings; the fragment formed folios 4 and 5 of a quaternion, judging by

#### 18.5 Symeon Metaphrastis, Lives and martyrdoms of saints commemorated between 8 May and 29 August (selection) Ivion Cod. 16

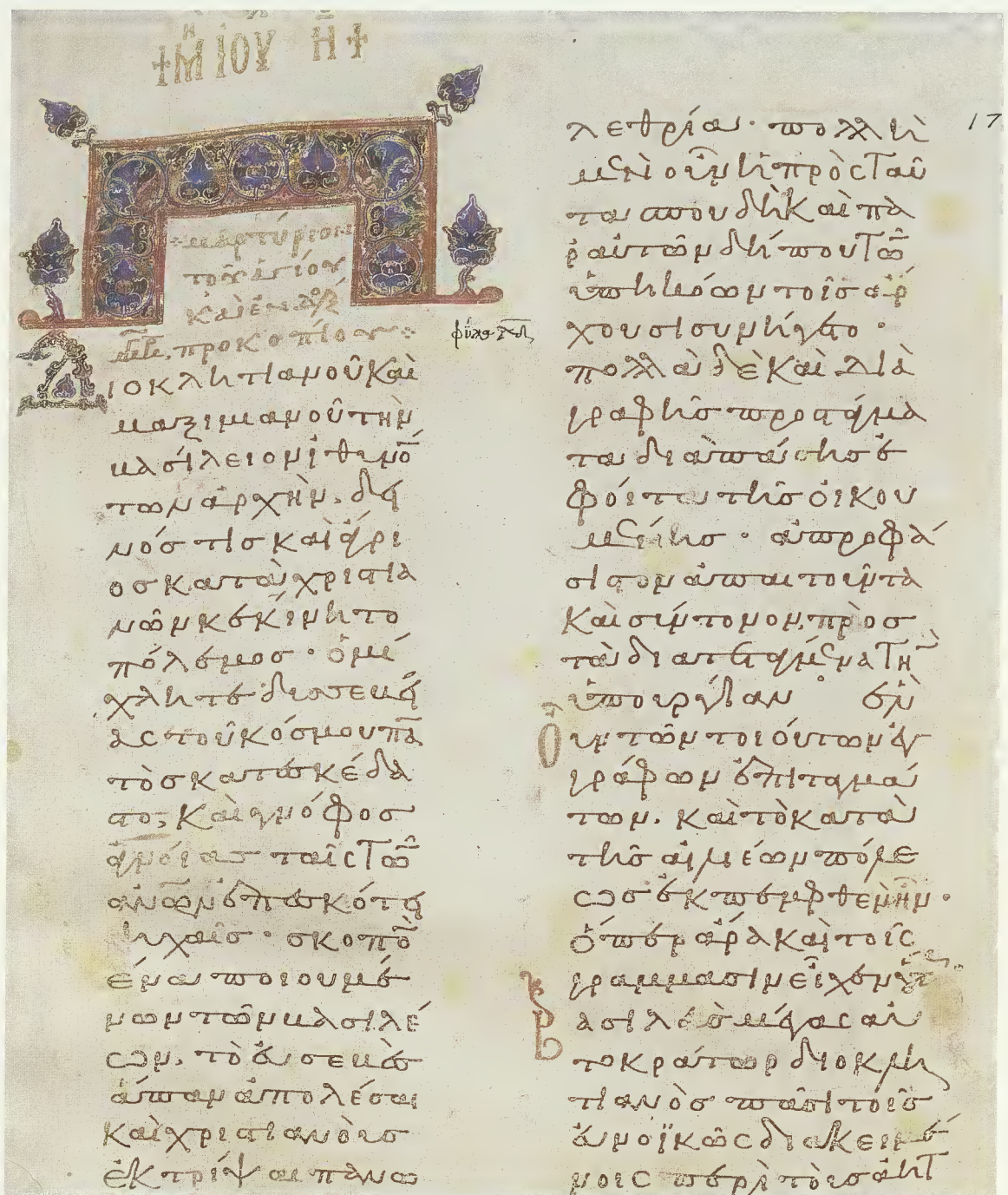
Parchment, 34.5/35 x 28.5/29 cm, ff. 294

1042

**Scribe's note.** In the form of a cross at the end of the manuscript (fol. 294r):

'This sacred and edifying book, which contains the feats and trials of martyrs and monks, is now finished. It was composed by the late Symeon, who became a *magistros* and *logothetis*, and written by





Niketas the celebrated *patrikios* in charge of the bedchamber, protected by God, servant of our mighty, divinely appointed and Orthodox rulers, our Christ-loving sovereign Michael and most pious lady Zoe born in the purple. It was written with great zeal and spiritual fervour and completed, in the name of the Father Almighty, the co-eternal

Son, and the Holy Spirit, in the month of February in the year 6550 (= 1042)'.

Apart from the above scribe's note, the manuscript contains other important notes as well. The pages are also numbered in a continuous sequence from 1 to 585, beginning, however, on folio 2.

**Decoration.** Numerous elegant, multicoloured



headpieces and initials.

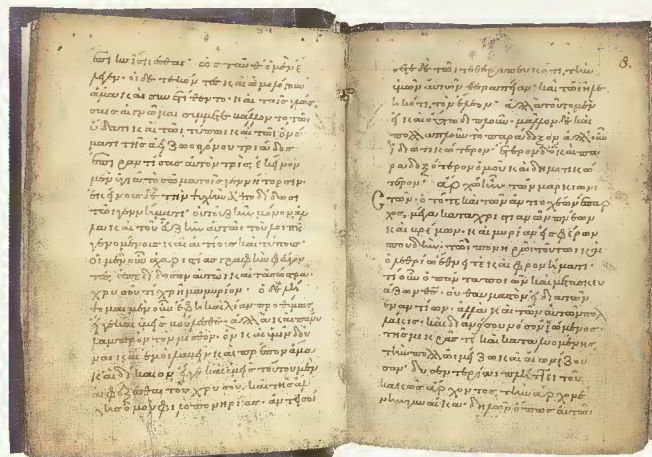
**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, pp. 2-3. Sigalas 1934, fig. 161. Lake 1934-9, III, no. 101, pls. 176-7 (= bibl. note). Ehrhard 1936-52, II, pp. 311, 617, 684. Lamberz 1973, pls. 2-3. Sigalas 1974<sup>2</sup>, fig. 167. I.M.A.G.E.S. 1981, p. 164 (bibliography).

B.A.

## 18.6 Lives of Saints Chelandari Cod. 154

11th c.

Parchment, 17.5 x 12.5 cm, ff. I+31  
(beginning and end missing)



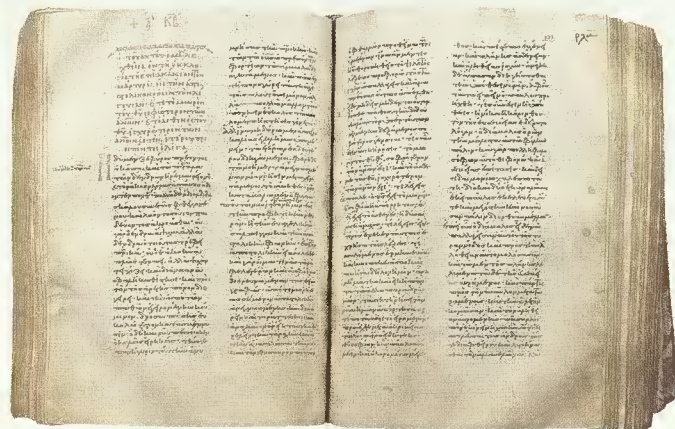
This is the only parchment manuscript amongst those which came to light recently and which is not described by Lambros. Folio 131 is blank. On account of its antiquity, the manuscript is of both philological and palaeographical value.

**Bibliography:** Litsas 1986, p. 193.

B.A.

## 18.7 St John Chrysostom, Homilies 11th and 11th-12th c. Stavronikita Cod. 6

Parchment, 36 x 25 cm, ff. 453



As was pointed out in the brief introductory note, on account of their religious or liturgical content the vast majority of manuscripts on Mount Athos are of no great interest. Nevertheless, there are some manuscripts which preserve texts which are either unknown elsewhere or are of particular value to the study of Modern Greek history and literature. This is borne out by the rare though not unusual discoveries of such texts by both Greek and foreign researchers. One such manuscript is Codex 6 of the Stavronikita Monastery which, amongst other works by John Chrysostom, contains eight Catechetical sermons by him unknown elsewhere, which were discovered in 1955 and published in 1959 by the Jesuit scholar Wenger.

**Scribe.** Niketas *kouboukleisios*.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the first codex (fol. 339): 'Lord, help thy servant Niketas *kouboukleisios* who wrote this book with zeal. Together with him consider also the illuminator Konstantinos Raidestinos,

*taboullarios* from Adrianople. Amen.'

**Script.** Perlschrift type, a little 'thick' and broad.

**Note.** The manuscript consists of three codices bound together (*codex convolutus*):

I. Folios 1-339: parchment, 11th c.

This comprises 41 homilies of John Chrysostom, numbered from 1 to 41. The first 51 folios of this codex contain the eight Catechetical sermons, unpublished until 1959.

II. Folios 340-448: parchment, 11th c.

This comprises 9 Homilies of John Chrysostom, numbered from 16 to 23. The first homily has the beginning missing.

III. Folios 449-453: parchment, 11th-12th c.

This is a fragment of a lectionary, which contains the first Epistle of John.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 75. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 338. Wenger 1957, pp. 13-7. Irigoin 1959, pp. 199-200 and n. 6. Politis 1963, p. 120. I.M.A.G.E.S. 1981, p. 191 (bibliography). Evangelatou-Notara 1982, pp. 86, 97, 110, 181.

B.A.



**18.8 John Scholasticus, 11th-12th c.**  
**The Ladder of Paradise**  
 St Anne Cod. 3

Parchment, 17.4 x 11 cm, ff. 174

**Note.**

The recent history of this codex is rather curious and unusual. After being recorded by Lambros in 1895, in whose Catalogue it is listed as no. 3 (general no. 84), the codex disappeared for many years. Thus, when Gerasimos Mikragiannanitis compiled

A careful reading of the above dedicatory note, which is sometimes misinterpreted, reveals that Ignatios was a Metropolitan of Thessaloniki and that he dedicated this codex to the *lavra* of Karyes at the bidding of the *Protos* Ioannikios. It remains uncertain whether the dedicator Ignatios also wrote the manuscript. In any event, the note confirms in one way or another the close ties and collaboration which existed at this time between Thessaloniki and Mount Athos.

The manuscript is believed to have been written



his own catalogue in 1959, he put an uncatalogued manuscript from the eighteenth-nineteenth century in the vacant no. 3 position, stating the fact in a footnote. Then at some point the manuscript reappeared and it has now reacquired its old number.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 11. Gerasimos 1961, p. 13.

B.A.

**18.9 Synaxarion 1284/85**  
**Protaton Cod. 21**

Parchment, 31 x 22 cm, ff. A + 244

Dedicatory note on a folio at the beginning:

‘This *synaxarion* for the six months from September, together with the other one for the six months from March, has been donated to the *lavra* of Karyes by His Reverence Ignatios, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, for the commemoration of his soul, through the co-operation, financial aid and inducement of our holy Father hieromonk Ioannikios, *Protos* of Mount Athos, in the year 6793 (= 1284-1285).’

in the same year as its dedication to the *lavra* of Karyes.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, pp. 4-5. Politis 1958-9 (= Politis 1975, VIII), pp. 135-6. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, p. 126. Lamberz 1991, p. 48 n. 87 (bibliography).

B.A.

**18.10 Four Gospels, 1289/90**  
**Cosmas Indicopleustis, Ammonios**  
**Karakalou Cod. 20**

Parchment, 17 x 13.5 cm, ff. 165

**Scribe.** Isaak

The production of Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos in the Byzantine era began to assume significant proportions in the late thirteenth century, steadily increased during the fourteenth century, then waned during the fifteenth only to be followed by a revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see 18.27, 18.28 and 18.29).

The oldest example from the first period of





growth is Karakalou Cod. 20, written by Isaak at the same monastery in 1289/90. As regards the history of the manuscript, it is worth mentioning the fact that, as the note on folio 212 informs us, at some point it was removed from the monastery and then bought by Iakovos Malaspinas in Constantinople in 1492, who gave it back. Other manuscripts from the same period by different scribes survive in other monasteries.

#### Scribe's notes.

Folio 205v:

'This book was written on the Holy Mountain in the year 6798 (= 1289/1290).'

Folio 212:

'This sacred Gospel book was written with love and care and at my expense by me, the sinner Isaak, who desired to acquire it. It is now entrusted and dedicated to the venerable monastery of the holy, glorious and illustrious apostles of Karakalou for the remission of my innumerable sins. I beseech all those practising the spiritual life at this holy monastery, the hegumen and everyone else, not to remove the book from the monastery. May no-one under any

pretext seek to take it from the monastery of my holy apostles, to give it away, sell or alter it, or keep it secretly for themselves, or erase these letters because they find them censorious, or cut out the leaf of paper, not wanting to see this included. May anyone who seeks to do such a thing be cursed by the [seven] holy Ecumenical Councils, may they share the lot of the traitor Judas and those who crucified Christ, and may they also be opposed by the holy apostles at their trial on the Day of Judgement.'

Folio 212:

'In the year 7000 (= 1492)

'+ This sacred Gospel book is in the hands of Iakovos Malaspinas; he bought it in Constantinople for the commemoration of his soul and that of his son Georgios. When they die they wish indeed to be buried at the above-mentioned monastery. May whoever keeps this book and does not give it back be cursed by the three hundred and eight devout and holy fathers and receive the anathema of the seven holy councils.'

'+ Iakovos Malaspinas

his son Georgios and the deceased.



We send you this so that you might commemorate them in your liturgies.'

**Script.** Archaising

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 131. Gregory 1900-9. Aland 1963, no. 1036 (= Aland 1963, p. 115). Politis 1958-9, pp. 126-8. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, p. 143. Lamberz 1991, pp. 48-9 n. 87-8 (exhaustive bibliography). Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

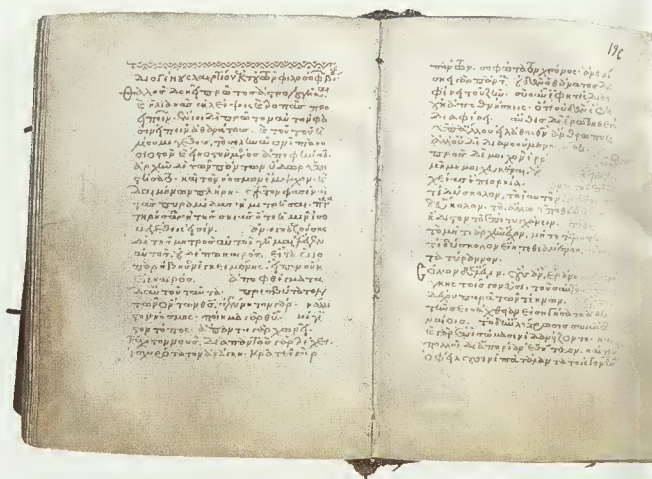
B.A.

### 18.11 Selections from Herodotus, 13th c. Plutarch and Diogenis Laertius Dionysiou Cod. 90

Parchment, 16 x 12 cm, ff. 251

1. (fol. 1r) 'Selection from the *Muses* of Herodotus (1-69).'
2. (fol. 35r) 'Selection from the *Lives* of Plutarch.'
3. (fol. 164v) 'Assorted passages from Plutarch.'
4. (fol. 166r) 'Selection from the *Precepts of Statecraft*.'
5. (fol. 167r) 'Selection from the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* of Plutarch.'
6. (fol. 186v) 'Selection from the *Sayings of Romans* of Plutarch.'
7. (fol. 194v) 'Selection from the *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander* (Homily II) of Plutarch.'
8. (fol. 194v) 'From the *Lives of the Philosophers* of Diogenis Laertius.'

This is one of the most notable manuscripts of texts by Classical authors preserved on Mount Athos; it is the most important of the 4 Athonite manuscripts of Herodotus, the oldest of the 47 of Plutarch, and the only interesting one of the 11 of Diogenes Laertius. Collations of the selections from these three authors have been published by Lambros (see bibliography). In the case of the selection from Herodotus, Lambros, after collating the text in the Athonite manuscript with the other manuscripts of the author's work, claimed that the writer of this manuscript drew from a tenth-century one, a view accepted by the publishers of Herodotus, Hude, Legrand and others. Lambros' view is supported by a comparison of the selection in the Athonite codex with the text in a similar codex in



Paris (Suppl. grec. 134), which dates from the same period and contains the same material. Researchers agree that the two codices have the same source and, what is more, that in the excerpts from the first few books they reproduce the source text quite faithfully, while in the excerpts from the remaining books the text is reproduced less accurately.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1888, pp. 315ff. Lambros 1895, pp. 328-32. Lambros 1905, pp. 3-28. Lambros 1906, pp. 257-376. Hude 1927, pp. VI-VII. Rudberg 1956, p. 178 n. 1, pp. 179-80, 182. Legrand 1966, p. 183.

B.A.

### 18.12 Euripides, Aeschylus, 13th-14th c. Theocritus, Pindar Ivion Cod. 161

Bombycine paper, 25/26 x 17/18 cm, ff. 204

Contents (with marginal scholia):

1. (fol. 1) Euripides, *Phoenician Women* (beginning missing), *Hippolytus*, *Medea* (end missing); an unusual selection of three of Euripides' tragedies.
2. (fol. 31) Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Persians*.
3. (fol. 86) Theocritus, *Idylls* (the first 15).
4. (fol. 107) Dionysius Periegetis, *Description of the World*.
5. (fol. 120) John Tzetis, *Commentary on the 'Works and Days' of Hesiod*.
6. (fol. 143) Pindar, *Olympian and Pythian Odes*.



As was noted in the introduction, the Iviron Monastery occupies first place in terms of manuscripts with texts of Classical authors, owning 220 of the roughly 600 manuscripts of this nature preserved on Mount Athos. All those who have studied this codex agree that it must have been written in about the year 1300. It was presented to the monastery in about 1600 by Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, who donated part of his library to the Iviron Monastery two years before his death (see the note on fol. 1r: 'From Maximos [Margounios] Bishop of Kythera'). We do not know exactly where it was written, though it was most probably outside Athos; its existence bears witness to the

renaissance in Greek literature that took place during the Palaeologan era. As it comes from a period in which there were many celebrated men of letters, the manuscript is of considerable importance to the history of the transmission of the texts it contains and their critical edition; consequently it has been studied and used by many philologists.

Written by various hands.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, pp. 41-2. Gallavotti 1939, pp. 43-55. Turyn 1943, p. 120 (bibliography), cf. p. 57 and n. 60. Irigoien 1952, pp. 297ff. Rudberg 1956, pp. 177, 180, 182. Turyn 1957, p. 325 (additional bibliography). Politis 1963, p. 120.

B.A.





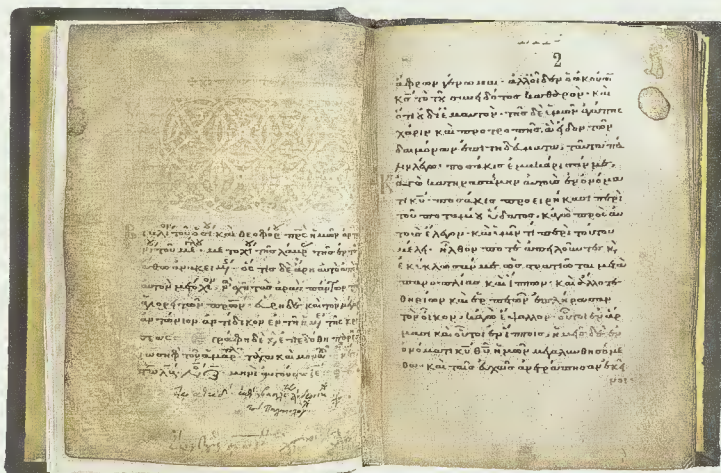
# 18.13 The Life and Office of St Anthony

St Panteleimon Cod. 74

Parchment, 19.5 x 15 cm, ff. 129

**Scribe.** Joseph, 'sinner and monk'.

Three manuscripts by Joseph, the writer of this manuscript, survive; all of them were written in the period 1321-1324 at the *metochi* of St Anthony, a dependency of the Great Lavra. The surviving manuscripts are: Mosquensis Rumjancev 36 (492), now in the Lenin Library, a *Menaion* written in 1323; the present one, and Lavra Cod. 91, a *Typikon* written in 1321/22. All three manuscripts are small in format and written in the same archaising hand.



18.14

**Scribe's note.**  
On folio 1v, below a crude ornament:  
'Book of our saintly and godly father the great Anthony; property of the *metochi* of St Anthony of the Monastery of the Lavra on Mount Athos. May whoever removes it from this *metochi* be cursed by all the Athonite fathers and face Anthony as his accuser on the Day of Judgement. Written and submitted by me, Joseph, sinner and monk, on August 15 in the year 6832. (= 1324).'

Then, in a later hand, the note:  
'1324, during the reign of Andronikos Palaeologos.'

On folio 54v:  
'This little book was written by me, Joseph, sinner and monk, in August *anno mundi* 6832 (= 1342). May all those holy fathers who happen to use it pray for my humble self to the Lord.'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 289. Ehrhard 1936-52, III, p. 975. Lamberz 1991, pp. 50-1 and n. 99-101 (bibliography), p. 70 n. 191. Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.

# 18.14 Nicholas Cataskepenos, Lives of saints, including the Life of Cyril Phileotis Karakalou Cod. 42

Paper, 29.5 x 19.5 cm, ff. 294

**Scribe.** Neilos, a monk at Lavra.  
Neilos's stay at Lavra is a clearly stated and established fact. He was very active, writing numerous manuscripts in the period 1317-1347. A full catalogue of them, together with the order in which they were written and the relevant bibliography, may be found in Lamberz (1991, p. 52). His identification with the Neilos at the Serres monastery is mistaken.

**Note.** Neilos wrote only fols. 47-202; fols. 1-46 are by another hand, while fols. 203-294 constitute a different codex.

**Script.** Archaising but with some individual traits.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 132. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, pp. 329-30. Ehrhard 1936-52, III, p. 924. PLP, nos. 20031, 20033. Lamberz 1991, pp. 51-2 and n. 102-10 (bibliography), p. 70 n. 191. Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.



**18.15 John Scholasticus,  
The Ladder of Paradise  
Xeropotamou Cod. 222**

Paper, 23.5 x 16 cm, ff. 234

1345

**Scribe.** Markos Vatopedinos.

There are only two manuscripts on Mount Athos which are known to have been written in the fourteenth century at the Vatopedi Monastery: Vatopedi Cod. 186, written by the monk Kallistos in 1322, and Xeropotamou Cod. 222, written by Markos 'the sinner' in 1345. The script in Markos' manuscript bears a very close resemblance to the traditional style of writing known as the 'Metochitis style'.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'This book of the sacred Ladder of Paradise written by the sinful Markos under the charge and at the expense of him who desired to acquire it, the most honourable the hieromonk Philotheos of the venerable Vatopedi Monastery, was finished in September 6853 (= 1345), and we beseech all those who happen to use it to pray for the salvation of our souls.'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 216. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 292. Eudokimos 1932, pp. 109-10. PLP, no. 17051. Lamberz 1991, p. 59 and nn. 133-4 (bibliography), p. 69. Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.

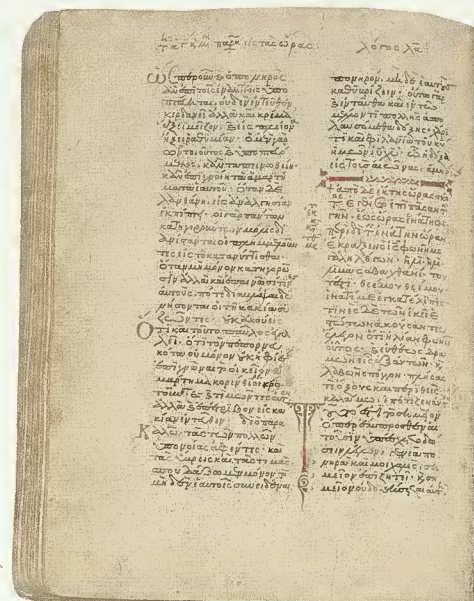
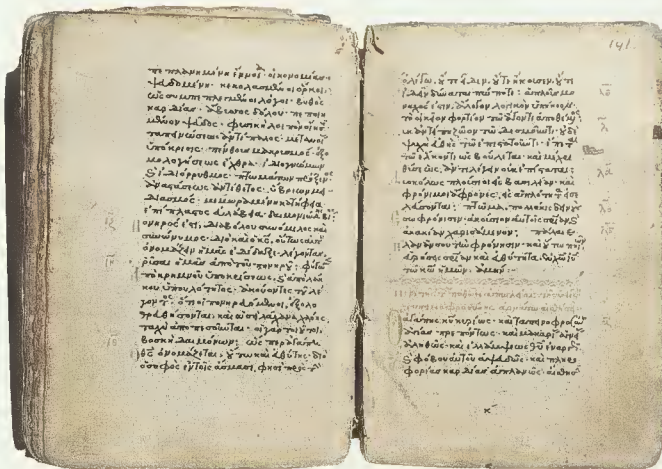
**18.16 Seventy-five Feast-day Sermons 1362  
by various authors**

**Pantokrator Cod. 84**

Parchment, 36 x 27 cm, ff. I + 425 + II

**Scribe.** Theoleptos, a monk at the Pantokrator Monastery. Theoleptos also wrote the Lavra Cod. 128 (A.D. 1357).

Recent studies have established that at the Lavra, Vatopedi, Pantokrator, Philotheou and, to a lesser degree, Esphigmenou Monasteries, the number of manuscripts written on Mount Athos during the Palaeologan era was large. Thus at the Pantokrator Monastery there are many manuscripts which were written either at this monastery or elsewhere on Athos. However, the two manuscripts by Theoleptos, Pantokrator Cod. 84 (A.D. 1362) and Lavra Cod. 128 (A.D. 1357), were perhaps written on Mount



Athos (at the Lavra?) but by a scribe who came from the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, as L. Politis discovered. This view is corroborated by the use of parchment as writing material in both manuscripts, since, as has recently been established, 'parchment was replaced by paper on Mount Athos quite suddenly in about the year 1320', while parchment continued to be used at the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople for quite a while longer.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 101. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 143. Ehrhard 1936-52, III, pp. 326-7. Politis 1958, p. 266. Lamberz 1991, pp. 53-4 and n. 112, with extensive bibliography. Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

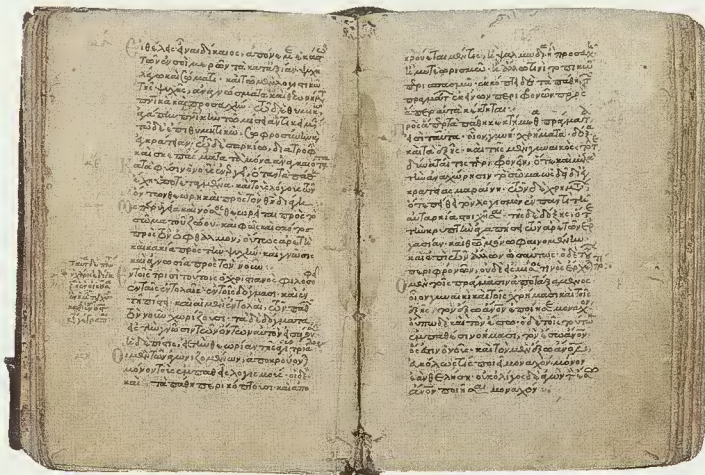
B.A.



**18.17 Paterikon**  
Pantokrator Cod. 108  
Paper, 22 x 15 cm, ff. 343

1368/9

**Scribe.** Gerasimos, a monk at the Pantokrator Monastery.



Gerasimos also wrote Cod. 162 (*Menaion* for April, A.D. 1364/ 65).

Certain palaeographical and codicological similarities exist between these two manuscripts and others in the monastery's possession, such as codices 163, 170 (undated), 175 (undated), 176 (fols. 1-146 from A.D. 1361/ 62), and 178 (undated). This suggests that they might all have been produced by the same scriptorium.

We are not sure whether Gerasimos, who wrote codices 108 and 162, was a monk at the Pantokrator Monastery. Many codicological details suggest this (e.g. similarities between his notes and those of Ignatios, who was indisputably at Pantokrator: see no. 18.18), but there is no concrete evidence.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript: 'Father, take pity on the wretched Gerasimos/ [written in] the year 6877. (= 1368/ 9).'

**Note.** The first few leaves have been cut out.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 103. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 67. Politis 1958, p. 266. PLP, no. 3736. Lamberz 1991, p. 56 and nn. 123-4 (bibliography). Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.

**18.18 Triodion**  
Pantokrator Cod. 164  
Paper, 28.5 x 20 cm, ff. 258

1369

**Scribe.** Ignatios Pantokratorinos. In the years 1369-1371 he also wrote codices Vat. gr. 813 (in



1369), 816 (in 1370) and 541, as well as parts of codices Vat. gr. 435 and 1904.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'This *Triodion* was finished on Thursday 19 April in the year 6877 (= 1369). O fathers, remember Ignatios in your prayers.'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 109. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 160. Turyn 1964, p. 164. Lamberz 1991, p. 56 and 121-4 (extensive bibliography). Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.

**18.19 Psalter, with odes and prayers** 1346  
Ivion Cod. 1384

Parchment, 29.5 x 23.5 cm, ff. 262 (or 265)

**Scribe.** The writer of this codex is the well-known scribe Chariton, who belonged to the scriptorium of the Hodegon Monastery in the centre of Constantinople, near Hagia Sophia. This scriptorium had close ties with the Palaeologoi. In a way, it was the 'National Printing-House' of the Palace. Chariton's activity as a scribe spans the





period 1319-46, and precedes that of Ioasaph, the scriptorium's most important scribe. It is possible, as L. Politis supposes, that Chariton was Ioasaph's teacher. Another 11 manuscripts by Chariton are

known to exist, for which L. Politis includes a catalogue in his study on the Hodegon Monastery (see bibliography). Chariton, like the other scribes at the monastery, wrote manuscripts for members



of the royal family and other figures of high standing, as is the case in the present manuscript.

#### Scribe's notes.

On folio 261v (or 264v, according to another foliation):

'The gift is from God and the labour by Chariton.'

On folio 262v (or 265v, according to another foliation):

'+ This psalter by the divinely inspired King David

with its sublime melodies

was adorned with funds provided by

Queen Anna Palaeologina and the king's son.'

'+ This psalter of dazzling beauty

was adorned by Anna Palaeologina

in the year six thousand eight hundred

and fifty-four.'

In another hand:

'That is, in the year *anno mundi* 6854 (= AD 1346).'

The donor of the manuscript, Anna Palaeologina, was Anne of Savoy, the second wife of Andronikos III Palaeologos (1328-1341) and mother of John V (1341-76), who is mentioned in the note in the words 'and the king's son'. The manuscript was written during the civil war of 1341-47, which broke out when the *Megas Domestikos* John Cantacuzenos claimed (and eventually secured) the throne.

**Decoration.** The manuscript is richly decorated, with gold writing (the whole of the first page, the inscriptions and other parts are inscribed in gold letters) and elegant initials etc.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 279. Lambros 1902-3, pp. 248-9. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, pp. 425-6. Politis 1958, pp. 261-5. Politis 1963, pp. 124-5. Thesauri 1975, p. 328 (bibliography). I.M.A.G.E.S. 1981, p. 167 (bibliography). RGK 1981, no. 378. RGK 1989, no. 522 (bibliography).

B.A.

**18.20 Menaion for March**  
Koutloumousiou Cod. 324

14th c.

Paper, 28/30 x 20/21 cm, ff. 171

**Scribe.** The anonymous scribe of the Serbian Queen Elisabeth, widow of Stefan Dusan; in the period 1347-71 this scribe worked in the milieu of

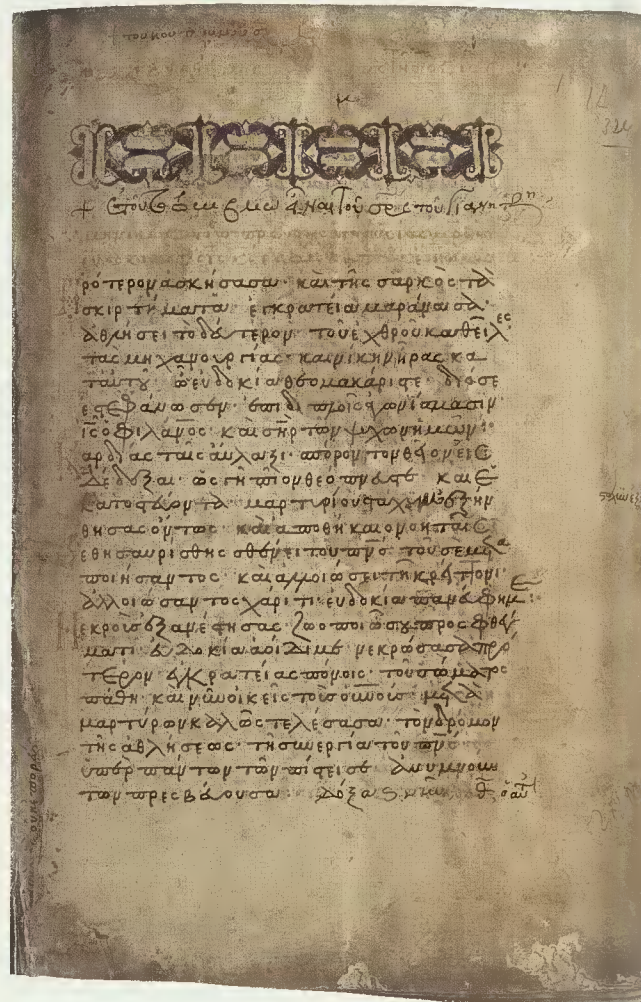
the Koutloumousiou Monastery, evidently in one of its *kellia* or *metochia*. Vogel and Gardthausen (see bibliography) were mistaken in regarding the Sophronios who commissioned the writing of Dionysiou Cod. 311 as the writer of that codex, and in identifying the anonymous scribe here with that Sophronios. Politis' identification of Elisabeth's scribe with the writer of Xeropotamou Cod. 234 also seems dubious.

Other known manuscripts by the same scribe: Dionysiou Cod. 311, Koutloumousiou Cod. 324, Athens EBE 2035, 2049, 2422.

**Script.** Similar to the Hodegon style.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 310. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 412. Politis 1930 (= Politis 1975, I), pp. 288-304. Politis 1957 (3), pp. 312-6. Lamberz 1991, p. 57 and nn. 125-8 (bibliography). Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.



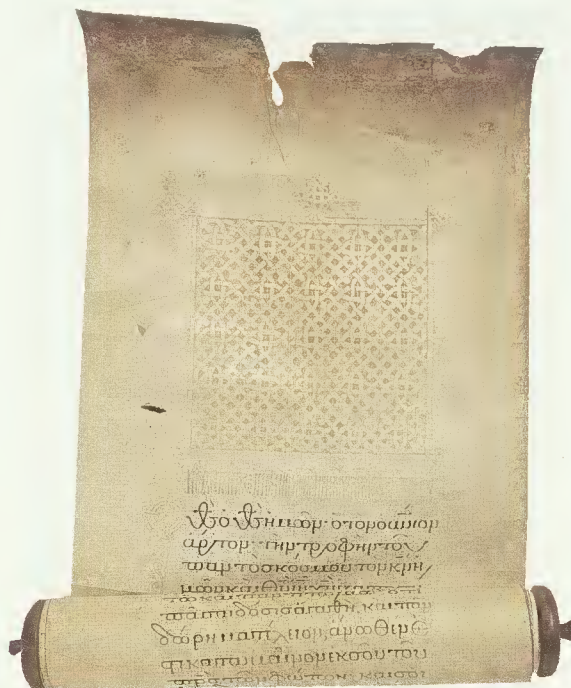
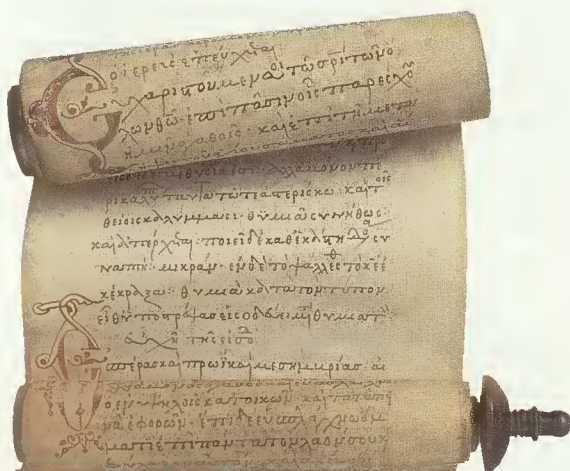


**18.21 Liturgy  
of the Presanctified Gifts (Roll)**  
Skete of St Anne, Cod. 120

Parchment, 232 x 16.5 cm (4 *kollemata*)

14th c.

B.A.



18.22

**18.22 Liturgy  
of St John Chrysostom (Roll)**  
Chelandari Cod. 233

Parchment, 468.5 x 25.5 cm

14th c.

**Script.** Broad, liturgical.

**Decoration.** A decorated square frame at the beginning.

**Bibliography:** Litsas 1986, p. 193.

B.A.

it is the oldest of the 69 manuscripts of his work preserved on the Holy Mountain.

The works of Plutarch which occupy folios 126-279v were collated by Gregorios Vernardakis in the edition of the *Moralia* he produced for the well-known Teubner series published in Leipzig.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 263. Vernardakis 1888, pp. XII and XLVIIIff. Cf. a more recent edition of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the same Teubner series, Lipsiae 1974, I, p. XXVI. Rudberg 1956, pp. 176, 178, 182.

B.A.

**18.23 Basil the Great,  
Plutarch, Lucian**  
Docheiariou Cod. 268

Paper, 23 x 16 cm, ff. 344

14th c.

1. (fol. 1) Basil the Great, Homilies and Letters.
2. (fol. 126) Plutarch, selected works from the *Moralia*.
3. (fol. 280) Lucian, works.

This is one of the most important manuscripts of Classical authors that survive on Mount Athos, particularly in respect of the works of Lucian, since





## 18.24 Pentekostarion

St Panteleimon Cod. 727

Paper, 28 x 18/19 cm, ff. 197

**Scribe.** Dositheos, hieromonk  
(of the Lavra?)

Other manuscripts by this scribe are: Vatopedi Cod. 1184 (A.D. 1445/46), and A.I. 9 of the Durazzo Collection in Genoa (A.D. 1450); some of the identifications made in PLP are doubtful.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'This book was written by me, the lowliest of hieromonks Dositheos, in the year 6957 (= 1449), under the charge and at the expense of the most

1448/49

## 18.25 Dioscurides

*De materia medica* (Books I-V)

Iviron Cod. 216

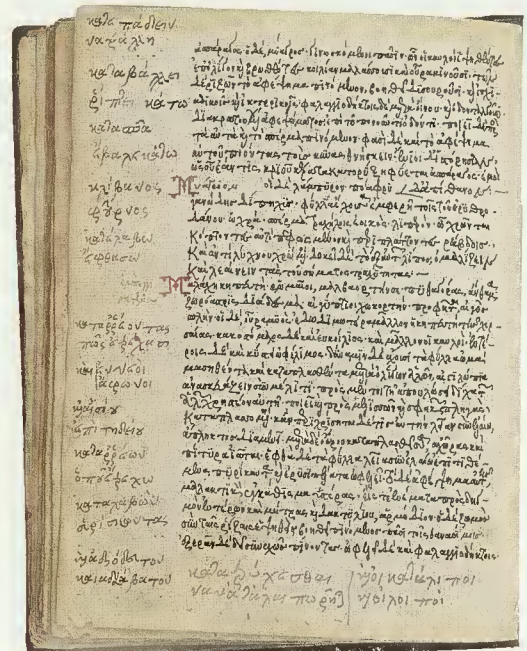
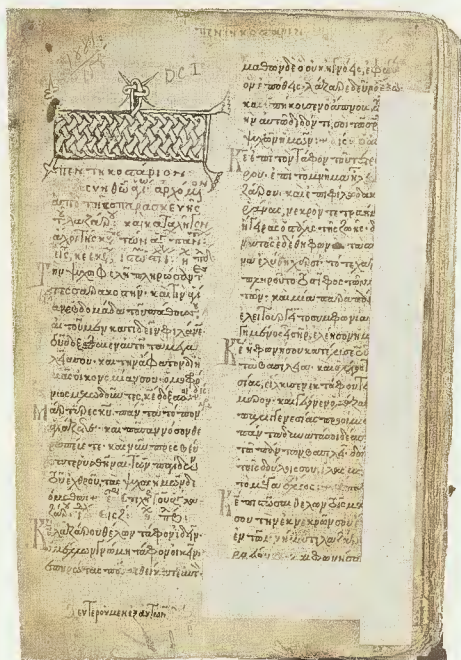
Paper, 19.5/20.5 x 14.5/15.5 cm, ff. 182

15th c.

Five manuscripts of Dioscurides survive on Mount Athos, of which Lavra Cod. 275 (12th c.) is not only the most important one of this author's work but also the most important of all the manuscripts preserved on Athos today. Amongst the other manuscripts of Dioscurides the present one, which is a copy of Codex 275 at the Lavra, is outstanding.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 62. Rudberg 1956, p. 179.

B.A.



honourable monks, the Brothers Joseph and Makarios... of the great Monastery of Vatopedi. It was written in the great Lavra of St Athanasios on Athos.'

The many damaged sections of text in the note have been restored by comparison with the very similar note which exists in Cod. 1184 (1445/46) at Vatopedi.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 421. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, pp. 112-3. PLP, no. 5636. Lamberz 1991, p. 60 nn. 142-4 (bibliography). Lamberz 1992 (forthcoming).

B.A.

## 18.26 Euripides,

Hesiod, Hephaestion, etc.

Dionysiou Cod. 334

Paper, 22.5 x 14 cm, ff. 255

15th c.

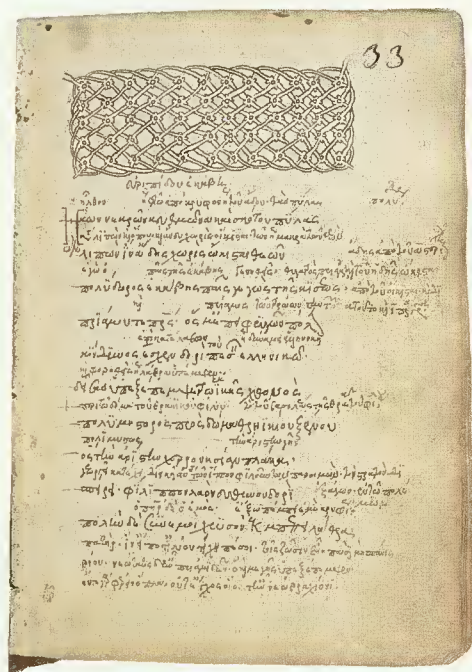
- Contents:**
- (fol. 1r) Hesiod, *Works and Days*.
  - (fol. 32r) Euripides, *Hecuba*, *Oresteia*, *Phoenician Women*.
  - (fol. 186r) Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* (from line 321).
  - (fol. 190r) Hesiod, *Theogony* (up to line 386).



5. (fol. 210r) Hephaestion, *On Metres*.
6. (fol. 219r) Brief comments.
7. (fol. 220v) Hesiod, *Shield of Herakles* (from the beginning up to l. 320)
8. (fol. 226r) Anonymous lexicon.
9. (fol. 229r) Notes on men in alphabetical order.
10. (fol. 229v) Grammatical notes.
11. (fol. 249v) On the general virtues.
12. (fol. 251r) Ascents to heaven.
13. (fol. 251v) Theodoretus, *Quaestiones* (extract).

The texts are usually accompanied by a commentary between the lines and notes in the margin.

In terms of the number of manuscripts of works by Classical authors, the Dionysiou Monastery



occupies fifth position; however, given that the manuscripts of Classical authors belonging to the St Panteleimon Monastery, which lies fourth with 64 such codices, almost all date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the collection at Dionysiou is more important.

As for the works of Herodotus in particular, of the 7 manuscripts which survive on Athos, the Dionysiou codex is the most notable one.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 412. Rudberg 1956, pp. 180-1. Kadas 1996 (2), p. 107.

B.A.



**18.27 Four Gospels, Psalter, *Thekaras*, etc.**  
Iviron Cod. 809

1518

Paper, 22.2/23.5 x 16.1/18 cm, ff. 502

**Scribe.** Theophilos Iviritis.

While manuscript production on Mount Athos was limited during the Byzantine era, the opposite was true in post-Byzantine times, particularly in the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. During this time numerous scribes were at work, either alone or in organised scriptoria,



and many of their manuscripts survive today (see the entries nos. 18.10, 18.28 and 18.29).

One such systematic, industrious and prolific scribe was the writer of this manuscript, the monk Theophilus Iviritis, also known as 'the unfortunate' or 'the ragged', whose activity is attested over a period of at least thirty years, from 1518 to 1548, and of whose work 29 manuscripts survive, some in the same monastery and the rest in other monasteries on Athos or outside. He lived a turbulent life, and was forced to wander from place to place. In his wanderings he spent a while at the Kosinitza Monastery on Mt Pangaion, where he continued his activity, as four manuscripts — all liturgies — which used to belong to the monastery attest (nos. 289, 290, 291, 296); of these, two (nos. 290 and 291) are today in the Dujčev Centre in Sofia, where they have been given the numbers 139 and 181, following the well-known looting of the monastery by the Bulgarians in 1917. Theophilus, however, distinguished himself for his virtuous life, which led the Church to pronounce him a saint (*hosios*) and commemorate him on 8 July. Theophilus, who had specialised in the copying of religious and liturgical manuscripts, used to write long notes at the end of these, from which we learn a great deal about his life and other events.

Iviron Cod. 809 is the oldest of his extant manuscripts.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'This was finished in the month of April in the year 7026 (= 1518) in the *hesychasterion* of John the Forerunner, which is attached to the Holy Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos...

This book was completed, with God's help, through the labours of the unfortunate, ragged Theophilus.'

At another point in the manuscript:

'I beseech all who come across this book not to dare cut it up shamelessly, in order to take it apart and remove either the Gospels or the Psalter or *Thekaras* or any other office or part, or even a single leaf, but let it remain intact, just as it was written and bound by me. Should the binding become worn, may it be rebound just as it is now. If anyone should act against what I say, the curse of my sinful unworthy self be upon him. And may whoever owns this take care not to leave it lying idle on the shelf but always make full use of it; for this is why the book was written, so that he might not suffer the same condemnation as he who hid the talent. And if he should neglect his own salvation, let him give the book to another who cares greatly about





being saved so that he might use it to gain the riches of heaven and to pray for my wretched self, who is responsible for a thousand wicked deeds and is unworthy of either heaven or earth. May the Lord have mercy upon me and deliver me from eternal damnation; therefore, I beseech you, all the holy fathers, to pray for me.'

**Decoration.** The manuscript is illuminated with four illustrations.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1900, p. 227. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, pp. 146-7. Politis 1957 (2), pp. 365-79. Politis 1963, p. 125. RGK 1981, no. 139. Atsalos 1990, pp. 84-5 and nn. 262-4 and 266. "Checklist" 1994, pp. 29, 57.

B.A.



## 18.28 Lives and martyrdoms of saints commemorated in December, 1549

Koutloumousiou Cod. 204

Paper, 32 x 23 cm, ff. 420

**Scribe.** Sophronios Koutloumousianos, alias the monk Euphrosynos. He wrote about 50 manuscripts in a period of forty years (1542-1583), using the name Sophronios from 1542 to 1551 and Euphrosynos from 1552 to 1583.

As has been stressed in other entries (see, for example, nos. 18.10, 18.27 and 18.29) in post-Byzantine times, particularly during the sixteenth century, there was a considerable amount of copying

activity on Athos. At the Koutloumousiou Monastery this activity manifested itself in the work of the above prolific scribe, who at first signed his manuscripts under the name Sophronios and then after a certain point under that of Euphrosynos indeed, in some of his early manuscripts he changed the name from Sophronios to Euphrosynos. The late Professor Linos Politis, who also studied the manuscripts of this scribe supposed that, since there is no doubt that both names belong to the same scribe and that the 50 surviving manuscripts are by the same hand, Sophronios at some point changed his monastic name to Euphrosynos either because

he became a *megaloschemos* or for some other reason which eludes us. All of the manuscripts are preserved at Koutloumousiou.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'The gift is from God and the labour by Sophronios. Finished in the year 6967 (= 1459).'

At the beginning and the end there is a leaf of parchment bound on to the wood of the binding; these folios are from the twelfth century and contain ecclesiastical material.

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 296. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, pp. 413 and 123 (= the monk Euphrosynos). Ehrhard 1936-52, II, pp. 504, 681, 684. Politis 1957 (2), pp. 355-65. Politis 1963, p. 125.

B.A.



18.29 St Gregory the Theologian, 1580  
Homilies

Dionysiou Cod. 136

Paper, 31.5 x 22 cm, ff. 355

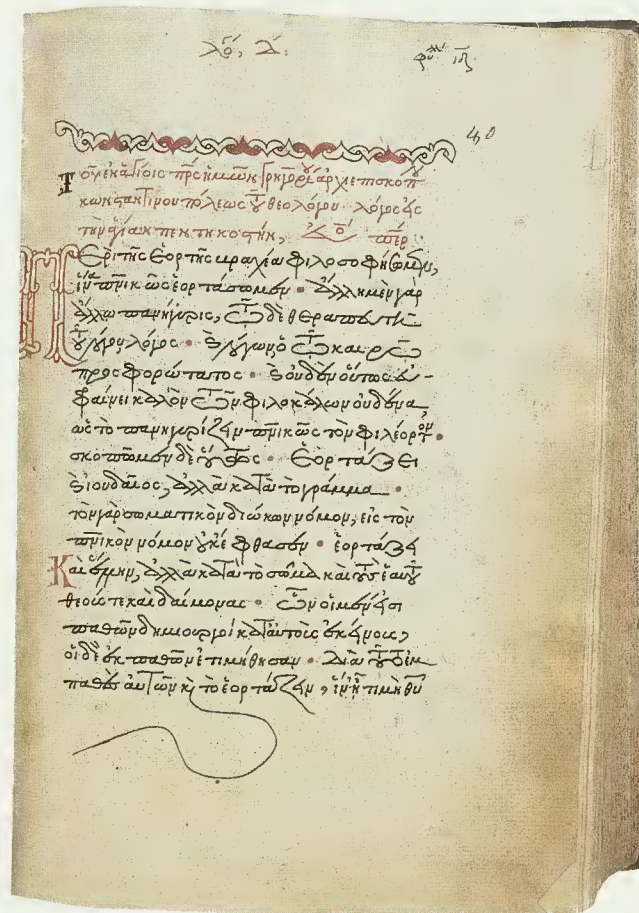
**Scribe.** Theonas. Other manuscripts by Theonas in the same monastery include nos. 139, 413, 432, 493 and 527. This scribe also wrote Panteleimon Cod. 419.

As the late Linos Politis discovered, in post-Byzantine times and particularly in the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth, apart from the scribes who worked alone but systematically in various monasteries on Mount Athos (e.g. Theophilos in the milieu of the Iviron Monastery, see no. 18.27, and Sophronios or Euphrosynos at Koutloumousiou, see no. 18.28, amongst others), at least two proper scriptoria functioned where many scribes were active either at the same time

or in different periods. These scriptoria were located in the Dionysiou and Xeropotamou Monasteries.

The foundation and productivity of the scriptorium at the Dionysiou Monastery are, according to Politis, to be connected with the wide-ranging activity of Theonas, who was hegumen of the monastery during the decade 1590-1600 and a man of considerable learning and renown, whose various talents included that of scribe. Many manuscripts were written at his bidding.

The scribes at this scriptorium, according to the same researcher, adopt a uniform script which displays practically no personal variations, a 'crystallised formal script' which follows the well-known angular, forward-sloping style of the Hodegon Monastery but is less free and more austere. At the same time, however, they also use a 'laxer' style of writing, a style of their day, for their various notes. Their manuscripts also share common codicological characteristics.





The scriptorium at Dionysiou is known to have functioned during the period 1577-99. Its scribes, who were all monks at the monastery except Theonas, included Daniel, Ignatios, Joseph and Galaktion.

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript (fols. 354v-355r):

'On finishing this I said: Glory be to thee, O Christ.

Written in the year 7088 (= 1580).

These sixteen homilies appointed for reading by our Father St Gregory the Theologian were

**18.30 Synaxarion**  
**Stavronikita Cod. 97**

1596

Paper, 38.5 x 25 cm, ff. 273

**Scribe.** Matthaïos of Myra.

Matthaïos of Myra, the writer of this manuscript, came from Pogoniani in Epirus and belonged to the circle of Lukas, who was of Cypriot origin and had become bishop of the Vlach town of Buzau. Lukas of Buzau had reduced the art of writing manuscripts — chiefly liturgical ones, which by now were being written on paper in book form



written in our holy and venerable monastery of St John the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, that is, the Dionysiou Monastery, to which they belong. May anyone who seeks to steal them from the monastery be cursed by the devout and holy fathers. They were finished by me, the hieromonk and sinner Theonas, on Saturday 14 June.'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 342. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 149. Politis 1963, pp. 125-6. Politis 1977 (2), pp. 372 and 377 (pl. 3). Politis - Politi 1994, p. 452. Kadas 1996 (2), p. 35, cf. p. 23 n. 18, and the entries *Θέων* and *Θεωνάζ* in the indexes.

B.A.

rather than in the traditional form of a roll — to a purely artistic level. It could be said that he created a school, the style of which was imitated by many pupils, most of whom were prelates like himself. Amongst Lukas' pupils stands out Matthaïos of Myra, who, at the time of writing this manuscript, was still a hieromonk and senior archimandrite at the great Church of Pogoniani. Many manuscripts of his survive (see bibliography).

**Scribe's note.** At the end of the manuscript:

'This holy and sacred Gospel for daily use was finished by the hand of Matthaïos, hieromonk and



*protosyngelos* at the great church of Pogoniani during the reign of our most pious and Christ-loving king and Emperor of all Russia, Theodore John, in the divinely protected city of Moscow in October 7104 (= 1596).'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 85. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 296. Politis 1963, p. 126. Vranousis 1968, pp. 368-411. Politis 1977 (3), pp. 378-89. RGK 1981, no. 271 (bibliography). Gratziou 1982, pp. 151-2, 173-4. Atsalos 1990, p. 85 n. 260-1. Politis - Politi 1994, pp. 547-9 (with a bibliography and record of all his surviving manuscripts). Zoumbouli 1995, pp. 88-103, 192-3. Atsalos 1996, p. 86 n. 322.

B.A.

**18.31 Hieromonk  
Dionysios Studitis,  
Selected Texts ('Kouvaras')  
St Anne Cod. 22**

1582

Paper, 20/22 x 15/16 cm, ff. 639

**Scribe.** The hieromonk Dionysios Studitis alias

'the Rhetorician'.

Hosios Dionysios, who referred to himself as the hieromonk Dionysios Studitis or 'the Rhetorician', lived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; he lived with his disciple Hosios Metrophanis at Little St Anne's, which at that time was deserted but luxuriantly green. Their cave still survives, on the site of which a small church has recently been built. They are commemorated on 9 July.

The manuscript, despite its title, contains autograph ascetic texts by Dionysios; thus Dionysios is not only the scribe but also the author of the works which the codex contains. An abridged copy of Cod. 22 is Cod. 23 at the same *skete*. Lavra Cod. 76, which is his Psalter and was used by him every day, is also his handiwork.

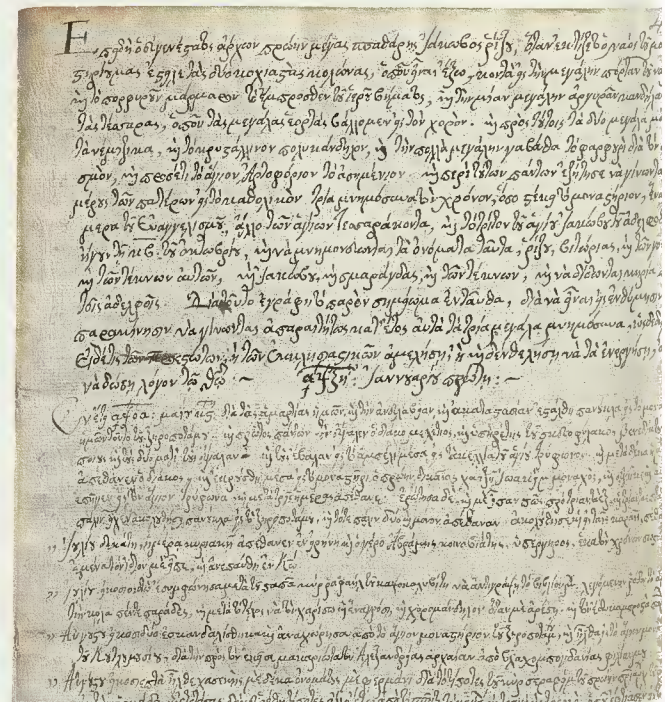
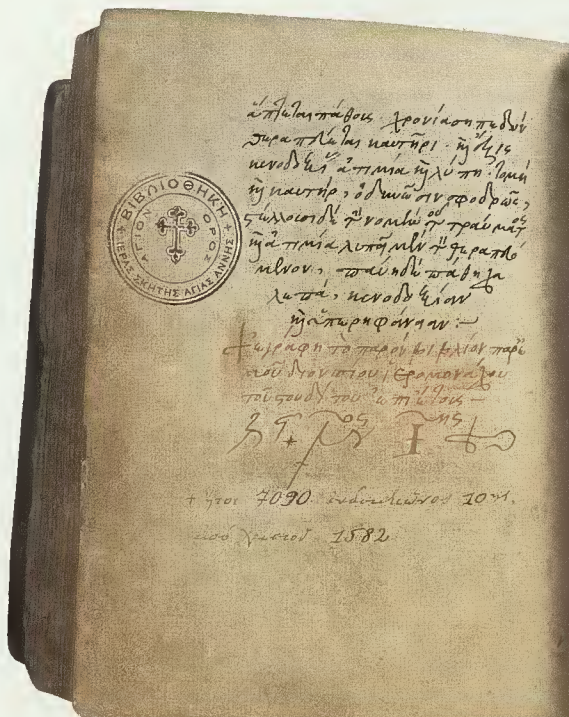
**Scribe's note.** On folio 593v:

'This book was written by me, hieromonk Dionysios Studitis, in the year 7090 (= 1582).'

Owner's notes. On folios 638r and 638v.

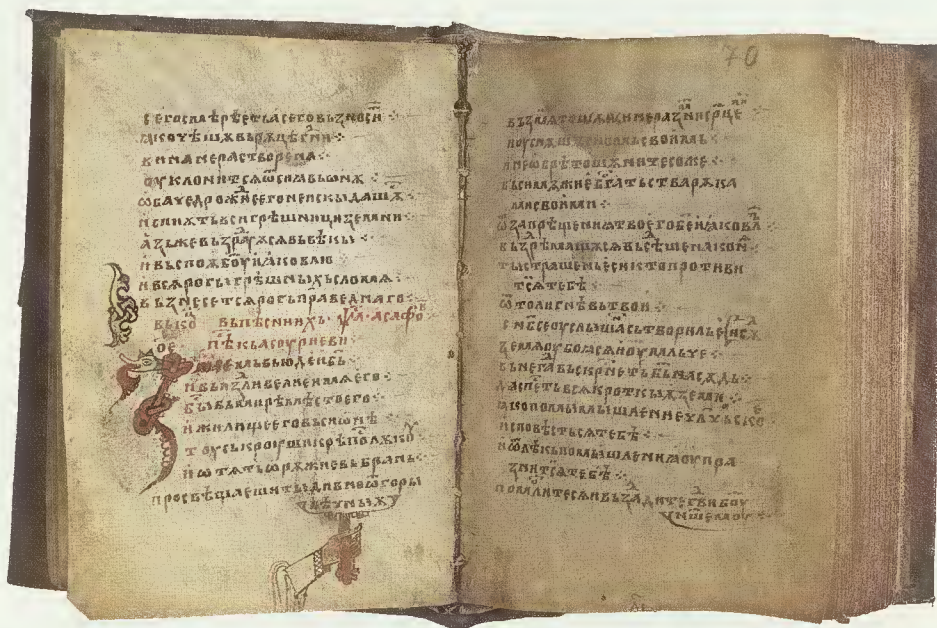
**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 16. Vogel - Gardthausen 1909, p. 110. Gerasimos 1961, pp. 110-23.

B.A.





# 19 SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS



## 19.1 Psalter

13th c.

Zographou Cod. I.D. 13

Parchment, 14.5 x 10 cm, ff. 172

Cyrillic majuscules. Contemporary Bulgarian

orthography and illumination. The binding, of stout cardboard and leather, is of later date.

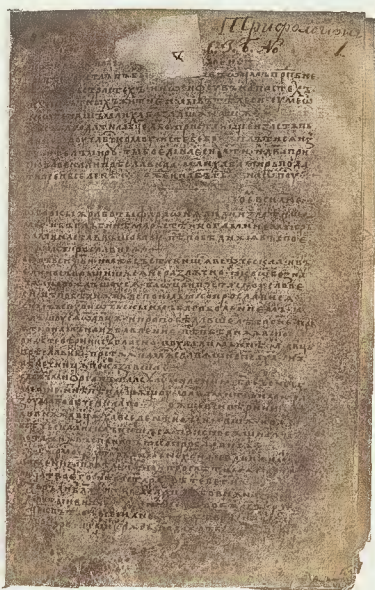
Many folios and whole gatherings are missing.

The manuscript contains the Psalms of David (fols. 1r-169v), a table of psalms for the year (fols. 170r-v), and the Midnight Office (fols. 171r-172v), lacking the end.

A very important manuscript for thirteenth-century Bulgarian orthography and illumination. On folio 167r, there is a note to the effect that the manuscript was copied by a scribe named Radomir, and it has hence become known as the 'Radomir Psalter'.

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 47. Zahariev 1939, pp. 154-8. Kodov et al. 1985, no. 1, pp. 27-9.

I.C.T



19.2

## 19.2 Menaion

13th c.

Zographou Cod. I. e. 9

Parchment, 19.5 x 13 cm, ff. 219

Cyrillic majuscules. Bulgarian redaction. The



binding is of more recent date. The manuscript is in very poor condition, with many blank, damaged, and illegible folios. In accordance with the tradition of the time, the illumination includes teratomorphic headpieces and initial letters.

The contents are particularly interesting, since they include older forms of services of St John of Rila, St Paraskevi of Trnovo, Tsar Peter, Cyril and Methodios, and Michael Voyn. The manuscript also preserves accentuated texts, and a note expressing the repentance of one Dragan (fol. 218v).

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 85. Rajkov et al. 1994, no. 54, p. 52.

I.C.T.



**19.3 Four Gospels**  
Chelandari Cod. 5

Parchment, 30.3 x 21.5 cm, ff. 258

Cyrillic majuscules. Serbian redaction. Rashka orthography. The rubrics are in Greek, the initials

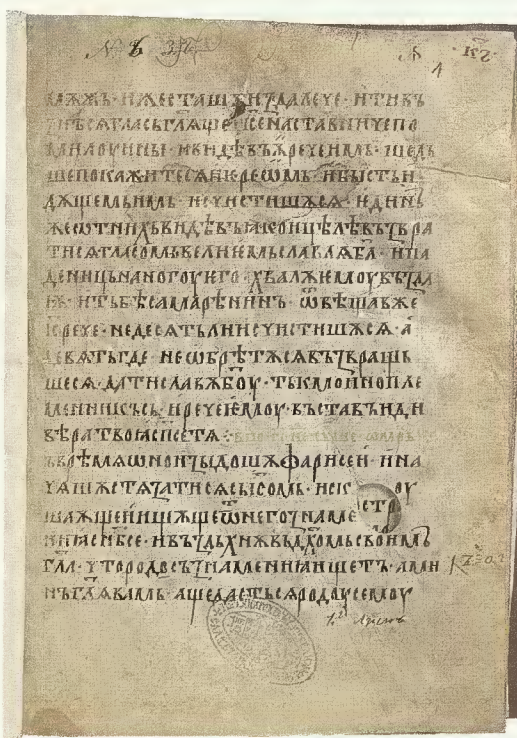
simple and ordinary. Headpieces on folios 1r, 64v, 107r, and 184r.

This is a book of Gospels of the older type, with the canon tables (lists of corresponding passages) drawn up by Ammonios but without Theophylaktos' prologue. The Menologion (starting on p. 241) includes the Serbian saints Arsenios, Sabbas, and Symeon, on the correct dates.

The manuscript preserves the Serbian literary and orthographic tradition of the fourteenth century, together with the Serbian tradition of the illumination of sacred ecclesiastical books.

**Bibliography:** Chilandarec 1897, no. 15. Hilandarac 1908, no. 12. Bogdanović 1978, no. 12, p. 57.

I.C.T.



**19.4 Lectionary**  
Zographou Cod. I. Д. 5

Parchment, 29.6 x 20.5 cm, ff. 88

Cyrillic majuscules. Bulgarian orthography. The illumination includes initial letters of an



## 18.32 Miscellany of works

by ancient authors

Xeropotamou Cod. 93

Paper, 15 x 9.5 cm, pp. 556

## Contents:

Amongst other things, this codex contains Isocrates' *Oration to Demonikus* (pp. 34-64) and Aristophanes' *Clouds* (pp. 335-82), with an exposition in the vernacular between the lines. The value of this manuscript lies in the fact that it is one of the oldest extant manuscripts of these authors on Mount Athos. To be precise, it is one of the 53 manuscripts

1586

## 18.33 Kaissarios

or Konstantinos Dapontes,

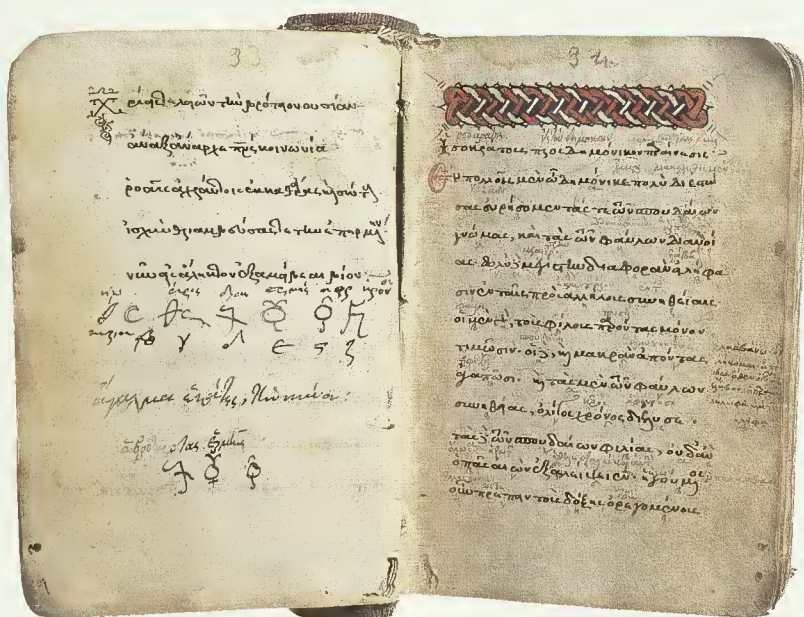
Autograph notes

Xeropotamou Cod. 344

Paper, 32 x 21.5 cm, ff. 79 (only 12 inscribed)

1784

Amongst the numerous manuscripts of late date on Mount Athos, which are often of religious, liturgical or musical content, may be found a number of particular interest to the study of Modern Greek history and literature. A number of these manuscripts exist at the Xeropotamou



of Isocrates surviving on Athos — most of which are of much later date — and one of the 7 manuscripts of Aristophanes, of which 5 date from the eighteenth century, one from the sixteenth (the present one), and only one from the fifteenth (Ivion Cod. 149).

**Scribe's note.** At the end of Cyril of Alexandria's *Lexicon* (pp. 383-548): 'With God's help, this Lexicon with entries arranged in alphabetical order is now finished. May all those who handle it pray for me the scribe and not curse me for my numerous errors. The gift is from God and the labour by John. 15 November, 7094 (= 1586).'

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 205. Drerup 1902, pp. 313-17. Drerup 1906, p. II. Eudokimos 1932, p. 35. Rudberg 1956, p. 179 n. 1 and p. 181.

B.A.

Monastery, some of which are either autographs or contain autograph notes by Kaissarios Dapontes, such as the Cod. 344.

According to a recent study, the notes in the present manuscript were very probably written during his last stay at the Xeropotamou Monastery (3 July - 4 December 1784) shortly before his death and may be 'his last piece of writing'. Certainly the notes were intended for personal use and not for publication. They refer to the last twenty years of his life, and deal with matters relating to the history of the Xeropotamou Monastery as well as other monasteries on and outside Athos.

**Bibliography:** Eudokimos 1932, p. 163. Kadas 1988, pp. 183-4, 185 n. 8, with an exhaustive bibliography.

B.A.



older type and geometrical patterns. The cardboard and leather binding is of a later date.

The manuscript includes the Gospel lections for every day of the year (fols. 1r-60r) and a Menologion (fols. 60r-88r). It preserves the Bulgarian church and literary tradition of the fourteenth century, together with the orthographical trends in the Bulgarian literary ecclesiastical language of the time.

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 47. Kodov et al. 1985, no. 18, pp. 54-5.

I.C.T.

### 19.5 Chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos St Panteleimon Cod. 17

1387

Paper, 39.5 x 27.5cm, ff. 252 +III

Cyrillic semi-uncial. Serbian redaction. The text is written in two columns, with decorative initials on folios 11r, 39r, and 127r. There are also some interesting notes on folios 126r, 252r, and II concerning the scribes, the year in which the manuscript was written, and what happened

to it thereafter. The content is the Chronicle of the monk Georgios Hamartolos (a history of the world from creation to A.D. 842) translated into the Serbian ecclesiastical language of the time.

This is a Slavonic version of a very important Byzantine historical and theological text.

**Bibliography:** Avramović 1848, pp. 116, 118. Jagić 1867, p. 191. Leonid 1875, p. 49. Ilinskij 1908 (2), p. 19. Tachiaos 1981, no. 17, pp. 47-9.

I.C.T.

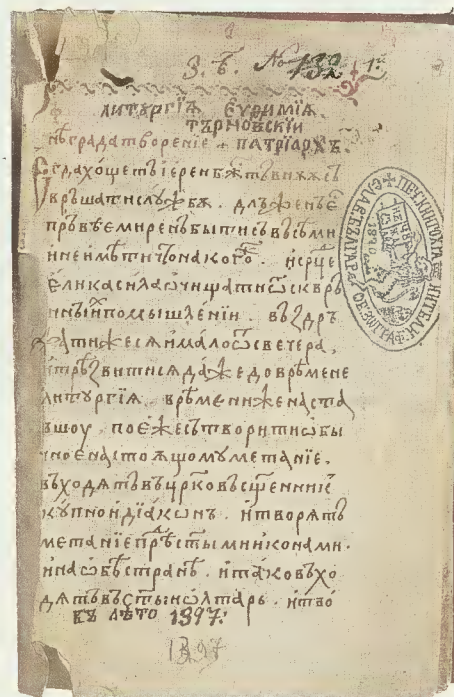
### 19.6 Book of Liturgies

14th c.

Zographou Cod. I. r. 12

Paper (2 types), 18.5 x 13 cm, ff. 165

Cyrillic semi-uncial. Bulgarian (Trnovo) redaction. Copied by several scribes. Four types of watermark: a leopard, a mermaid, circles with lines through them, and a pear, from the years 1386-90. The binding, of cardboard and decorated leather, is of later date. The decoration of the manuscript is confined to three small geometrical headpieces coloured red and blue (fols. 1r, 28r, and 48r), and red geometrical initials. Folio 107r





includes 'prayers written by the Patriarch of Trnovo, Kyr Euthymios'.

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 121. Rajkov et al. 1994, no. 46, p. 49.

I.C.T.

### 19.7 Four Gospels Zographou Cod. 1. B. 9

16th c.

Paper, 30.2 x 20 cm, ff. I + 287

Wallacho-Moldavian Cyrillic semi-uncial. Trnovo orthography. The cardboard and leather binding is of later date. The decoration is typical of the area: each Gospel reading begins with a large initial decorated with coloured leaves.

Contents: a list of Gospel readings for Sundays and weekdays (fols. 1r-9r), the Gospel readings (fols. 9r-280v), a short Menologion which does not include the Slav saints (fols. 281r-284v), a list of Gospel readings for Lent (fols. 284v-286v),

and a list of the musical modes for the Easter Gospels (fols. 286v-287v).

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 35. Kodov et al. 1985, no. 35, pp. 74-5.

I.C.T.

### 19.8 Parakletike

1561

Chelandari Cod. 103

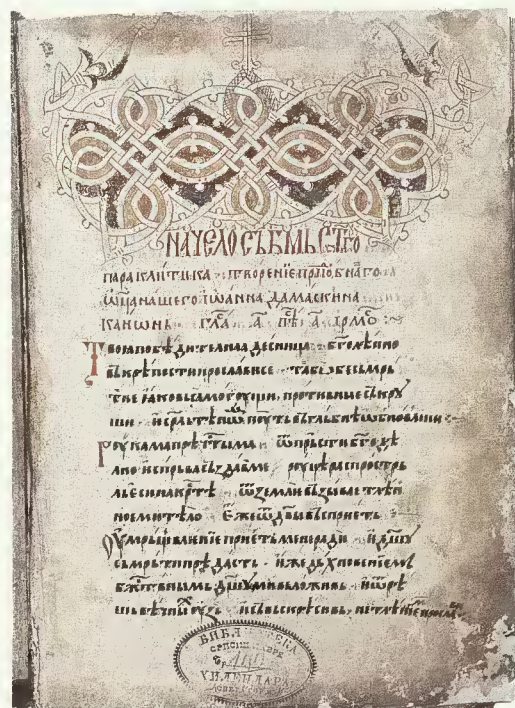
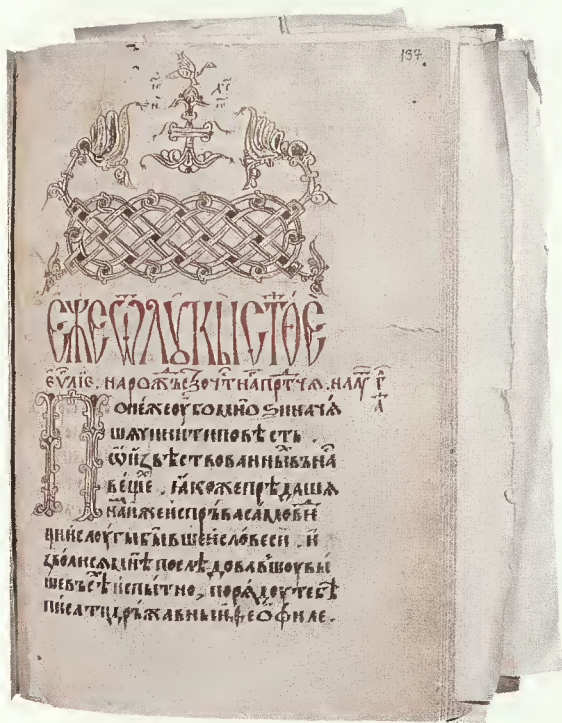
Paper, 33 x 23 cm, ff. 224

Cyrillic semi-uncial. Serbian redaction. Resava orthography. Headpieces on folios 1r, 56v, 109r, 217r. The manuscript was written at Chelandari or Karyes and comprises canons of John of Damascus from the *Octoechos*.

The manuscript preserves the Serbian ecclesiastical and literary tradition, the orthography, and the illumination techniques of the sixteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Chilandarec 1897, no. 153. Hilandarac 1908, no. 140. Bogdanović 1978, no. 137, p. 92.

I.C.T.





**19.9 Book of Liturgies**  
Chelandari Cod. 327

Paper, 21 x 1 cm, ff. IV + 86 + I  
Written by the 'sinful Demetrios',  
a native of Novo Selo in Bulgaria

1624

Copied by the monk Bartholomaios. The binding is of more recent date. The miniature of St George at the beginning (fol. 1r) supports the hypothesis that the manuscript was copied at Zographou Monastery.



Cyrillic semi-uncial. Serbian redaction. Resava orthography. Watermark (three halfmoons) and leather binding of the same period (17th c.). Miniatures: John Chrysostom (fol. 7v) and Basil the Great (fol. 39v).

Contents: Offertory (fol. 1r), Liturgy of John Chrysostom (fol. 8r), Liturgy of Basil the Great (fol. 40r), Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (fol. 60r), Services of Vespers and Matins (fol. 75r), and Dismissal (fol. 78r).

There are interesting notes, concerning the scribe, the donor, and the date of the manuscript, on folios 6r, 85r, and 86r.

**Bibliography:** Chilandarec 1897, no. 342. Hilandarac 1908, no. 399. Bogdanović 1978, no. 327, pp. 135-6.

I.C.T.

**19.10 Menaion**

1626

Zographou Cod. II. b. 8

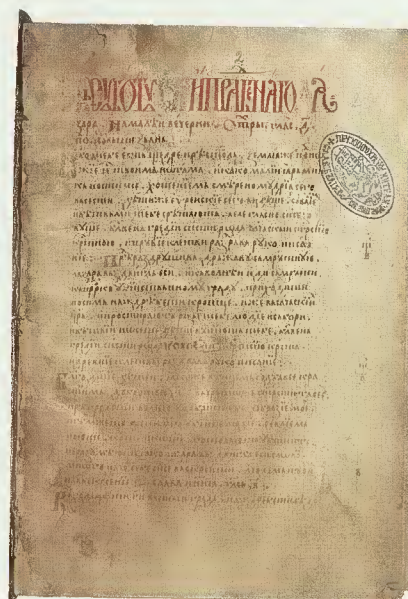
Paper, 29.5 x 21 cm, ff. 210 + I

Cyrillic semi-uncial. Serbo-Moldavian orthography.

The manuscript comprises the services for the feasts in September.

**Bibliography:** Ilinskij 1908 (1), no. 91. Rajkov et al. 1994, no. 69, p. 59.

I.C.T.





**19.11 Acts of the Apostles**  
Chelandari Cod. 28

1643

Paper, 30 x 20.5 cm, ff. II + 196 + I

Written at Chelandari. Cyrillic semi-uncial calligraphic script. Serbian redaction. Resava orthography.

The paper bears two types of watermark (three halfmoons and an anchor in a circle), corresponding to the years 1637 and 1643. The binding is leather, the work of the Russian hieromonk Hadzi-Gerasimos (1702). The readings

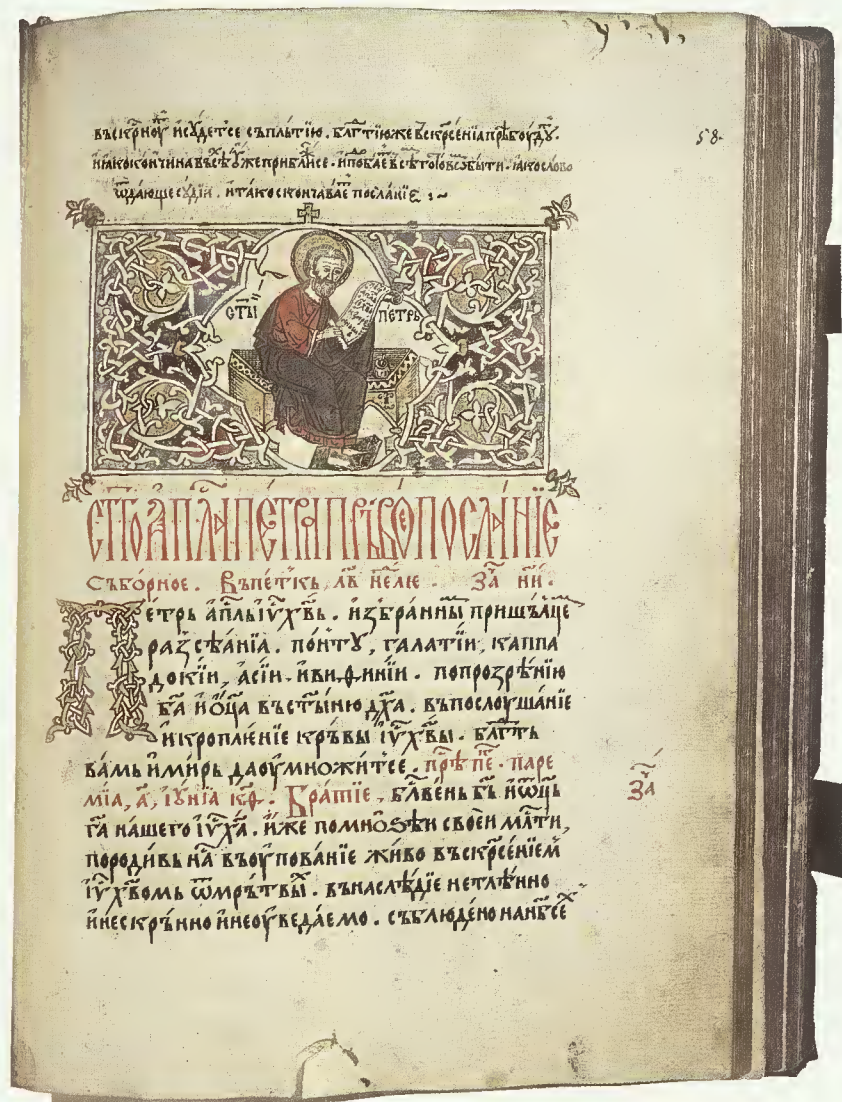
from the Acts and the Epistles start on folio 7, the list of the readings on folio 179, and the *prokeimena* on folio 193.

Miniatures: St Luke (fol. 7r), St James (fol. 54r), St Peter (fol. 28r), St John (fol. 67v), Judas (fol. 74v), and St Paul (fol. 77v).

The manuscript preserves the Serbian ecclesiastical and literary tradition of the seventeenth century, together with the Serbian tradition of the illumination of ecclesiastical books.

**Bibliography:** Chilandarec 1897, no. 240. Hilandarac 1908, no. 84. Bogdanović 1978, no. 106, p. 83.

I.C.T.





### 19.12 Typikon

17th c.

St Panteleimon Cod. 30

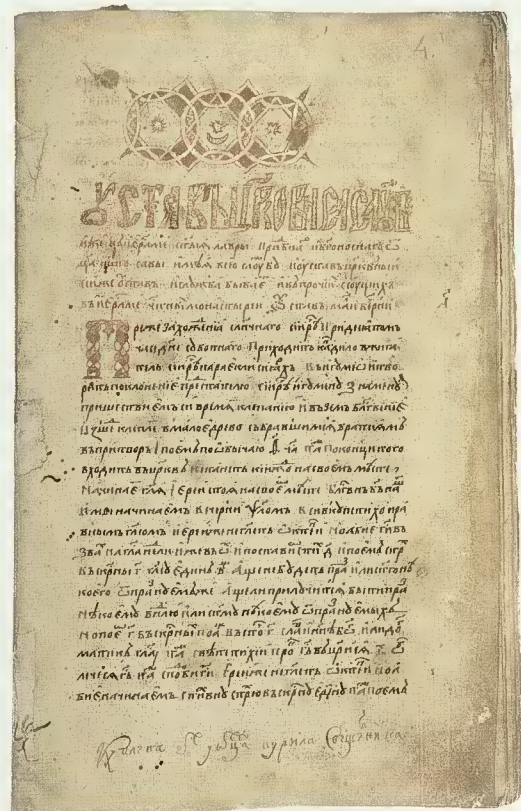
Paper, 29 x 18 cm, ff. 204

Cyrillic semi-uncial. Church Slavonic orthography with South-west Russian linguistic influences. The manuscript is elaborately decorated, with red and green predominating in the titles of the individual chapters. On folios 6r-10r there is an interesting note about what has happened to the manuscript. The text is a *typikon* (monastic rule), with instructions for the order of the services.

It reflects the Russian monastic tradition of the seventeenth century.

**Bibliography:** Tachiaos 1981, no. 30, pp. 81-2.

I.C.T.



### 19.13 Chronicle

18th c.

St Panteleimon Cod. 39

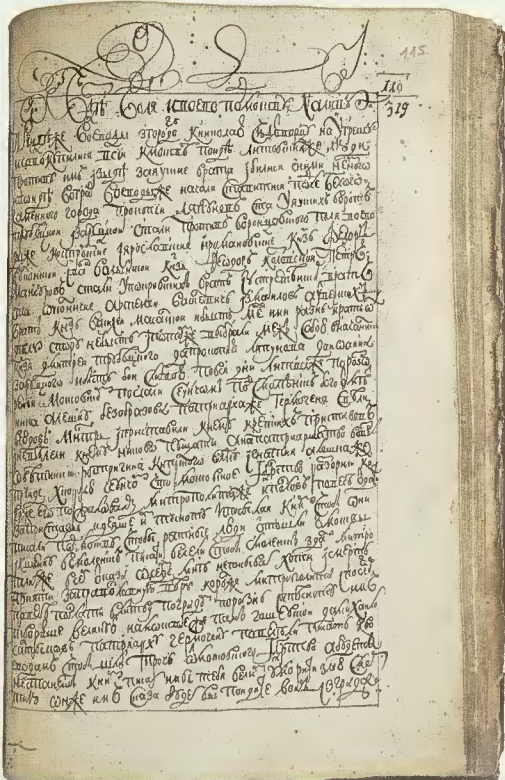
Paper, 31 x 20 cm, ff. 140

Russian tachygraphy of the eighteenth century. Original binding.

An account of the 'great' Russian land, the Russian people, the origins of their rulers, and the spread of Christianity in Russia.

**Bibliography:** Tachiaos 1981, no. 39, p. 89.

I.C.T.



### 19.14 Paterikon

18th-19th c.

St Panteleimon Cod. 44

Paper, 21 x 16 cm

Two manuscripts, ff. 44

The first part (fols. 1-26) is in Church Slavonic semi-uncial, the second in tachygraphy. The script of the first part (18th c.) reflects the Russian Church Slavonic tradition, that of the second (19th c.) the purely Russian tradition.

The scribe of the first manuscript uses red



ink for the titles and the initials. The binding dates from the nineteenth century.

The volume contains a treatise on the cenobitic life (fols. 1r-3r), questions put to John by Alypius (fols. 3v-4v), and a letter from the elder Paisy Velitskovski, which was published in *Zitie i pisanija Moldavskago starca Paisija Velickovskago* (Moscow, 1847), pp. 238-56.

The importance of the manuscript lies precisely in the fact that it preserves a text by this noted neo-hesychast monk.

**Bibliography:** Tachiaos 1981, no. 44, p. 92.

I.C.T.

### 19.15 Almanac

1814

St Panteleimon Cod. 61

Paper, 22.7 x 18.6 cm, ff. 514 + I

Copied by a calligrapher named Michael Putilov, and richly illuminated.

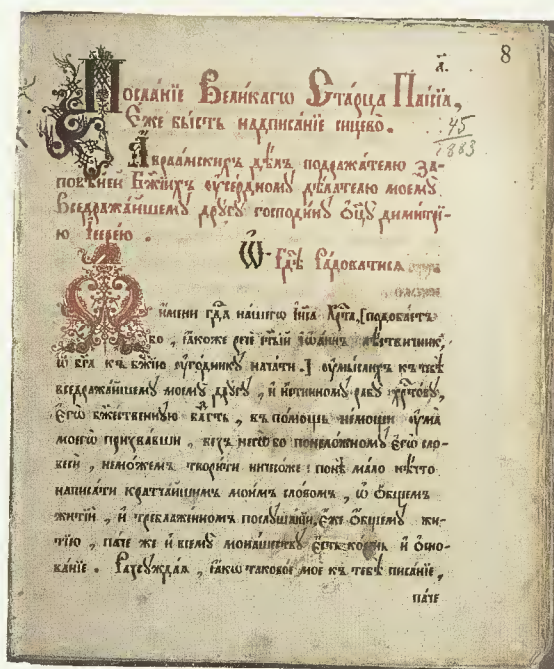
Apart from the church calendar mentioned in the title, the manuscript also contains a considerable amount of historical, astronomical,

and other information.

It reflects an interesting Russian tradition of the nineteenth century.

**Bibliography:** Tachiaos 1981, no. 61, pp. 109-10.

I.C.T.

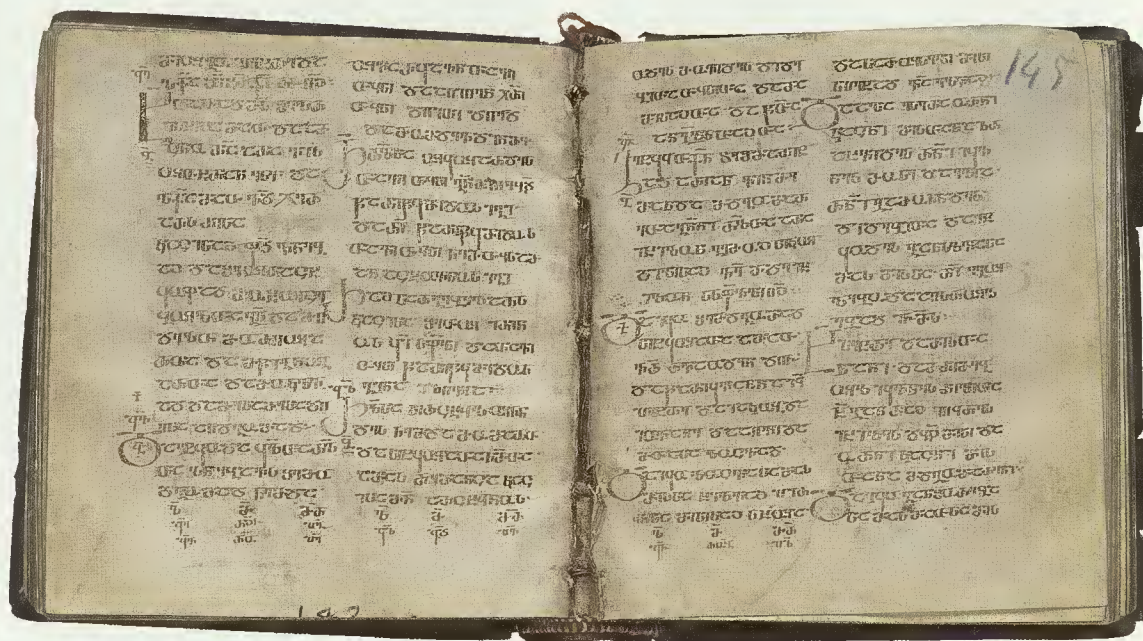


19.14





## 20 GEORGIAN MANUSCRIPTS



### 20.1 The 'Opiza Four Gospels' 913 Ivion Monastery, Library Cod. Georg. 83

Parchment, 13.9 x 12.4 cm  
Scribe: Grigol

The four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This is a priceless relic of ancient Georgian culture, written in hieratic majuscule script (*asom'tavruli*).

It was written in the Monastery of St John the Baptist at Opiza, an important philological centre in ancient Georgia which was renovated in the ninth century by the scribe who copied this very manuscript. He explains in a note that the text of the Gospels as presented here is a copy of an original 'which was faultless with regard to the text'. This indicates that the

manuscript preserves one of the oldest and most authoritative Georgian translations and reflects the Georgian monks' precision in copying and transmitting the texts, as also their great respect for these. The first two Gospels in this manuscript are included in Beneshevich 1909 and 1911.

A.-E.T.

### 20.2 Patristic works 977 chiefly by St John Chrysostom and St Ephraim of Syria Ivion Monastery, Library Cod. Georg. 9

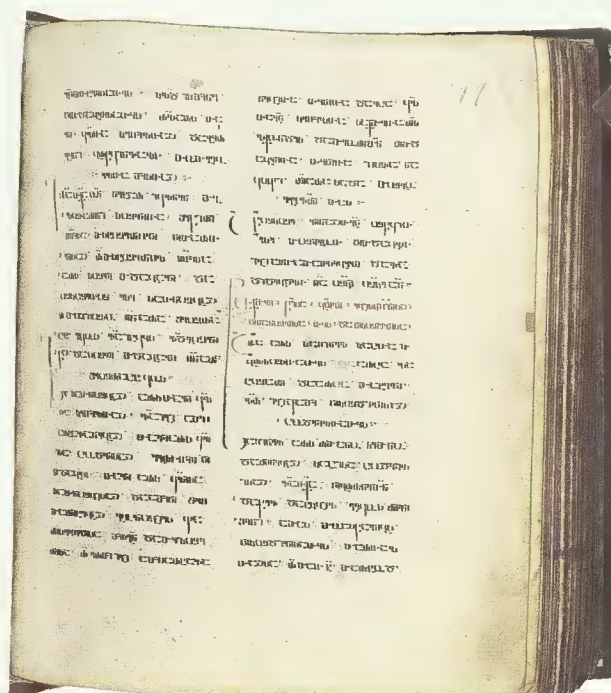
Parchment, 34.7 x 28 cm  
Scribes: Stephanos and Ioannis

This is a miscellany of works by various



fathers of the Church, most notably St John Chrysostom. It also includes a discourse by the Georgian monk St Sahak (Hahanashvili 1910, pp. 47-9. Tarnishvili 1955, pp. 420, 495) and an apocryphal work by Joseph of Arimathea, which is known only in this Georgian translation (Marr 1910; cf. Kekelidze 1918, p. 105. German translation: Kluge 1915, pp. 24-38). The codex contains a long and very interesting note, which provides not only some important historical information but also an autobiographical account by a dignitary named John Tornik, relating how he left his monastery for a while to help the *curopalatis* David to suppress the rebellion led by Vardas Skleros. Regarding this notable text, see Peeters 1932, pp. 358-71; Tarnishvili 1954, pp. 113-24.

A.-E.T.



### 20.3 Old Testament

978

Ivion Monastery, Library

Cod. Georg. 1

Parchment, 44.5 x 32.3 cm

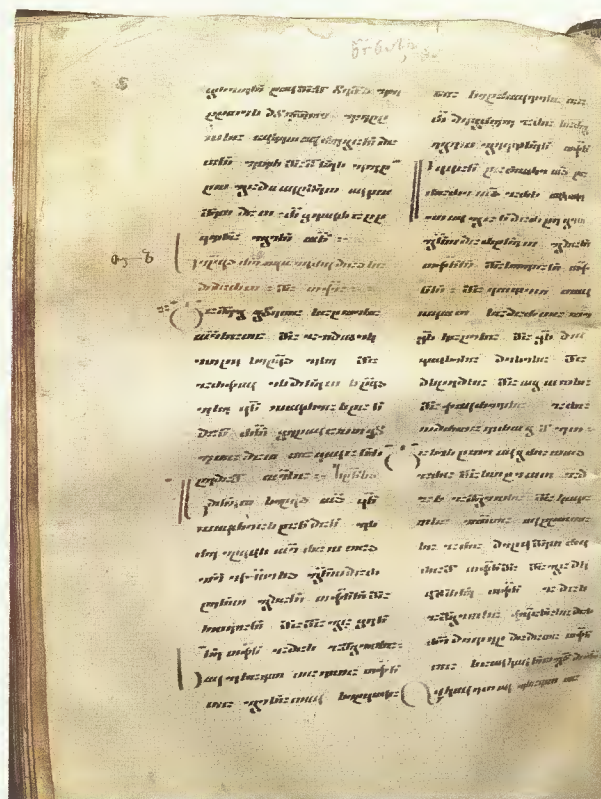
Scribes: Michael, Georgios,  
and Stephanos, monks

The first part of a two-volume work comprising all the books of the Old Testament, except for the Psalms, the Book of Chronicles, and the Book of Maccabees.

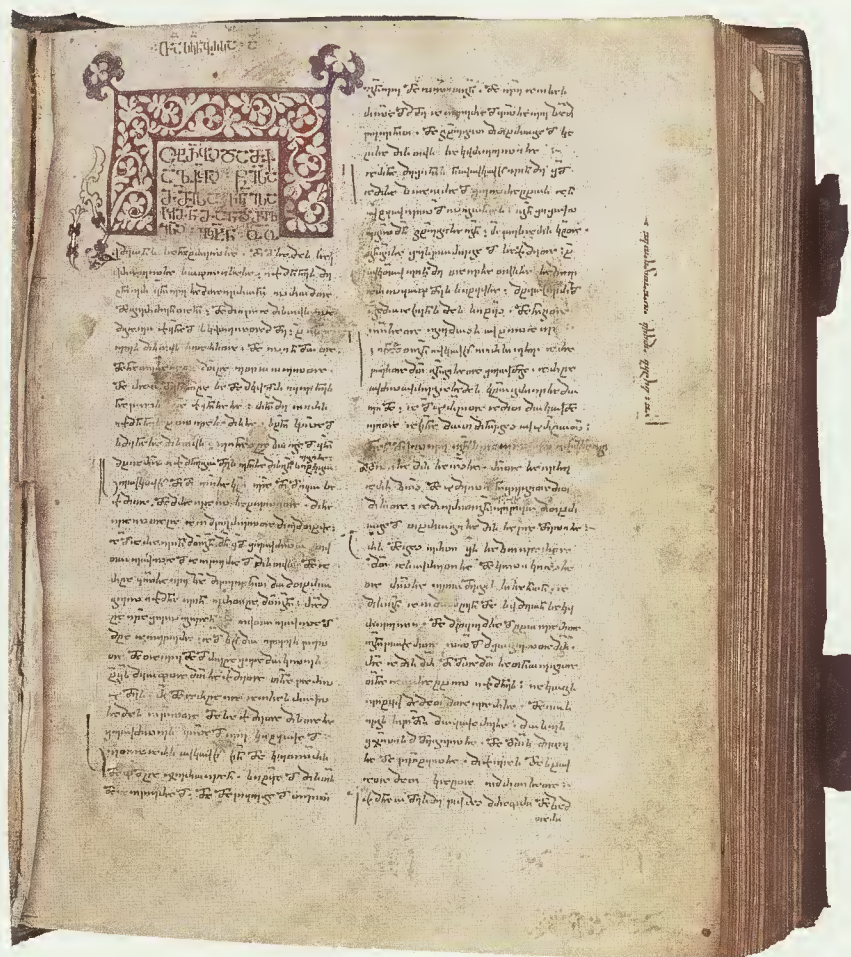
This first part contains: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Judges, Ruth, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Judith, and Tobias.

The manuscript was written for a Byzantine patrician of Georgian descent named John Cordvani, surnamed Tornik, at Oski Monastery in the district of Tao-Klardjeti in Georgia. It originally comprised three volumes, but they were bound as two, the third part becoming the second volume. It is a fine Georgian literary monument, written in hieratic minuscule script (*nuskhuri*), and originates from a notable spiritual centre in ancient Georgia.

A.-E.T.







**20.4 Symeon Metaphrastis** 1081  
**Lives of Saints**  
**commemorated in September**  
**Ivion Monastery, Library**  
**Cod. Georg. 20**

Parchment, 27 x 21 cm  
 Scribe: Theophilos, monk

The codex contains a Georgian translation by the Georgian monk Theophilos (who is also the scribe) of Symeon Metaphrastes' *synaxarion* for the month of September.

The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that it contains the first Georgian translation from Greek of this work of Symeon's, as also that it preserves two very interesting notes, one at the beginning and one at the end, which reveal

that Theophilos did this translation at Triantaphyllou Monastery in Constantinople. The second note also gives information about the wife of Michael VII Dukas and Nikephoros Botaneiatas: her name was Maria, and she was of Georgian descent.

Of all the texts in the codex, only the Life of Gregory, Bishop of Armenia, has been published: Melikset-Bek 1920.

A.-E.T.

**20.5 Life of St George the Athonite**  
**of Ivion, 1062**

Ivion Monastery, Library, Cod. Georg. 30

Parchment, 25.3 x 18.9 cm  
 Scribe: Eustratios, presbyter

The life of St George of Ivion is a text of



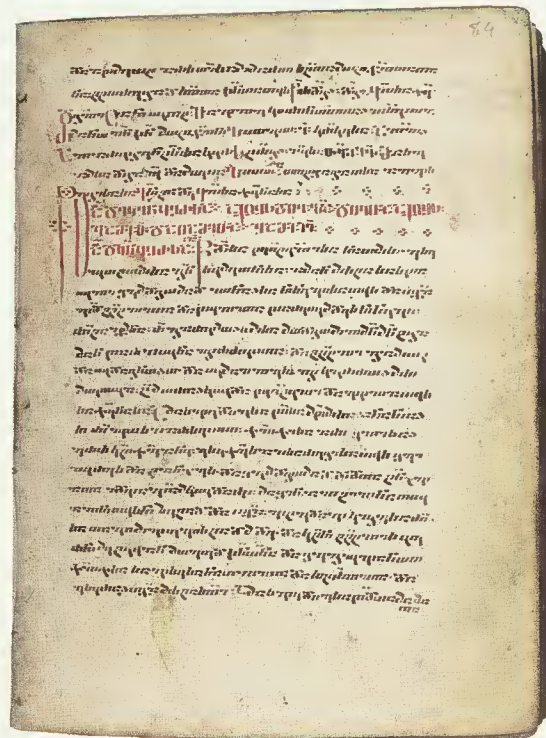
great importance, supplying a wealth of information about its subject, about Georgian hagiology, and about the history of Iviron Monastery and Athonite monasticism in general.

A scribal note informs us that this manuscript is an exact copy of the original.

Yet, whereas some older manuscripts of the life of St George the Athonite present textual problems, this one (which has not yet been sufficiently studied) preserves the most authentic form of the text.

It has been translated into Latin: Peeters 1922, pp. 69-159.

A.-E.T.



20.5

## 20.6 St John Chrysostom, 1008 Interpretation of the Gospels of Sts Matthew and John Iviron Monastery, Library Cod. Georg. 4

Parchment, 36.5 x 29 cm  
Scribes: Arsenios, Ioannis  
and Chrysostomos, monks

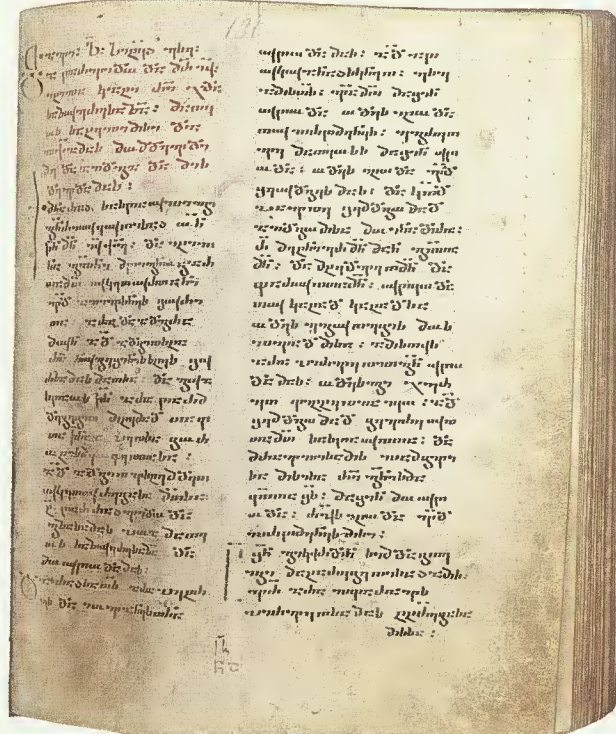
Eighty-eight hermeneutical discourses by St John Chrysostom on the Gospels of St Matthew and St John, translated by a Georgian monk of Iviron Monastery, St Euthymios.

The translation was done at the urging of Euthymios' father, Ioannis, also a monk at Iviron, who realised that this splendid work by the Patriarch of Constantinople did not exist in the Georgian language.

A scribal note reveals the name of the translator, as also that of the book-binder Serapion, who made the binding.

The work reflects the eagerness of the Georgian monks on Athos to fill the gaps in their literature with works by Greek Fathers from the libraries of the Athonite monasteries.

A.-E.T.





*Musical Composition, Manuscript Production  
and the Art of Chant on Mount Athos*

By a stroke of good fortune, Byzantine musical notation made its appearance at the same time as monastic life first became organised on Athos — with the foundation of the first monasteries from A.D. 963 onwards — and so both share a parallel history stretching back continuously over more than a thousand years. Faith, which was the main driving force behind the organisation of Athos as a monastic state, inspired art, and art, in turn, gave resplendent and monumental expression to faith. More than any other of the fine arts, the Art of Chant, as a raiment of speech, is and always shall be on Athos the most sublime, musical expression of the monks' communication with God and his saints, and above all the Virgin, since this is the purpose for which they went to the Holy Mountain.

In the libraries of the twenty monasteries, six or seven (of the twelve) *sketae* and the many *kellia* on Athos, well over 2,500, indeed nearly 3,000, manuscripts of Byzantine and post-Byzantine/modern Greek music have been preserved. This number is slightly more than one third of all the manuscripts of Byzantine chant known in the whole world. Any doubts or speculation regarding the exact number of manuscripts are due, in all cases, to the absence of full catalogues, and also to their deliberate concealment, chiefly by monks in the *kellia*. This number does not include a considerable amount of manuscripts which in one way or another have been smuggled out of Athos.

The difficult task of compiling a detailed catalogue record of the music manuscripts of Mount Athos was taken on by the present author in October 1970. So far three of the seven volumes of this catalogue have been published under the title *Byzantine Music Manuscripts: Mount Athos* (in Greek), in 1975, 1976 and 1993 respectively. Volume 4 is already at the press.

Now that 1,500 Athonite music manuscripts have been catalogued, we are in a position to make the following general observations: Mount Athos holds most of the oldest music manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Athonite music manuscripts of the Palaeologan era (14th-15th c.) number over twice as many as those outside Athos. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a huge quantity of music manuscripts were written on Athos: these, which still survive, number twice as many as the manuscripts from the Byzantine era. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are also represented by a wealth of music manuscripts, most of which were written by Athonite scribes on the Holy Mountain. It is self-evident, I think, that during the continuous thousand-year history of the tradition of chant on Athos at various times and in various monasteries notable scriptoria and bookbinding workshops evolved.

In the monasteries, during both their golden age and later times of harsh oppression and woes, the monks, bent over in the scriptoria or their cells and hermitages, inscribed in red and black ink the various types of music codices: the *Sticheraria* and *Doxastaria*, the *Mathemataria* and *Kratemataria*, the *Papadikai* and *Anthologia*, the *Heirmologia* and the *Akathistos Hymn* in a collective effort to preserve the essence of the authentic and sublime Greek Orthodox form







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of musical communion with God. The names of those who wrote the music manuscripts — monks, hieromonks, and even prelates and Patriarchs, ‘humble’, ‘most sinful’ and ‘uneducated’ men, as they refer to themselves in the colophons of their manuscripts are like a gentle rain from heaven which has suffused our musical tradition with its rich distinctive fragrance.

The largest collections of music manuscripts are kept in the monastery libraries: Iviron (400 MSS), Vatopedi (approx. 350 MSS), the Great Lavra (approx. 300 MSS), St Panteleimon (190 MSS), Chelandari (130 MSS), Xeropotamou (138 MSS), Docheiariou (125 MSS), St Paul’s (117 MSS), Koutloumousiou (98 MSS), Xenophontos (96 MSS), and Dionysiou (96 MSS). The number of music manuscripts in the other monasteries and *sketae* lies somewhere between 15 and 90.

The music codices, like all other forms of manuscript, are of vellum (parchment) or paper, depending on when they were written. From the fourteenth century onwards paper prevails as the writing material for codices. The music manuscripts are all inscribed in two colours, in black and red ink. The red ink was essential to draw attention to a group of signs, the so-called *aphona semadia* or unvoiced signs (of which there are 40), which showed the treatment of the music ‘the quick or slow tempo and other ideas of the melody’ that is, the correct interpretation of the musical notation consisting of *phonetika semadia* or voiced signs. Red ink was also used to write the symbols for the *echoi* (modes) and the *phthorai* (modulation signs). Naturally, red ink was used for initial letters and various embellishments. Many pages in the codices are adorned with elegant — or in some cases less artistic — illustrations, as well as decorative headpieces at the beginning of different sections of text.

The contents of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine music manuscripts are diverse in form and nomenclature and are related to the three generations of musical composition: those of the *Papadike*, the *Sticherarion* and the *Heirmologion*. The development of the codices and the creation of new generations new either in terms of content or type of musical composition naturally followed the evolution of Chant. Basically, the codices fall into two categories: a) codices of homogeneous content, and b) codices of varied content.

To the first category belong two groups of codices which are related to two of the three kinds of musical composition, those of the *Sticherarion* and the *Heirmologion*. These codices are usually the personal creation of a single composer. To be precise, the names of these codices, which are either mentioned by the writers of the manuscripts themselves or are obvious from their contents, are as follows:

The *Sticherarion*, the oldest form of music codex (10th c.), contains the *stichera idiomela* for all the movable and immovable feasts of the year. From this basic codex derive the *Anthologion* or *Anthologia Sticherariou*, which is an anthology of the *troparia* for the greatest and most important feasts, and the *Ekloge Sticherariou*, a small selection of musical settings of chiefly dogmatic character. In addition, there are the *Triodion-Pentekostarion*, which contains the *idiomela* for the movable cycle of feasts before and after Easter, the *Doxastarion* or *Doxastikarion*, which contains the *idiomela* in which the first line to be sung is the so-called Lesser Doxology, i.e. *Doxa Patri kai Hio kai hagio Pneumati* (‘Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost’), the *Anastasimatarion*, which contains the *idiomela* of the *Octoechos* of St John of Damascus based on the theme of the Anastasis, and the *Megalae Orae* (Great Hours), that is, the *idiomela* for the four Hours (First, Third, Sixth and Ninth) of the three great feasts of our Lord: Christmas, Epiphany and Easter.

The names of the codices related to the *Heirmologion* generation are: the *Heirmologion* itself, which contains the *heirmoi* of the Canons, classified by ode and mode; the *Prologarion*, which is an anthology, again arranged by mode, of the *prologoi*, i.e. the model *troparia*, which are not canonical *heirmoi* and serve as models for singing the so-called *prosomoia troparia*, or



*troparia* in which the melody is the same as that of the *prologos*; and the *Kalophonikon Heirmologion*, which contains forms of musical settings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This type of codex contains various *heirmoi* or *troparia* from the Canons which are set, however, in a freer and certainly more ornate style.

To the second category belong the codices which contain the fixed melodies sung during the daily and nightly offices, mainly in the Psalms, and which in many cases contain diverse musical settings by a variety of different composers. The names of these codices are as follows: the *Papadike*, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was known as the *Akolouthiae*; the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon*, two types of Byzantine codex from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the *Anthologia*; the *Akoloutharion*; the *Kontakarion* or *Oikematarion*, which contains the *kontakia* for the feasts; the *Akathistos Hymn*; and the *Kratematarion*, which, mode by mode, sets out the *kratemata*, melodies in which meaningless syllables are used instead of text, such as *Terirem*, *Tenena*, *Tororon* and *Titii*, which are intended to 'sustain' (*krato*), i.e. to extend the length of the services and provide rest for the worshippers. In addition, from the fifteenth century onwards, we have the *Kalophonikon Sticherarion* or *Mathematarion* and the *Anthologion Mathematiou*; these codices chiefly contain *stichera idiomela*, *theotokia* and poems in a fifteen-syllable metre, set in an expansive melismatic style, interspersed with one long *kratema* or more. These compositions in the *Mathemataria*, constituting as they do pure music, clearly represent the apogee of Byzantine Chant.

As we are occupied here with the study of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine music manuscripts of Mount Athos, it is only right that we should investigate those cases which attest to the art of musical composition on Athos itself. Such an investigation is no easy matter, and an anthology of Athonite compositions will never be complete unless all the manuscripts of Byzantine music, not only the Athonite ones, are carefully studied. Nonetheless, the detailed catalogue compiled to date permits us to distinguish two groups of Athonite composition: those of unknown, and those of known authorship.

In the music codices, chiefly those of the post-Byzantine period, the following indications quite frequently occur: *hagioreitikon* ('as sung on the Holy Mountain'), *vatopedinon* ('as sung at Vatopedi'), *ivirikon* ('as sung at Iviron') *dionysiatikon* ('as sung at Dionysiou'), *os psalletai en te hagia kai megale Lavra* ('as sung at the Holy and Great Lavra'), or certain variations of these. These indications correspond to others found elsewhere, such as *hagiasophitikon* ('as sung at Hagia Sophia'), *politikon* ('as sung in Constantinople'), *thessalonikaion* ('as sung in Thessaloniki') and *latrenon* ('as sung at Latros'). Here it is interesting to note the following combinations of terms: *ekklesiastikon-hagioreitikon* ('in an ecclesiastical and Athonite style') and, less frequently, *hagioreitikon-synoptikon* ('in a concise and Athonite style'). The melodies marked by the above indications are always shorter and simpler, compared with other melodies, Athonite or others of a similar character and represent a particularly interesting phenomenon. The Athonite tradition of chant displays an exemplary care and concern for the character that music should take in Orthodox worship. These anonymous melodies relate to twelve different forms of musical composition.

The total number of Athonite musical compositions of known authorship cannot, of course, be listed here, nor even in a single volume. They constitute an output of liturgical vocal music of considerable size and importance. To illustrate this point, one need only mention that at least seventy Athonite melodists are known, 'both old and new', major and minor figures, either of great renown or of lesser fame and importance. From the Byzantine era proper a group of Athonite melodists clearly stands out: Ioannis Koukouzelis, the *Domestikos* Gregorios Glykys, Bartholomaïos, Dositheos and Anthimos from the Great Lavra; the hieromonk Longinos and



the *Domestikos* Ioasaph from Vatopedi; Kosmas 'of Mount Athos', unknown elsewhere, and Athanasios 'a monk of Athos'. This group is completed by the hieromonk Gregorios Bounis Alyatis, who stayed on Athos for a while. The other Athonite melodists mentioned in the manuscripts are all from the post-Byzantine era.

If we consider the individual aspects of Athonite musical composition, we may discern at least four important dimensions which demonstrate the magnitude of its contribution to Byzantine chant and have also had an enduring influence on Greece's musical heritage.

Great emphasis ought to be placed on the fact that Mount Athos preserves many manuscripts which contain the so-called *Protheoria tes Papadikes Technes* (Introduction to the Art of the *Papadike*) in a variety of forms, as well as the various known Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical treatises. Mention must be made of the treatise on 'the methods of positioning signs' by the Athonite writers, the *maistor* Ioannis Koukouzelis and Gregorios Bounis Alyatis. In the mid-eighteenth century the theory of chant and the question of musical notation were dealt with by another Athonite theorist, Theodoulos Ainitis.

Throughout the third 'transitional-exegetical' period of notation (1670-1814) quite a few Athonite masters of music concerned themselves with compiling a more detailed record of the creations of previous composers, i.e. with the task of expounding musical notation. After the establishment of the New Method of 'analytical notation' (19th c., 1st half), very important contributions to the exegetical process were made by four Athonite masters: Theophanis Pantokratorinos, Matthaïos Vatopedinos, Ioasaph Dionysiatis and Nikolaos Docheiaritis.

The field of Greek folk — i.e. non-ecclesiastical — music has benefited in particular from the Athonite music manuscripts since, thanks to the monks' love of music, they contain the only surviving examples of songs, scored with Byzantine notation. Iviron Cod. 1189 from the year 1562 contains the oldest song set to music. The well-known 13 songs in Cod. 1203 (ca. 1700), also from Iviron, and the 3 in Xeropotamou Cod. 262 (early 17th c.) provide a firm basis for the study of folk music. In addition, mention ought to be made of Vatopedi Cod. 1428, written in 1818 by Nikephoros Kantouniaris ('archimandrite of the throne of Antioch'), which is the fullest collection of songs of all types, principally urban ones.

Here it should be stressed that complete books have also come down to us from Athonite composers. Examples of such books are the *Heirmologion* of Ioasaph Vatopedinos 'the new Koukouzelis' (late 16th c.), the *Heirmologion* and the *Sticherarion* of Kosmas Iviritis the Macedonian (17th c., 2nd half), the *Prologarion* of Ioasaph Dionysiatis (19th c., 1st half), and the *Doxastarion ton apostichon* of Matthaïos Vatopedinos (19th c., 1st half).

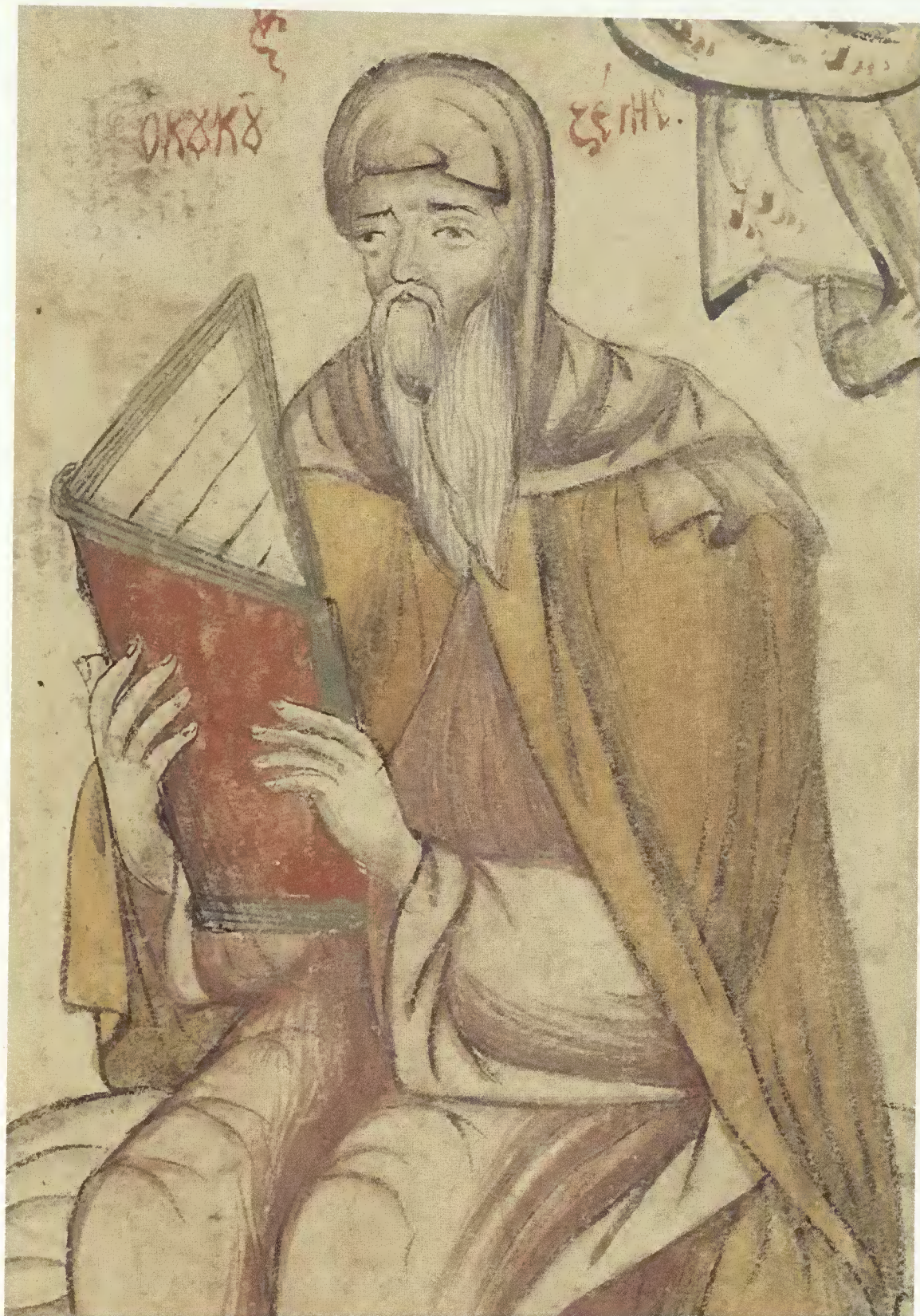
Codex 705 of Dionysiou Monastery, the *Prologarion* of Ioasaph Dionysiatis, provides us with the following characteristic entry on folio 23v: 'With God's help, the first part of the *prosomoia* and *apolytikia* for all the feasts of the year, those of Our Lord, the Mother of Our Lord and the saints. Originally set to music by Petros Lampadarios, here revised with improvements according to the style of the Holy Mountain of Athos by Ioasaph Dionysiatis, by popular demand'.

Let us dwell on that phrase 'here revised with improvements according to the style of the Holy Mountain of Athos' as a point of comparison, one which ought to be researched, analysed and discussed for the sake of Art and 'the common good'.

Gregorios Th. Stathis

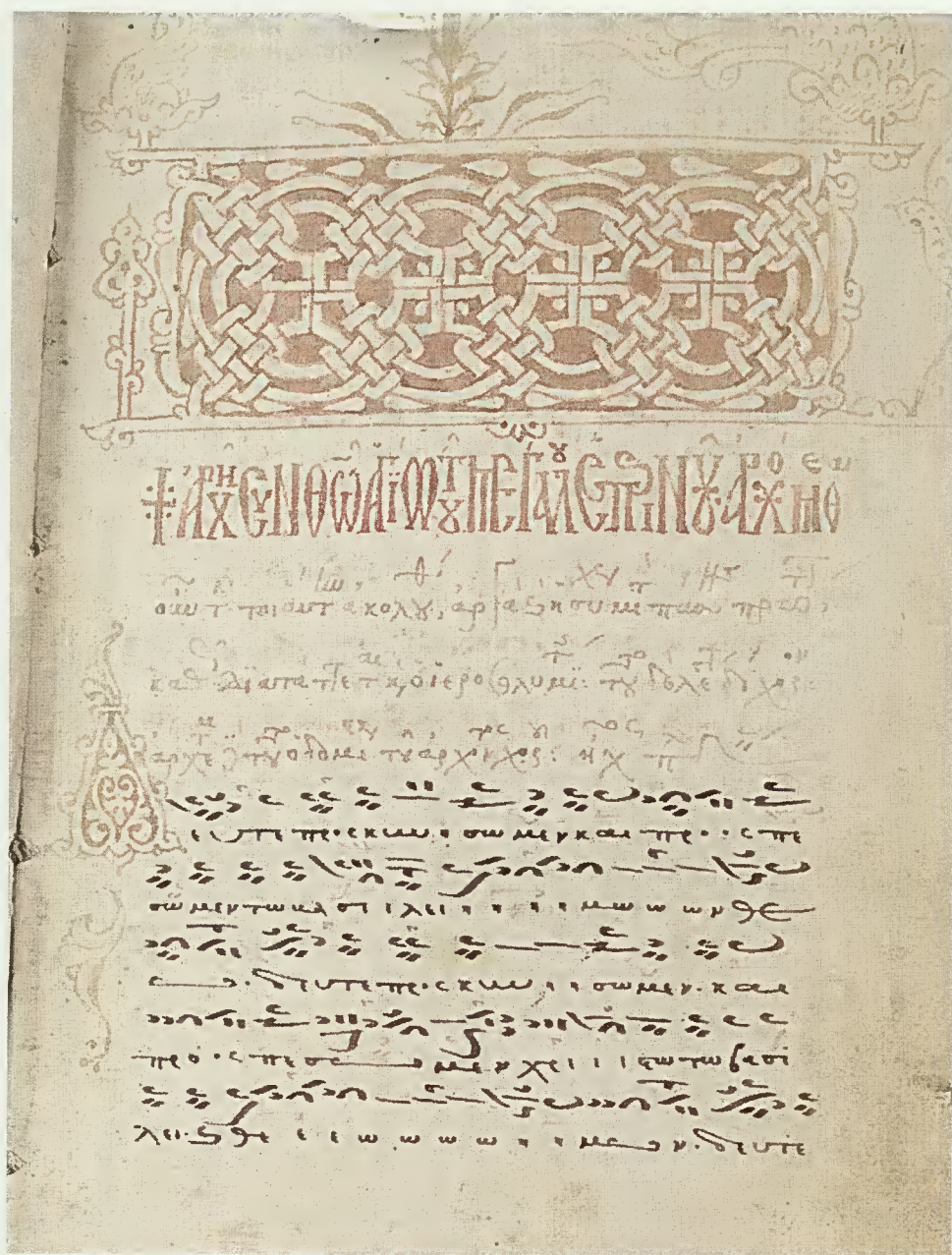
**Bibliography:** Lambros 1985. Velimirović 1962, pp. 351-85. Stathis 1975, 1976, 1979, 1993.





21.4 Maistor Ioannis Koukouzelis, detail.





### 21.1 Papadike

Pantokrator Cod. 214

Paper, 21.5 x 15 cm

Scribe: David Raidestinos

1433

Pantokrator' David Raidestinos in July 1433, as he mentions in the colophon at the end. The codex begins with the customary *Protheoria* and continues with the classic contents of the Byzantine *Papadike*. A clear, elegant and carefully executed script. Plain initials.

An outstanding fifteenth-century *Papadike*, written by the celebrated copyist and 'domestikos' in the venerable great royal monastery of Christ

**Bibliography:** Lambros 1895, p. 111.

G.Th.S.

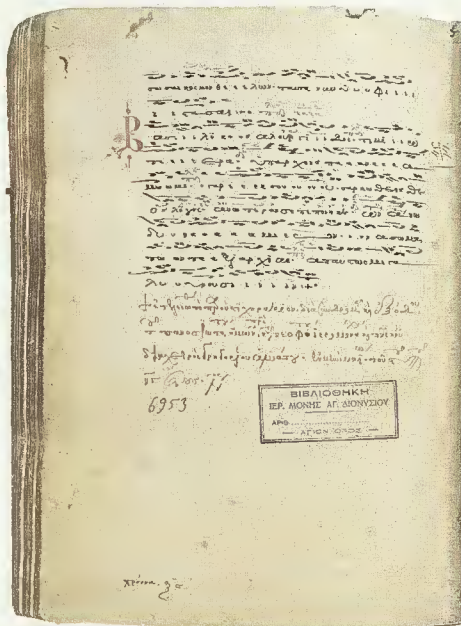


### 21.2 *Sticherarion*

Dionysiou Cod. 564

Paper, 28.3 x 19.8 cm, ff. 357

A magnificent and most elegant Byzantine *Sticherarion* from the year 1445, written by an



1445

were committed: folio 463 was counted as 444 again, and folio 569 was counted as 560. The total number of folios is  $674+30=704$ . Thus, this outstanding *Papadike* is the bulkiest of its kind. At the beginning there is the text of the customary *Protheoria* on the system of notation for the art of chant and the treatise *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting* by Manuel Chrysaphis ('*lampadarios* in the irreproachable royal clergy'). The codex contains a very rich and varied compilation, arranged in large sections, of the settings by Byzantine composers for daily and nightly offices of the Church, namely Vespers, the *Orthros* and the Divine Liturgy.

Folio 139r contains a 'verse composed by the *lampadarios* Manuel Chrysaphis by order of our late holy king and lord Constantine Palaeologos in the fourth plagal mode: '*Today I brought you forth*', which in the lower margin is described as 'very sweet-sounding, to my mind'. Folios 440r-443v contain the 'service sung on the Sunday before the Nativity of Christ, namely the Feast of [the Three youths in] the fiery furnace.'

**Bibliography:** Velimirović 1962, pp. 351-85; Stathis 1979, pp. 100-18.

G.Th.S.

important teacher of the art of chant and accomplished scribe, Gregorios Bounis Alyatis, as he himself testifies in the colophon (fol. 357v). It is well preserved. Binding of brown leather and wooden boards with stamped decoration. A very clear, elegant and carefully executed script. Red embellished headpieces and initial letters with occasional sketches of saints' heads.

**Catalogued by:** Stathis 1976, pp. 688-9.

G.Th.S.

### 21.3 *Papadike*

Ivion Cod. 1120

Paper, 18.2 x 12.2 cm, ff. 704

Scribe: Manuel Doukas Chrysaphis, *lampadarios*

1458



In the recent foliation of this work two errors



## 21.4 Papadike

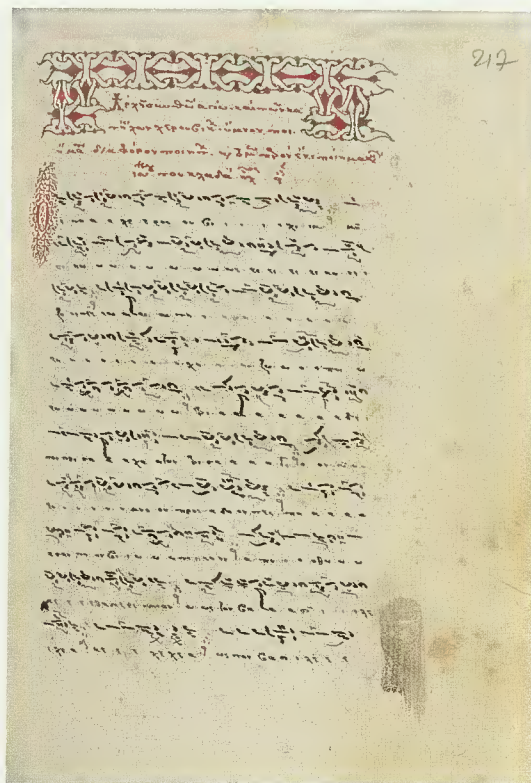
Iviron Cod. 1250

Paper, 20.5 x 15.5 cm, ff. 352

Scribe: Balasis, priest and *nomophylax*

ca. 1670

A very important *Papadike* for the history of the notation of Byzantine chant since, on folio 212r, it contains the autograph text of Balasis, priest and *nomophylax* of the Great Church, expounding the *Trisagion* memorial service in the second plagal mode. This text marks the point of division between the second and third periods in the evolution of Byzantine notation. The binding is of black leather with very sumptuous stamped decoration and representations of the Annunciation and Christ crucified on an X-shaped cross. It is in very good condition. By using a small script the scribe has been able to include almost all the musical output of the composers of the seventeenth century as well as a selection of compositions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On flyleaves Br-Iv there are pictures of John of Damascus and Ioannis Koukouzelis, together with what is very probably a self-portrait of the scribe Balasis himself.



Bibliography: Stathis 1979, pp. 53-4.

G.Th.S.





21.5 *Anthologia*

ca. 1670

Ivion Cod. 951

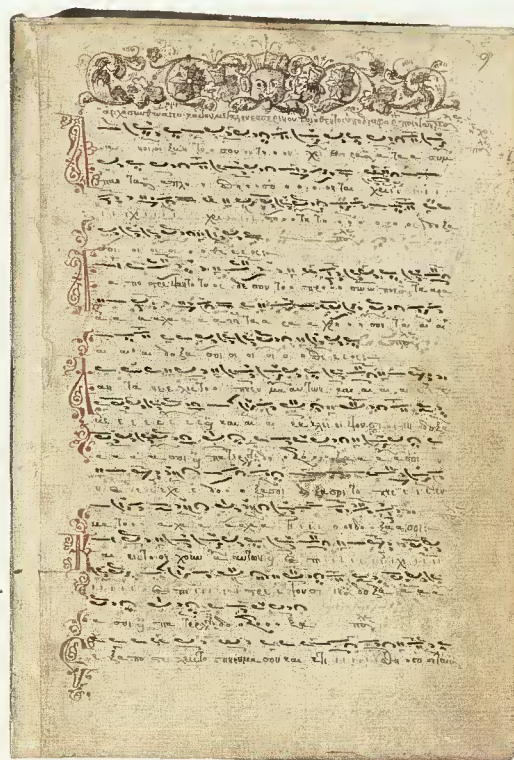
Paper, 27.2 x 18.5 cm, ff. 192

Scribe: Germanos, Bishop of Neae Patrae

The binding of dark brown leather, which bears a stamped representation of the Virgin, is slightly worn at the corners. At the beginning there is the customary *Protheoria*, together with the methods of chant of Gregorios Bounis Alyatis and the *maistor* Ioannis Koukouzelis. The *Anthologia* contains a choice selection of compositions by the principal Byzantine melodists as well as the contemporaries of Germanos, Bishop of Neae Patrae. Germanos' name appears in many of the entries (see principally fol. 48v), and he certainly includes his own compositions. The initials are elegantly decorated.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1993, pp. 642-53.

G.Th.S.











**21.6 Anastasimatarion - Anthologia** 1671  
Xenophontos Cod. 128

Paper, 18.5 x 13.6 cm, ff. 251

Scribe: Panagiotis Chrysaphis the Younger, *protopsaltis*

One of the most beautiful music manuscripts is this one by the *protopsaltis* of the Great Church Chrysaphis the Younger, written in 1671. It is the original *Anastasimatarion* of Chrysaphis the Younger, '...with new melodic embellishments and new mellifluous musical signs, as now sung by the chanters in Constantinople'. It is supplemented by an *Anthologia*, which includes all of Chrysaphis' compositions up to the time of writing. It is in excellent condition, with a very elegant binding of red leather with stamped representations. It contains seven beautiful polychrome miniatures.

The text is in a vivid black ink, with a vivid red for the common rubrics and the elegant embellished initials and headpieces, which have been enriched in some places with gold ink and in others with a greenish one.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1976, pp. 57-68.

G.Th.S.

**21.7 Papadike**

1686

Iviron Cod. 970

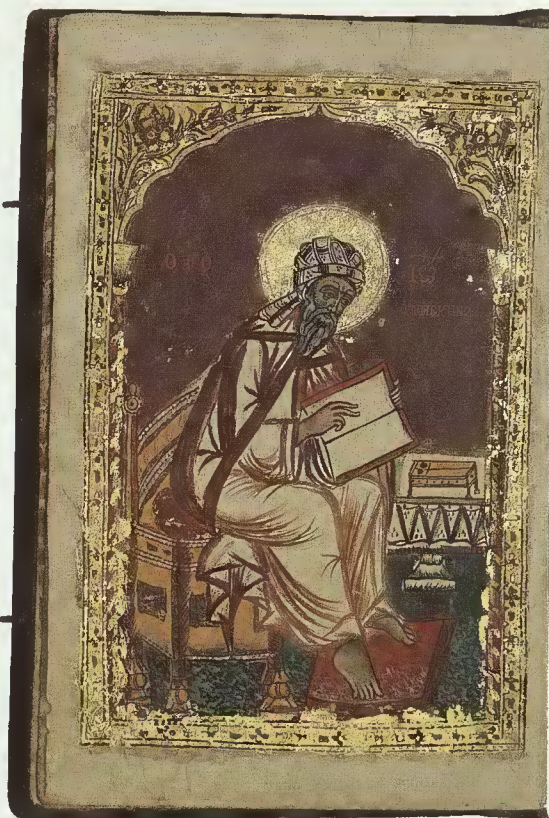
Paper, 22.5 x 14.6 cm, ff. 345 (+1)

Scribe: Kosmas Iviritis the Macedonian

A very elegant and important codex. Binding of black leather with rich stamped decoration and a representation of the Prophet-King David. It is in very good condition. It includes — and this is of great importance to the evolution of musical notation — the exposition of the *Trisagion* memorial service by Balasis, a priest and *nomophlyax* of the Great Church and 'fellow-student' of the scribe Kosmas, *domestikos* at the Iviron Monastery, for the teacher Germanos, Bishop of Neae Patrae. The codex is adorned with very elegant headpieces and ornate initials crafted in gold ink, as well as two miniatures, one of St John of Damascus (fol. 1r) and the other of the Virgin (fol. 236r).

Catalogued by: Stathis 1993, pp. 716-31.

G.Th.S





**21.8 Papadike**

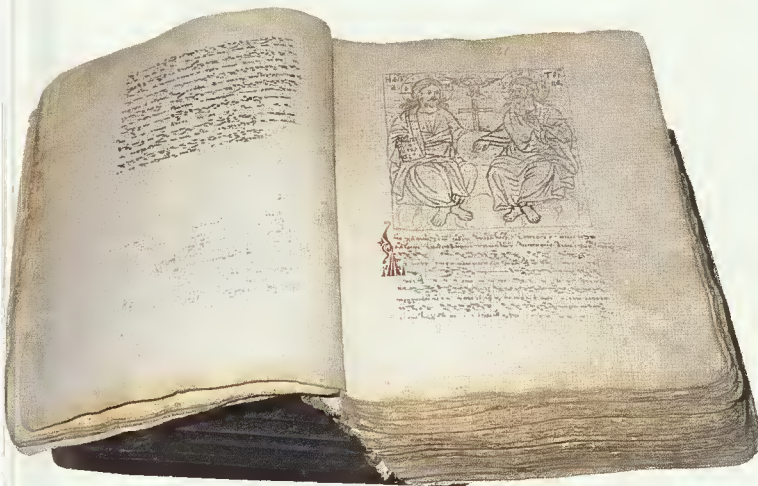
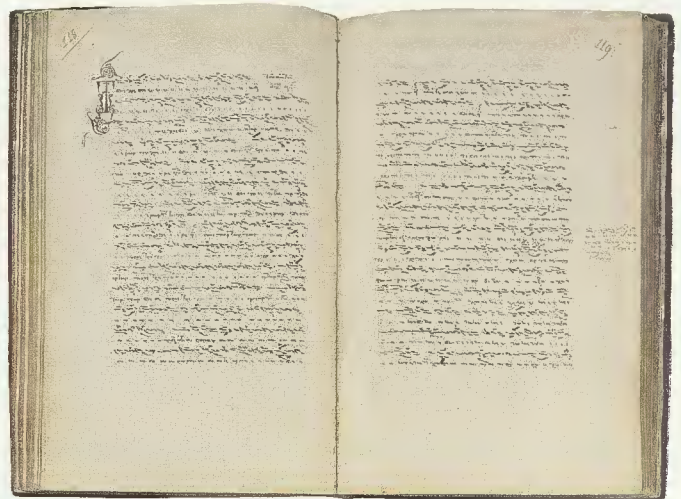
1744

Gregoriou Cod. 4

Paper, 22 x 17 cm, ff. 781

Scribe: Michael of Chios, priest

An outstanding and very bulky *Papadike*, written by the priest Michael of Chios in 1744. It contains a codified version of the output of both Byzantine and late-Byzantine composers. Of interest to musicological research are the embellishments of the melodies, the abbreviations



the Metropolis of Smyrna, in 1758. It contains the Akathistos Hymn, with a setting by the *lampadarios* Ioannis Kladas, together with the Byzantine *Kratematarion*. At the end lies a copy of the Sung Office of Vespers (pp. 363-72), which is extremely interesting because this office of the Secular Byzantine Rite occurs very rarely. The codex is elegant, with lines of equal length and wide margins. A small, clear script, with both text and notation inscribed with the same pen. Beautiful embellished initials in crimson ink.

and explanations, as well as the customary *Protheoria*. Makeshift binding. Carefully executed script. At the beginning and end of each section there are multicoloured ornaments, and coloured sketches executed in a popular style on folios 450v, 452r, 521v and 584r.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1993, pp. 140-5.

G.Th.S.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1976, pp. 590-4.

G.Th.S.

**21.9 Akathistos Hymn and Kratematarion**

1758

St Paul's Cod. 146

Paper, 31.3 x 20 cm, pp. 372

Scribe: Theodosios of Chios

A fine, well-preserved codex, written by Theodosios of Chios, deacon and *protopsaltis* at

**21.10 Anthologia**

1760

Docheiariou Cod. 332

Paper, 21.5 x 16.5 cm, ff. 580

Scribe: Païsios, hieromonk

A singularly beautiful and important 'book of mellifluous chants' executed by the hieromonk Païsios, a well-known and interesting copyist, in 1760 and 1764. Binding of light-brown leather and wooden boards with stamped decoration and representations of the Crucifixion and a saintly virgin bearing branches. At the beginning there is the customary *Protheoria*. In terms of overall





21.10

content, this is a standard *Papadike* of the eighteenth century. On folio 18v there is a beautiful multicoloured painting in a popular yet interesting style of St John of Damascus, executed in 1764. A very clear, fine and carefully executed script; the notation, *hypostasis* and text have all been inscribed with the same pen.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1975, pp. 382-90.

G.Th.S.

Panagiotis Chalatzoglou, between 1767 and 1770 (see fols. 403v and 734v). Binding of light-crimson leather and wooden boards with gold stamped decoration. Very clear script. Elegant headings and lovely plain initials.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1975, pp. 106-17.

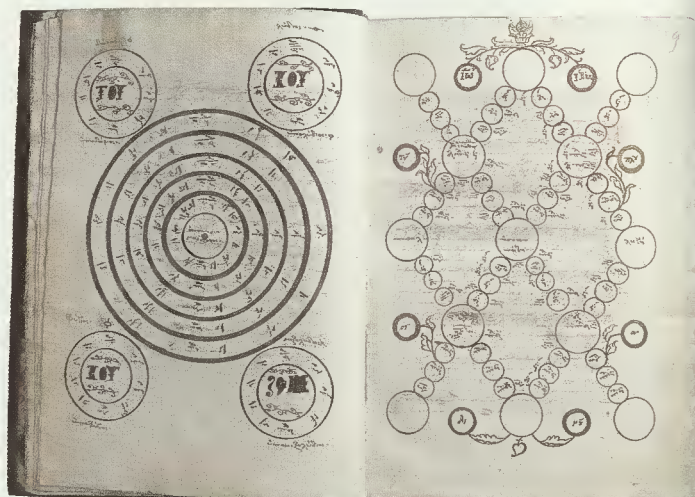
G.Th.S.

### 21.11 *Papadike* Xeropotamou Cod. 307

1767

Paper, 24 x 17 cm, ff. 744  
Scribe: Anastasios Vaïas

A magnificent, monumental codex, this late Byzantine *Papadike* combines the traditional settings of almost all the best-known Byzantine composers with those of the major late-Byzantine composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It consists of 744 leaves of good quality paper and is in perfect condition. It was written by Anastasios Vaïas, a student of the *protopsaltis*





21.12 *Anthologia*

1781

Xeropotamou Cod. 330

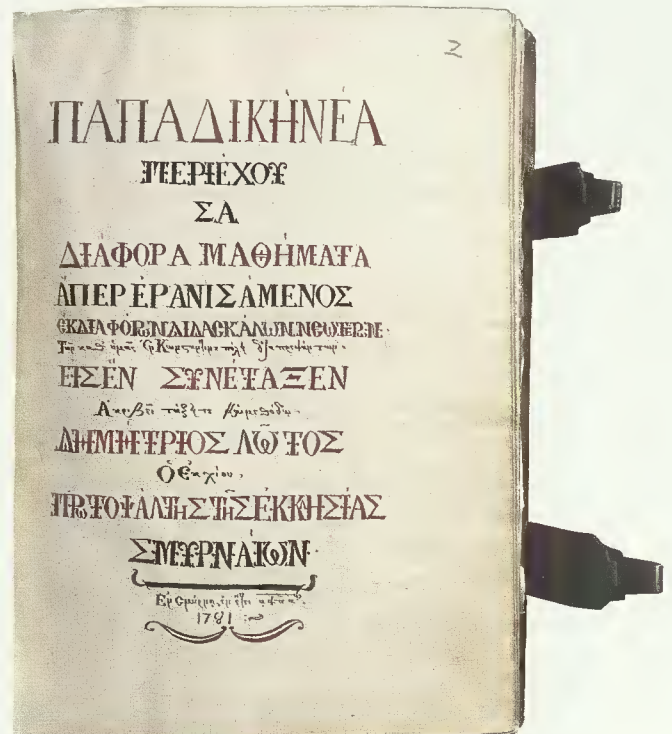
Paper, 20.5 x 14.5 cm, ff. 442

Scribe: Demetrios Lotos

This codex, written in 1781, is one of the 15 very beautiful and important codices known to have been produced by the Smyrniot *protopsaltis* and friend of Adamantios Korais, Demetrios Lotos from the island of Chios. It is of elaborate design in both its composition and page decoration, and is in pristine condition. Beautiful binding of crimson leather on wooden boards with stamped decoration. A very clear, elegant and carefully executed script. Very beautiful initials and elegant headings. Numerous ornaments, particularly linear ones in black ink. The codex is also valuable for the numerous explanations it provides of the musical notation.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1975, pp. 189-206.

G.Th.S.

21.13 *Papadike*

1789

Xeropotamou Cod. 309

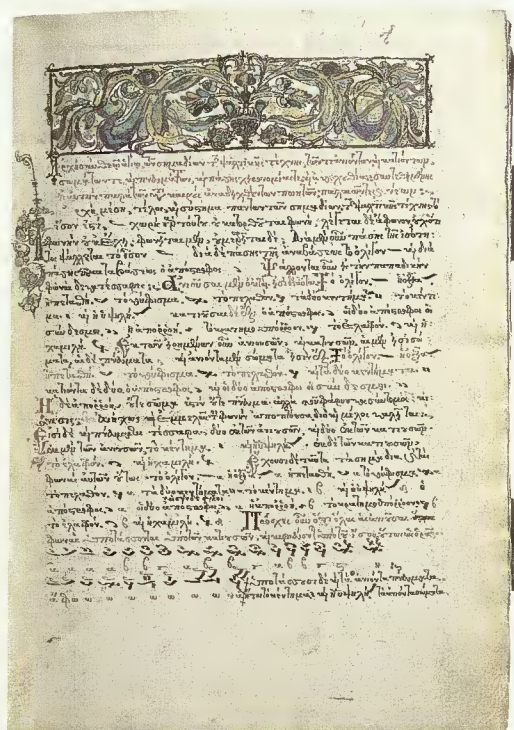
Paper, 27 x 19 cm, ff. 517

Scribe: Damaskinos Agraphorendiniotis

An outstanding and very bulky *Papadike*. Binding of black leather on wooden boards with stamped decoration and a representation of the Prophet-King David. It comprises a fixed, codified version of the *Papadike* of the second half of the eighteenth century. A singularly elegant, very clear and carefully executed script in black ink, with a light, almost brick-red ink for the rubrics and the beautiful embellished initials. Numerous ornaments at the beginning of each section in predominantly light blue, yellow and light green water-colours. The *Complete Works* of Petros Bereketis lie in a separate section at the end (fols. 405r-516v).

Catalogued by: Stathis 1975, pp. 119-20.

G.Th.S.







**21.14 Doxastarion**  
**of Iakovos Protopsaltis**  
**St Panteleimon Cod. 1013**

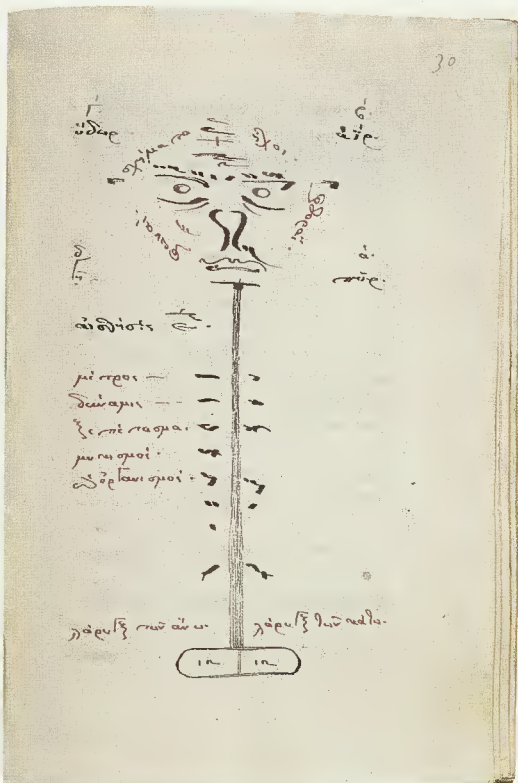
1805

Paper, 17.7 x 11 cm, ff. 258  
 Scribe: Apostolos Konsta of Chios

A most elegant copy of the *Doxastarion* of Iakovos Protopsaltis, written by the amazing copyist Apostolos Konsta of Chios 'in nine days' in 1805. A very clear and elegant script in black and crimson ink. Very beautiful initials in gold ink and a few fine embellishments and ornaments in gold too.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1976, pp. 437-40.

G.Th.S.



**21.15 Theoretikon**  
**Koutloumousiou Cod. 450**

1809

Paper, 16.8 x 11.2 cm, ff. 96  
 Scribe: Apostolos Konsta of Chios

One of the seven copies of the *Theoretikon* of Apostolos Konsta of Chios, which he himself entitled *Musical Art and Science*. It is in almost perfect condition, except for the binding, which is very worn. A stylish and elegant "edition" of the *Theoretikon* in black ink and a delicate pink. It includes the relevant diagrams of the theory.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1993, p. 335.

G.Th.S.

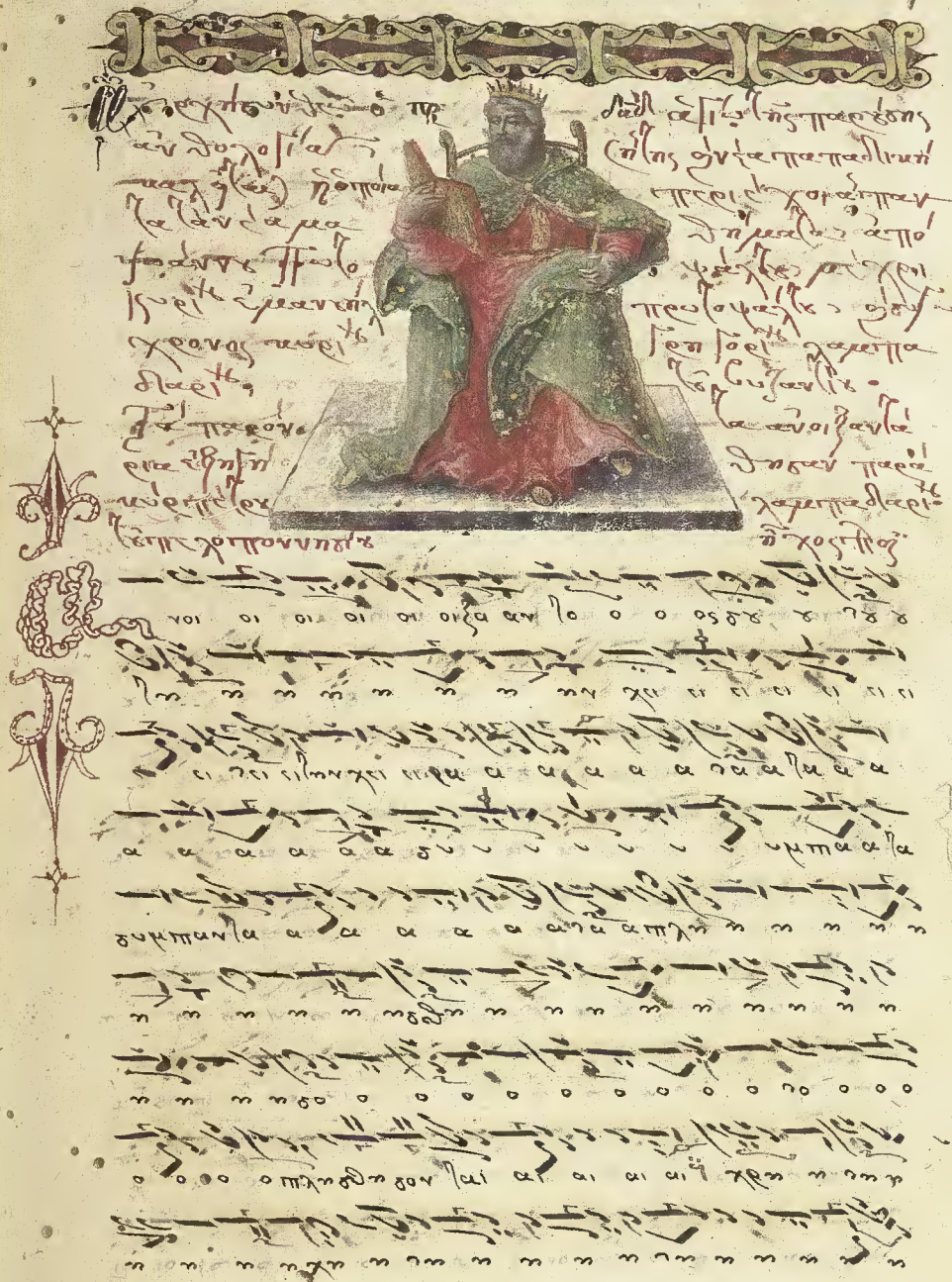
**21.16 Anthologia**  
**St Panteleimon Cod. 906**

1816

Paper, 20.5 x 14.5 cm, ff. 368  
 Scribe: Gregorios, *lampadarios-protopsaltis*

An important codex, since it is by the hand of Gregorios, a *lampadarios* of the Great Church and one of the teachers and expositors of the New Method, and was commenced in the year immediately preceding the Constantinopolitan reform of 1814. The form of notation used is of an expository type. The codex includes the expositions of Petros Peloponnesios and Petros Byzantios, with a clear, accurate rendering of the compositions. Gregorios was a student of Petros Byzantios. The codex is moth-eaten,







though the written surface has not been damaged. Folios 138-364 were inscribed by Gregorios' student, the deacon Theokletos Peloponnesios, in a hand which is an amazing imitation of Gregorios' own. On folio 10r there is a beautiful colour miniature of the Prophet-King David.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1976, pp. 188-96.

G.Th.S.

## 21.17 *Doxastarion*

1827

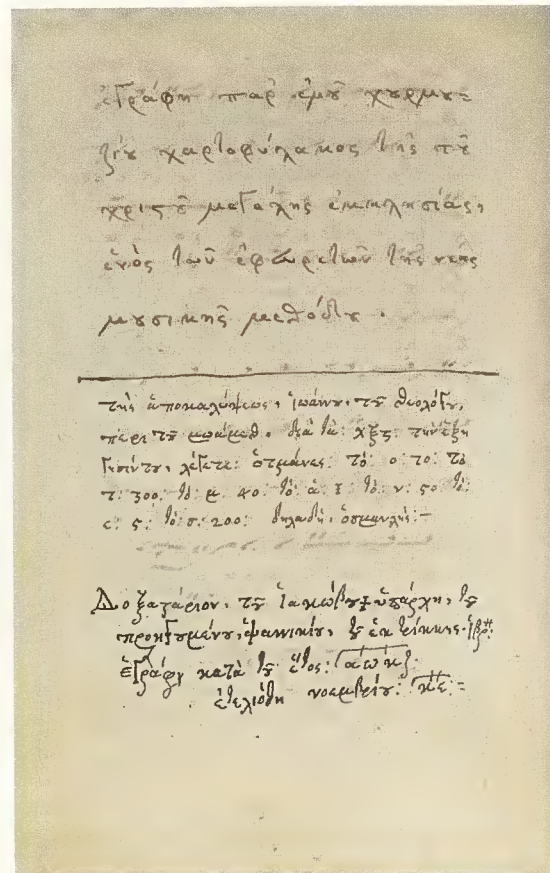
of Iakovos Protopsaltis

Ivion Cod. 447 (undocumented)

Paper, 17.2 x 12.5 cm, ff. 381

Scribe: Chourmouzos Chartophylakas

This codex — the *Doxastarion* of Iakovos Protopsaltis (d.1800) — is, in terms of its basic contents, a copy of the prototype. As a separate codex in its own right, however, it is the work of Chourmouzos Chartophylakas, the tireless expositor and teacher of the New Method of analytical notation, which resulted from the revision made to the system of notation in Constantinople in 1814. It is, therefore, one of the original manuscripts containing an exposition of the 1814 reform, the only one of its





kind on Mount Athos, and appears to have been commissioned by 'the Prior of Iviron Ioannikios of Trikke', who testifies on folio 349v that it 'was written in the year 1827, and finished on November 25th'. The codex is in very good condition. The colophon on folio 349v is in red ink.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

G.Th.S.

### 21.18 Selection

1826

from a *Sticherarion*

Koutloumousiou Cod. 439

Paper, 16.8 x 11.5 cm, ff. 458

Scribe: Theophanis Pantokratorinos, hieromonk

A codex by the prolific and very interesting scribe, teacher and expositor Theophanis Pantokratorinos. It contains an exposition by Theophanis in analytical notation of a selection from the *Sticherarion* of Germanos of Neae Patrae. A clear, upright, carefully executed and singularly elegant script, with remarkable coloured initials and ornaments.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1993, pp. 279-99.

G.Th.S.

### 21.19 Anthologion *Sticherariou*

mid-9th c.

Dionysiou Cod. 693

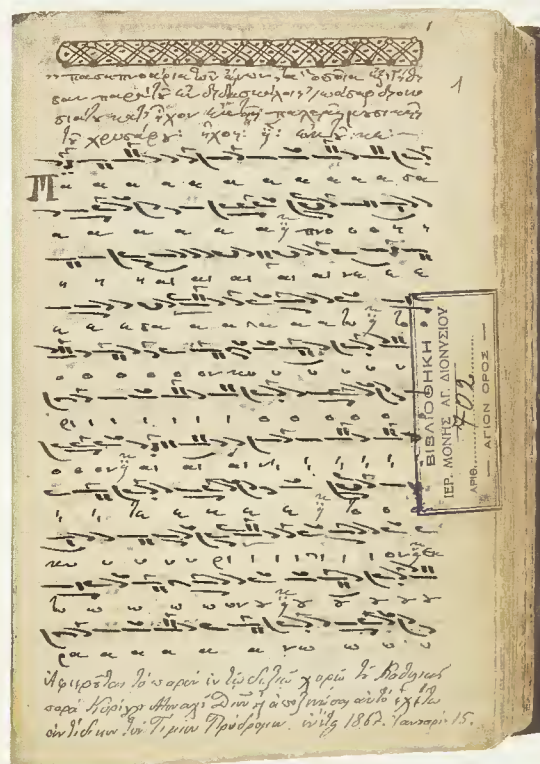
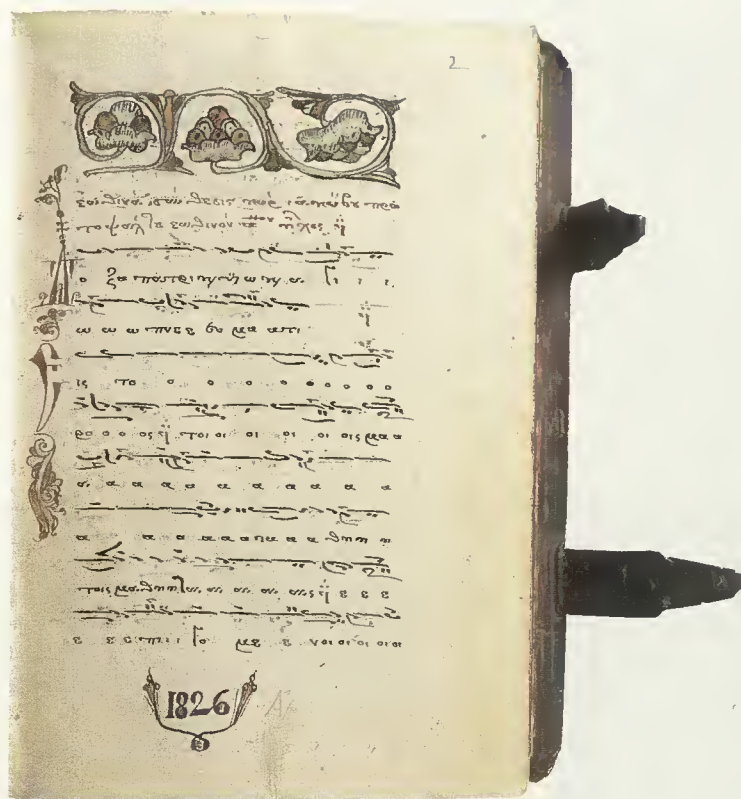
Paper, 21 x 14.3 cm, ff. 252

Scribe: Ioasaph Dionysiatis, hieromonk

A well preserved codex with a simple binding of deep brown leather and cardboard. A clear script, executed with moderate care, characteristic of the prolific manuscript output of the 'teacher' and hieromonk Ioasaph Dionysiatis, consisting of 12 or, at the most, 13 pairs of lines in black ink, with all the rubrics in crimson. The importance of this codex lies in the fact that it contains expositions by Ioasaph of the *stichera idiomela* of the great seventeenth-century composers, Chrysaphis the Younger and Germanos, Bishop of Neae Patrae, as well as compositions of his own, set either in the same style as the earlier ones or in a more 'concise' form.

Catalogued by: Stathis 1976, pp. 774-8.

G.Th.S.

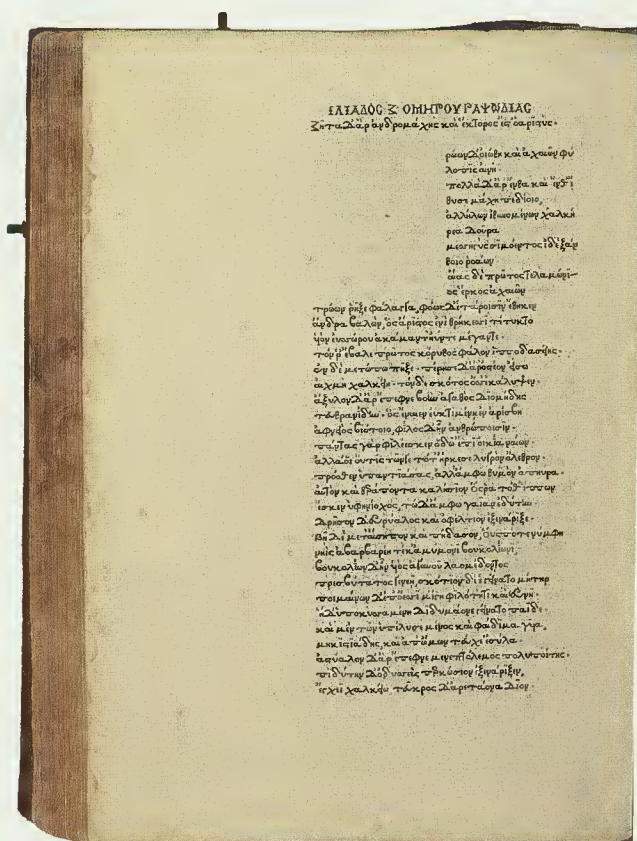




## 22 INCUNABULA

### 22.1 Homer, Complete Works Florence Iviron Monastery, Library

1488



[The extant works of Homer] [at the end of the second volume]:

“The complete poetry of Homer finished by the grace of God in Florence, commissioned by the noble and virtuous benefactors of Greek letters Bernard and Neri Tanaidos of the Florentine Nerili family, printed with care and skill for the learned by Demetrios Mediolaneos the Cretan,

and dedicated to Hellenic letters, 9 December 1488.”

Two folio volumes.

A monumental first edition of Homer by Greeks. The first volume includes: 1) Herodotus of Halicarnassus, *Birth and Life of Homer*. 2) Plutarch, *Life of Homer*. 3) Dio Chrysostom, Book 53, *On Homer*. 4) *The Iliad*. The second volume includes: 1) *The Odyssey*. 2) *The Battle of the Frog and Mouse*. 3) Hymns.

The work was edited by the Athenian humanist Demetrios Chalkokondylis (1423-1511), and printed using an improved version of the type created by the Cretan Demetrios Damilas, and used in what is believed to be the first printed Greek book, the *Grammar* of Constantinos Laskaris (Milan 1476).

On Mount Athos copies also exist in the Monasteries of Great Lavra and Vatopedi.

**Bibliography:** Legrand 1885-1903, I, no. 5.

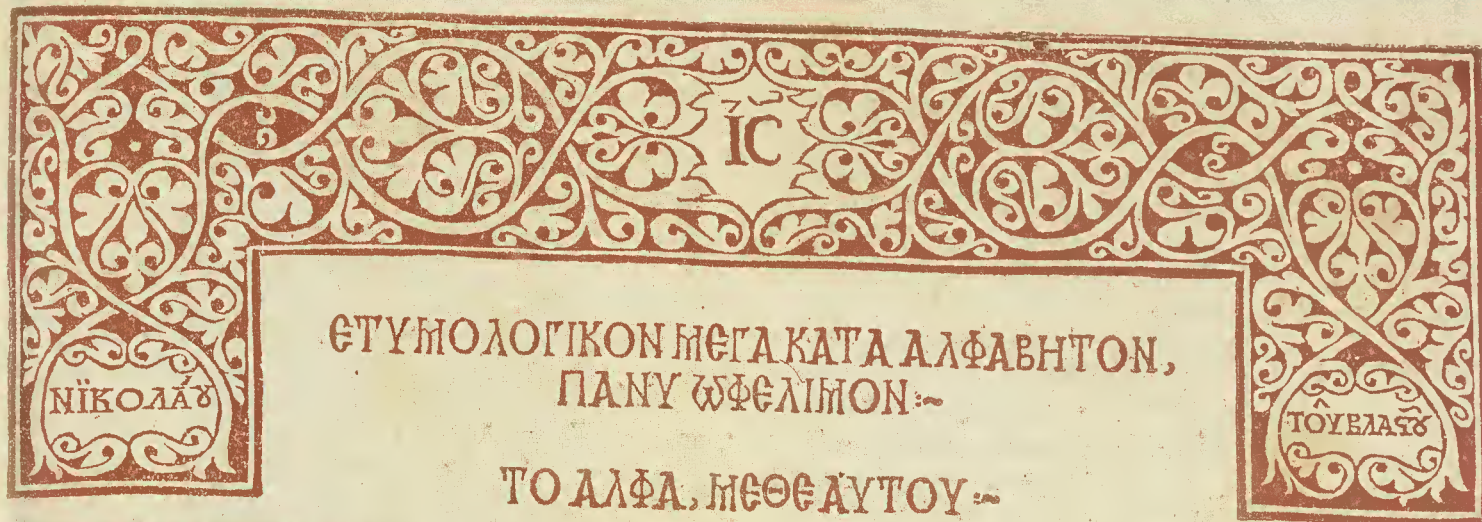
Th.I.P.

### 22.2 *Etymologicum Magnum* 1499 Venice, Nicholas Vlastos - Zacharias Kalliergis Docheiariou Monastery, Library

“Great Etymological Dictionary  
Most beneficial.”

[on the last folio but one]: “The great etymological dictionary completed by the grace of God in Venice; commissioned by the noble and excellent Nicholas Vlastos the Cretan; at the urging of the most radiant and wise Lady Anne, daughter of the most venerable and glorious Lord Loukas Notaras, once Grand Duke of Constantinople; printed with care and



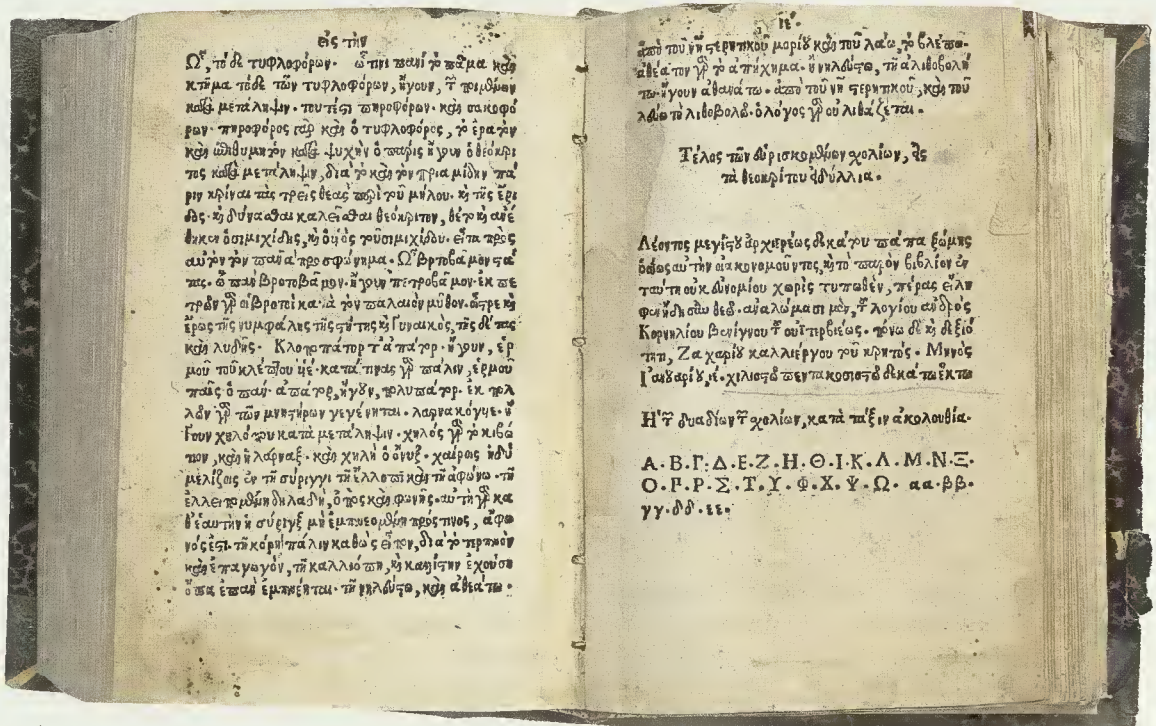
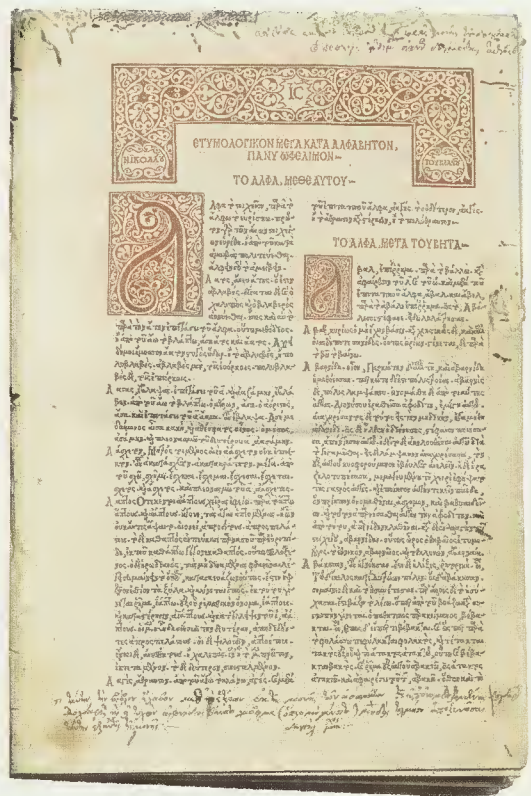


τοῦ ἐπιτάτιν τοῦ ἁλφα, ἁλ' ης. τοῦ δ' ἑτερον, ἁλ' ες.  
ἢ τ' ἁθρῶσιν, ἢ τ' ἐρηθῶσιν, ἢ τ' πολὺθρῶσιν: ~

 Athos Library  
Αγιορειτική Βιβλιοθήκη



Th.I.P.





22.3 Theocritus, *Idylls*  
Rome, Zacharias Kalliergis  
Dionysiou Monastery, Library

1516

January 1516.'

fol. [88] + fol. [116]. — This is the first edition of Theocritus' *Idylls* and the first book printed in Greek in Rome.

There are no other copies of this very rare edition on Mount Athos.

**Bibliography:** Legrand 1885-1903, I, no. 49.

Th.I.P.

In this book are thirty six idylls by Theocritus, and nineteen of his epigrams. Commentaries on these, collected from various copies.

[in the second part]:

'Commentaries on Theocritus' *Idylls* found in various copies, diligently gathered together by Zacharias Kalliergis the Cretan.'

[on the recto of the last folio]:

'During the time of the Great High Priest Leo X, Pope of Rome, which he rules with holiness, this book was also printed [in Rome] not without a permit, was completed by God's grace, commissioned by the learned Cornelius Begnigno of Viterbo, printed with care and skill by Zacharias Kalliergis the Cretan. 15

## 22.4 Divine Liturgies

1526

Rome, Demetrios Doukas  
Xeropotamou Monastery, Library

The Divine Liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil the Great, and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Archbishop Germanos of





Constantinople, *Church History and Mystical Theory*.

fol. [74] + p. [1]. — A fine two-colour edition, with red headpieces and initial letters taken from the books published by Zacharias Kalliergis the Cretan. The publisher, Demetrios Doukas the Cretan, had published books in Venice (1508-1509), Spain (Alcala 1514) and Rome (1526-1527).

This is the first edition containing all three Liturgies, which by 1800 had been published sixty times. The three Liturgies were also published together with the title *Leitourgikon* (from 1683; four editions before 1800). The Liturgies were also printed singly.

Up to 1800 we know of thirteen editions of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, three of the Liturgy of St Basil the Great, and one each of the Liturgies of the Presanctified Gifts and of St James.

Copies of this book are also to be found on Mount Athos at the monasteries of Vatopedi (without title page), Esphigmenou and the Great Lavra (mutilated).

**Bibliography:** Legrand 1885-1903, I, no. 76.

Th.I.P.

## 22.5 Pentekostarion

Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti

Dionysiou Monastery, Library

1567

*Pentekostarion* [printer's mark: C.Z.]:

This divine and holy book was printed in Venice at the printing shop of Cristoforo Zanetti. It was recently corrected with great care, and printed in 1567. α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω Α Β Γ Δ All in quartos.

20 cm — fol. [220]. — A single-column text with red and black letters. On page two is a full-page woodcut of the Crucifixion.

The *Pentekostarion* is a service book containing the special services for the saints commemorated during the first fifty days after Easter or before All Saints Sunday. Later the matins lections for all the Sundays of the year were added. The *Pentekostarion* has been published many times since the first edition, in Venice in 1525. So far 45 editions have been found for the period up to 1800. The present copy is the only one on Mount Athos.

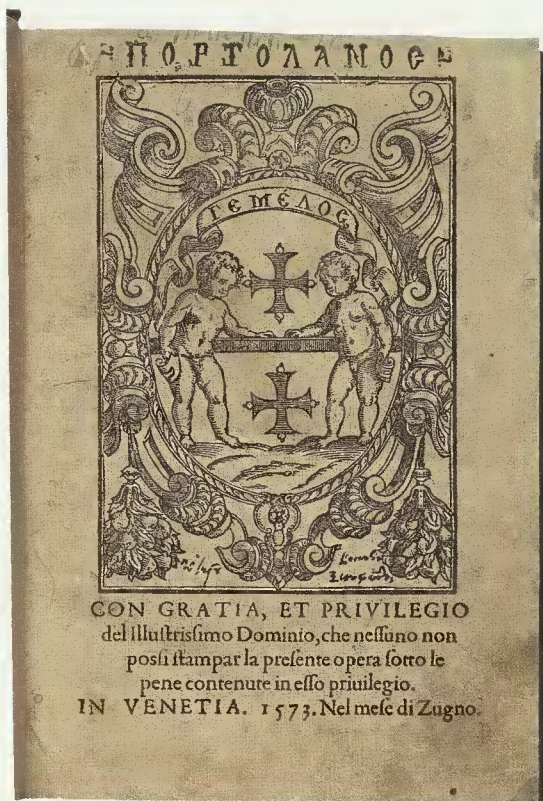
**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 232.

Th.I.P.



22.5





22.6 Portolano 1573  
Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti  
Xenophontos Monastery, Library (no. 2914)

Portolanos 'Con Gratia, et Privilegio del distintissimo Dominio, che nessuno non possi stampar la presente opera sotto le pene contenute in esso privilegio. In Venetia. 1573. Nel mese di Zugno.'

fol. [180]. — The earliest (demotic) Greek edition of a Portolano, a navigational guide for sailors. Seven other Greek Portolano editions have been found for the period up to 1800. In this edition the printer's name is not mentioned, but it is known to be the Venetian Cristoforo Zanetti (1519/1520-1582).

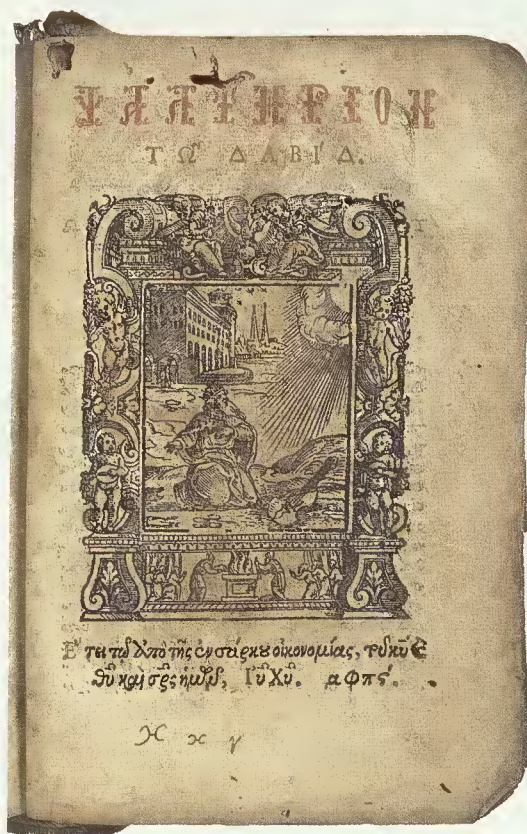
On the title page, in a decorative frame, is written the name ΓΕΜΕΛΟΣ instead of ΓΕΜΕΛΛΟΣ, above twin babes and two crosses, one below the other. This is the name of the publisher Agostino Gemelli (*gemelli* being Italian for twins), who had married Dianora, daughter of Andreas Kounadis from Patras, a printer in Venice who died in 1523. Agostino's brother Niccolo, also a printer (hence Gemelli = Twins), had married Elisabeth, another daughter of Andreas Kounadis.

The compiler was Demetrios Tagias, from Parga in Epirus, who in his prologue writes that for this work he used a manuscript that came into his hands in 1559.

This is the only copy on Mount Athos of this rare edition.

**Bibliography:** Legrand 1885-1903, II, no. 152.

Th.I.P.



22.7 Psalter 1586  
Venice  
Skete of St Anne, Kyriakon, Library

The Psalms of David. 1586.

17.5 cm — fol. [126]. — Two-colour printing. From the verso of the title folio to the recto of the next folio: 'To the Most Reverend Archbishop of Philadelphia and Patriarchal Exarch Gabriel



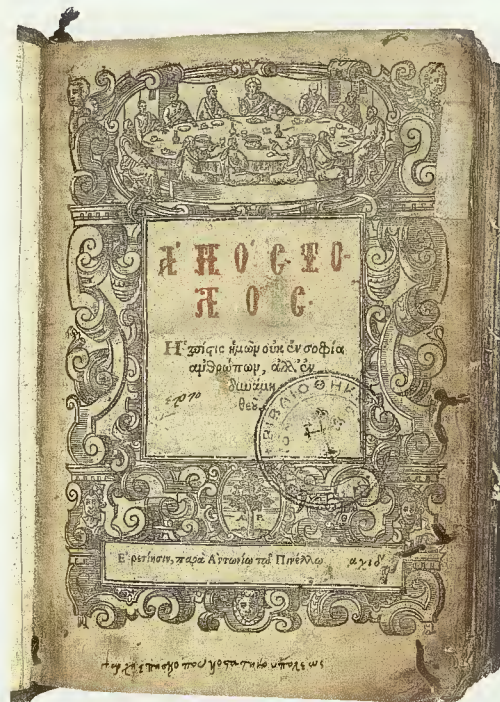
Severus. Manuel Glyzounios salutes in the name of the Lord. Venice, 1586.'

It is certain that for this psalter Emmanuel Glyzounios of Chios (ca.1540-96) had the help of the wise Cretan Maximos Margounios (ca.1549-1602), Bishop of Kythera, even though the latter's name is nowhere mentioned in the book.

The Psalter is the earliest printed service book (Milan 1481, Greek-Latin edition, obviously not for use by Greeks) and was later repeatedly reprinted, since it was used not only in churches but also as a school book. So far 115 editions have been found for the period up to 1800. Of the present edition only two copies have been discovered, the other being in the Great Lavra.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 278.

Th.I.P.



## 22.8 *Apostolos*

1614

Venice, Antonio Pinelli

Skete of St Anne, Kyriakon, Library

*Apostolos*. 'Let our faith be not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.' [Printed in] Venice by Antonio Pinelli 1614.

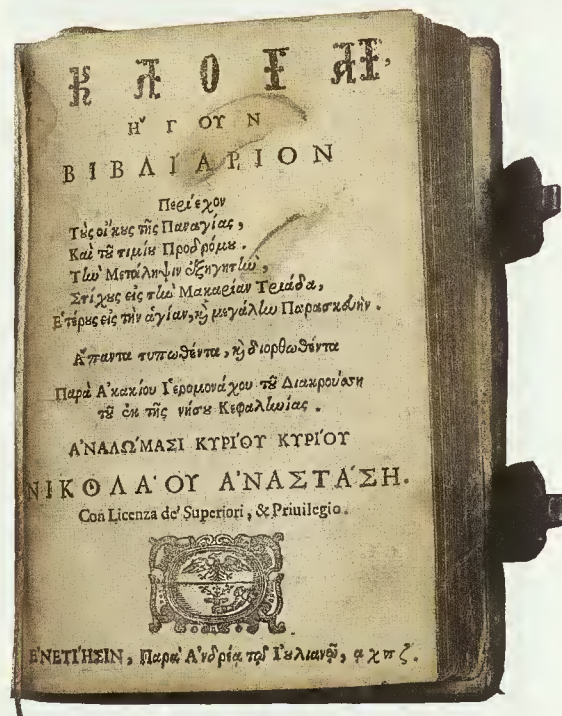
19 cm — fol. [159]. — Single-column text, with black and red letters. Printer's mark at the end.

The *Apostolos*, a service book containing selections from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, went through many reprints, as it was used in schools. To date 91 editions have been identified for the period up to 1800, the earliest printed in Venice by Demetrios of Zeno in 1525.

Only two copies of this edition have been found, the other being in the Dionysiou Monastery.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 495.

Th.I.P.



22.9

## 22.9 Akakios Diakrousis, Selections 1687

Venice, Andrea Giuliani

Docheiariou Monastery

Library (no. 716, signature 3)

'Selections, that is a booklet containing prayers to the Virgin and John the Baptist. The meaning of Holy Communion. Verses to the Blessed



Trinity, Others for Good Friday. All printed and proofread by the hieromonk Akakios Diakroussis from the island of Kephallonia. Commissioned by the gentleman Nicholas Anastasis. *Con Licenza de Superiori, & Priuilegio*. Venice, printed by Andrea Giuliani, 1687.

14.5 cm — fol. [4] + 68. — On pages 2-6, lines by Akakios Diakroussis to the sponsor of the publication, the Venetian merchant Nicholas Anastasis from Monemvasia, reprinted from an earlier (1665) edition of this work by the same printer (see Papadopoulos 1986, no. 421). On p. 7: *Edifying lines to him... & Others...* Copperplate engravings of the Annunciation (page 8), the Holy Trinity (page 45) and the Crucifixion (page 55).

This is the only extant copy of this edition.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 1078.

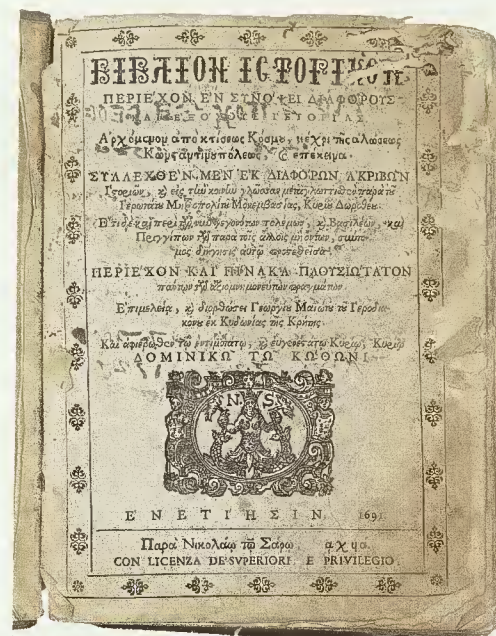
Th.I.P.

**22.10 Pseudo-Dorotheos, Chronicler 1691**  
**Venice, N. Saros**  
**Pantokrator Monastery, Library (no. 433)**

'A history book containing brief accounts of various important events. From the Creation to the Fall of Constantinople and beyond. A collection of true Histories written in simple language by the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Monemvasia. Dorotheos. Also included are short descriptions of current events, wars, kings and princes not mentioned in the others. In addition a table with a wealth of information concerning memorable events. Edited and corrected by Georgios Maïotos, deacon from Kydonia in Crete. Dedicated to the noble gentleman Dominikos Kothonas. Venice. 1691. Printed by Nikolaos Saros. *Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio*.'

20.5 cm — fol. [23] + pp. 560 + [1]. — On pages 3-4: 'From Nikolaos Saros to the most honourable and noble gentleman Dominikos Kothonas.' On pages 5-8: 'From Apostolos Tzigaras to all the pious Orthodox.' At the end is a printer's mark.

Chronicles were popular stories rather than



historical works. New editions were brought up to date with additional information and recent historical events. The Chronicle of Dorotheos (whom historical research has doubted as the author of the work) is said to have been written at the urging of Zotos 'called Tzigaras' (who hailed from Ioannina), brother-in-law of the prince of Moldavia. The work was reprinted, with new additions, almost up to the 1821 Uprising. There is evidence of about 25 editions, although copies have not been found for some of them. This edition was almost forgotten (see the journal *O Mnemon*, issue no.8, 1980-1, pp. 343-5), and this is the first complete copy to be found.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 481<sup>a</sup>.

Th.I.P.

**22.11 Athanasios Varouchas 1711**  
**Uplifting Addresses**  
**Venice, N. Saros**  
**Iviron Monastery, Library (two copies)**

'Uplifting Addresses on the Redeeming Passion and the Glorious Anastasis of our Lord Jesus Christ. Composed by the hieromonk Athanasios





22.11

Varouchas of Crete, for the benefit and salvation of the faithful. Now published for the first time, edited by the priest Ioannis Avramiou, with all diligence. Venice 1711. At [the press of] Nikolaos Saros, 1711. *Con Licenzia de' Superiori*.

15.5 cm. — pp. 218. On p. (8) is a woodcut of the Crucifixion, and on pp. 3-7 the dedication: 'To all Christian Priests, Laymen and Monks, repentance, health and every good and beneficial thing ... the unworthy hieromonk Athanasios Varouchas of Crete.'

The *Uplifting Addresses* of Athanasios Varouchas were amongst the most popular moralising readings of the eighteenth century (14 re-issues have been discovered). Until a few years ago no copy had been found of this 1711 publication, which was the first edition of the work. It was documented from a copy in an Italian library (*Casanatense* Library in Rome).

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1977, pp. 163-5.

Th.I.P.

## 22.12 Neophytos of Kausokalyvia 1759 Selections from the Psalter Mount Athos Vatopedi Monastery, Library

'Selections from the entire Psalter, for praise and prayer, chosen by the learned teacher Neophytos, a Jewish [convert to Christianity]. Dedicated to our blessed Father Athanasios the Athonite. This being the first printed edition of this work, commissioned by the Most Reverend Archimandrite of the Great Lavra, Kosmas of Epidauros.

Mount Athos, 1759 By Soteris Doukas of Thasos.'

fol. [4] + p. 53. — Woodcut on the title page: two lions rampant holding a crown between their forepaws. Below an eagle with spread wings, and an escutcheon with a shining beacon. In the four corners of the woodcut the initials: ΔΚΣΤ (=



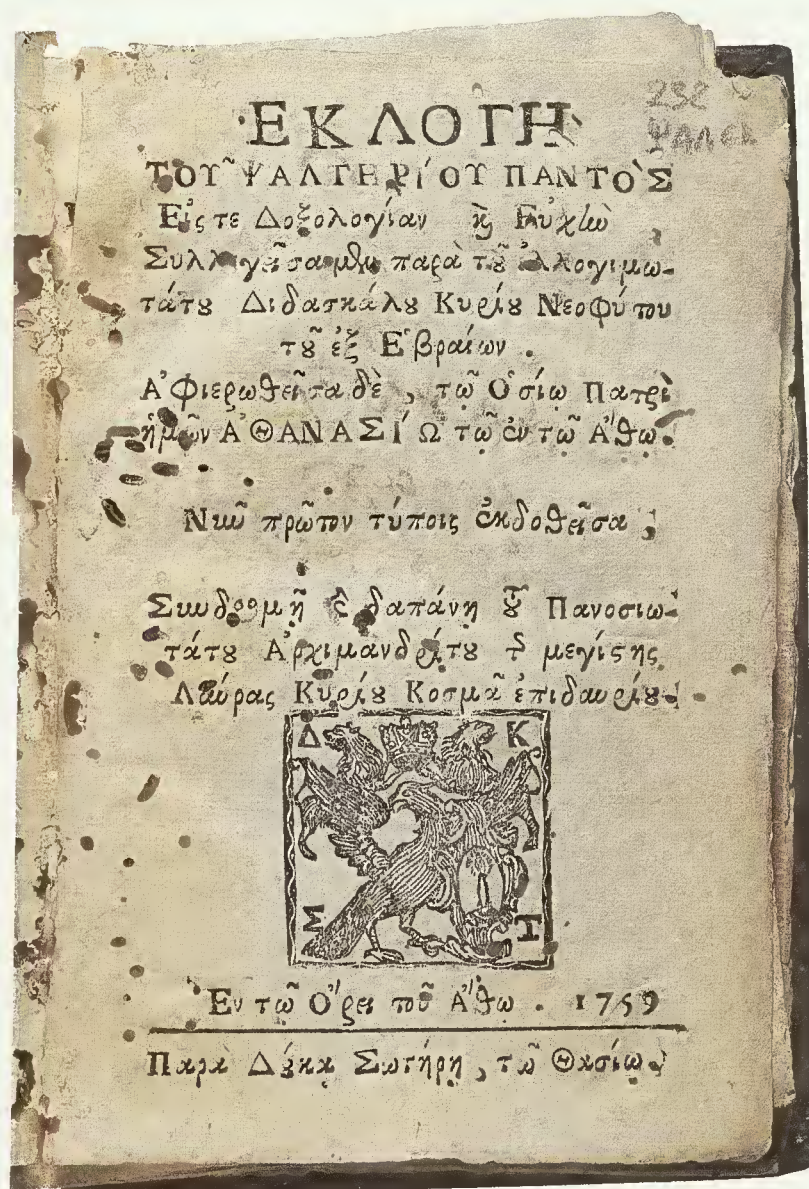
Doukas Soteris].

On the page facing the title page is a copperplate engraving of St Athanasios, who holds a cross in his right hand and in his left a scroll with the words: 'St Athanasios the Athonite'. Below the portrayal of the saint is a four-line epigram in capital letters, of which the last two lines read: 'Archimandrite Kosmas of Epidauros / by Soteris Doukas of Thasos.'

This is the earliest edition printed in Greece and the only book printed on Mount Athos, at

the Monastery of the Great Lavra.

After the establishment of the Athonite Academy on Mount Athos in 1749, and the appointment of Eugenios Voulgaris as headmaster in 1753, it became necessary to set up a printing press on the Mountain, to disseminate ideas. Greeks of the diaspora provided the funds needed to buy the equipment, and the printing press was installed in the Great Lavra. The then hegumen of the monastery, in his published address, wrote: 'After many trials and much painstaking effort,





at my own expense and with God's help, I usher in the age of printing on Athos.' The printer, and also on-the-spot type-caster, ('of the new type, made here on Athos for me') was Soteris Doukas of Thasos, who in the past had printed books in Jassy, Romania.

The only book printed on this press was the *Selections from the Psalter* by Neophytos of Kausokalyvia (the work was reprinted in 1769 in Bucharest and in 1781 in Venice by Nikolaos Glykys), although it was to have been used to print many books. Compare what, among other things, the printer writes 'to the readers': 'many other books available for printing ... will soon be printed by me.'

The decline of the Athonite Academy and the departure of Eugenios Voulgaris, accused by the monks of introducing dangerous new ideas, both affected the printing press, which shut down.

On Mount Athos this book is to be found in the libraries of the monasteries of the Great Lavra (ten copies), Vatopedi (five copies), Dionysiou and St Panteleimon.

**Bibliography:** Legrand 1918-28, I, no. 530.

Th.I.P.



22.13

**22.13 Apostolos**  
Venice, N. Saros  
Simonopetra Monastery  
Library (241.1/ΑΠΟ 4)

1744

'The readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles to the Churches for each day. Recently reprinted and carefully corrected. Venice, 1744. Printed by Nikolaos Saros, 1744. *Con Licenza de Superiori, e Privil.*

20 cm — pp. 312. — Single column text, printed in two colours.

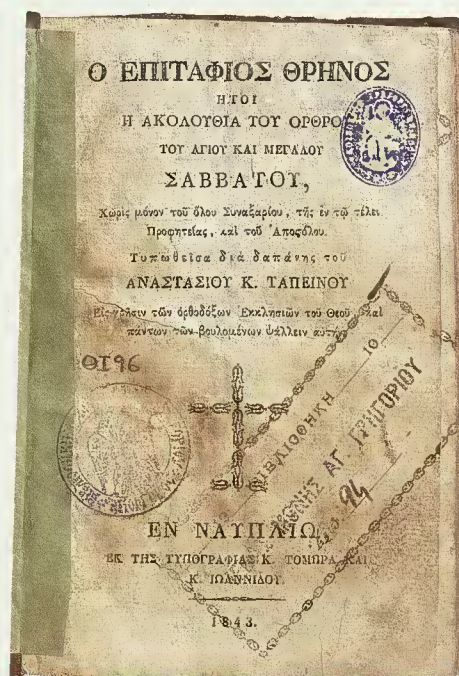
This is the first copy found of this edition.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1986, no. 587<sup>a</sup>.

Th.I.P.

**22.14 The Epitaphios Threnos** 1843  
Nafplion, K. Tobras - K. Ioannidis  
Gregoriou Monastery, Library

'The *Epitaphios Threnos*, or Matins for Holy Saturday, without the *Synaxarion*, the Old





Testament reading at the end, and the Epistles. Commissioned by Anastasios K. Tapeinos for the use of the Orthodox Church of God and all those who wish to chant the Lament.'

Nafplion. Printed by K. Tobras and K. Ioannidis. 1843.

17 cm — pp. 45.

This is the first copy found of this edition.

**Bibliography:** Papadopoulos 1992, no. 168.

Th.I.P.

**22.15 Ready reckoner** 1859  
Venice, Phoenix Press  
Stavronikita Monastery, Library

'A ready reckoner for buying and selling, weights and measures, prices and currencies and the postal charges for various parts of the world. Second edition in Venice by the Phoenix Greek Press 1859.'

A tiny book used for business transactions. The earliest known edition is that of 1708, though

there may have been even earlier ones.

This is the first copy found of this edition.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Th.I.P.

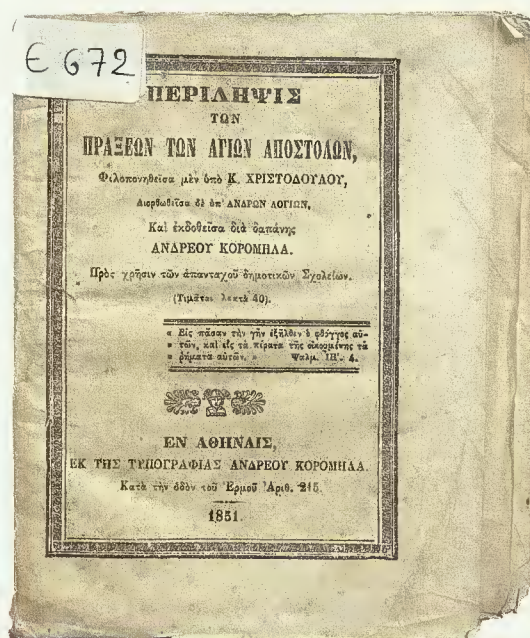
**22.16 K. Christodoulou,** 1851  
**Summary of the Acts of the Apostles**  
Athens, A. Koromilas  
Chelandari Monastery, Library

'A Summary of the Acts of the Holy Apostles, Most painstakingly produced by K. Christodoulou, Corrected by scholars, and commissioned by Andreas Koromelas. For use in primary schools everywhere. (Price 40 *lepta*). 'Their voice goes out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.' Psalm 18.4. Printed in Athens by Andreas Koromilas. 215 Ermou Street 1851.'

This is the first copy found of this edition.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished.

Th.I.P.







ΑΙΓΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ



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2.1 St George, detail.



# GLOSSARY

acephalous	(of a manuscript) lacking its beginning
aedicula	an ornament in the form of a shrine with columns and arches used to frame the Eusebian Canon tables ( <i>q.v.</i> )
aer	a large veil used to cover either the chalice or the paten
aga	a governor
Akathist	see Akathistos Hymn
Akathistos Hymn	a hymn of twenty-four strophes ( <i>oikoî</i> ) sung, all standing, on the Saturday of the fifth week in Lent, in honour of the Virgin Mary
Anapesson	a representation of the young Christ asleep
anastasimatarion	a codex containing <i>troparia</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ) on the theme of the Resurrection ( <i>Anastasis</i> ) of Christ
anchorite	a hermit who withdraws from the world to live in solitude (from the Greek <i>anachoretēs</i> 'one who withdraws')
antidoron	bread blessed but not consecrated or consumed during the Eucharist; instead, it is distributed after the service as a sign of their participation in the blessing to worshippers who did not communicate; bread of fellowship
antimension	a decorated rectangular cloth (usually linen), used in place of a communion table either where there is no altar at all (on board ship or in the open air, for instance), or where the altar is not consecrated (e.g. in a chapel or hermitage)
apolytikion	a dismissal hymn
Apostolika	the icons of Christ and the Apostles on the epistyle of the iconostasis; also used of that part of the screen to which they belong
arcosolium	an arched tomb, hewn out of rock in the early Christian period, constructed in the wall of a church in the middle and late Byzantine period
Asia Minor motif	an ornament usually seen on the front of the epistyle of a Byzantine chancel screen, consisting of coupled colonnettes linked by arches at the top and enclosing stylised acanthus leaves
asper	a Turkish coin
asterisk	a star-shaped liturgical utensil used to cover the eucharistic elements lying in a paten and to guard them from contact with the first veil
Axion estin	the miracle-working icon of the Virgin Mary kept in the sanctuary of the Church of the Protaton
Aydin	a fourteenth-century piratical Turkish emirate, based in Ephesus and Smyrna
Ban	the highest rank in the divan ( <i>q.v.</i> ) of Wallachia; the supreme governor of Oltenia (Wallachia Minor) or Krajova, with extensive judicial and military powers; a less important rank in Moldavia
ban (pl. bani)	a Romanian coin; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one <i>ban</i> was equal to $\frac{1}{112}$ – $\frac{1}{135}$ of a <i>thaler</i> , $\frac{1}{120}$ – $\frac{1}{133}$ of a <i>leon</i> , $\frac{1}{200}$ of an <i>ughi</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> )
Barlaam and Ioasaph	the two eponymous protagonists of the romance inspired by the life of Buddha; the book was formerly believed to have been composed by John of Damascus
bead-and-reel	the pattern employed for the decoration of an astragal (a small moulding, circular in section)
bema	the sanctuary
bifolium	two leaves (four pages) formed by a single folded sheet of vellum or paper



<b>Bostangi</b>	one of the imperial guards of Turkey, whose duties included protecting the palace, rowing the Sultan's barge, and acting as imperial gardeners
<b>Bostangi-basi</b>	captain of the Bostangi
<b>boyar</b>	a member of the aristocracy in Wallachia and Moldavia
<b>Bulgarian orthography</b>	historical Slavonic orthography which represents the rendering of the Slavonic dialect that evolved in Bulgarian literature in the Middle Ages; its main characteristic is that it mingles the nasals and semi-vowels of Old Slavonic
<b>Byzantine gold piece</b>	a gold coin weighing about 4.55 grammes
<b>camarash of the salt mines</b>	official subordinate to the Great Treasurer in Moldavia and Wallachia
<b>Canon tables</b>	the ten tables of Eusebios of Caesarea (280-340) showing similar passages in the four Gospels; often accompanied by Eusebios' letter to Karpianos, in which he explains their use
<b>Catalan Company</b>	a Spanish mercenary force hired by the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II (1282-1328) to fight against the Turks, but which turned against the Byzantines, marched through Macedonia and eastern central Greece laying the land waste as they went, and finally (1311) seized Athens, where they set up a state of their own
<b>cenobite monasticism</b>	see cenobitic
<b>cenobitic</b>	the cenobitic rule insists on absolute spiritual obedience to a hegumen ( <i>q.v.</i> ), elected for life at a meeting of all monks of six years' standing in the monastery. Spiritually he is absolute, but in administrative matters he has the help of two or three trustees ( <i>epitropoi</i> ) chosen by all, or by the Elders' Assembly ( <i>gerontia</i> ) of eight or ten senior monks. The monastery dispenses property, clothing, and food, and meals are eaten in common
<b>champlevé</b>	a relief technique in which the design is first incised in the surface of the marble and the ground is then cut away and filled with coloured mastic inlay
<b>chancel screen</b>	see iconostasis
<b>chartophylax</b>	a metropolitan ecclesiastical official with judicial responsibilities
<b>chi-rho</b>	a Christian monogram made from the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ (X and P)
<b>chip-carving technique</b>	a carving technique in which the decorative motifs are incised with sharp furrows, as in crystal-cutting; the established international term is <i>Kerbschnitt</i>
<b>chlamys</b>	a short cloak
<b>chrysobull</b>	see golden bull
<b>ciborium (also baldachin)</b>	a free-standing vaulted canopy supported by four columns (as that over the high altar in some churches)
<b>clavus</b>	a vertical stripe or band worn on the tunic
<b>codex</b>	a manuscript in the form of a modern book
<b>Comnene aspers</b>	silver coins minted by the Emperors of Trebizond, known as the Grand Comnenoi
<b>curopalatis</b>	a title awarded to the rulers of Georgia in the ninth century by the Byzantine emperors
<b>Cyrillic script</b>	the majuscule Byzantine script which the Slavs borrowed in the eleventh century, supplemented, and adapted to their own linguistic needs. The original Slavonic script, devised by St Cyril, is scientifically known as 'Glagolitic' ( <i>glagolica</i> )
<b>Deesis</b>	a composition often found on the templon or iconostasis and consisting of the Virgin Mary (left) and John the Baptist (right) interceding with Christ (centre) on behalf of humanity
<b>Despot</b>	the highest title after that of Emperor, usually given to the sons of the Emperor, but occasionally to a foreign ruler
<b>despotic icons</b>	large icons on either side of the Royal Door ( <i>q.v.</i> ): Christ and St John the Baptist on the right; the Virgin Mary and the saint or mystery to which the church is dedicated on the left



diaconicon	a sacristy ( <i>q.v.</i> ) usually on the south side of the sanctuary
dikaïos	a prior (elected) in charge of a skete
diptych	a two-leaved tablet containing on one part the names of living and on the other the names of dead persons commemorated at eucharistic services; the catalogue or list of such persons; a picture or series of pictures (as an altarpiece) painted or sculpted on two tablets connected by hinges
divan	the parliament of Moldavia or Wallachia
domestikos	the soloist in a Byzantine choir
double-headed eagle	the symbol of the Emperors of the Byzantine Empire
doxastarion	a codex containing <i>doxastika</i> (sing. <i>doxastikon</i> , <i>q.v.</i> ) set to unique melodies
doxastikon	a hymn commencing with the Lesser Doxology ( <i>Doxa Patri . . .</i> )
drungarius	a Byzantine official
ecclesiarchis	the monk in charge of the church and the various religious services
ekloge sticherariou	a codex containing a selection of <i>stichera idiomela</i> (sing. <i>sticheron idiomelon</i> , <i>q.v.</i> )
encolpion	medallion bearing a sacred picture that is worn on the breast of a bishop
en pointe	(of wings) raised over the head
eparchos	by the fourteenth century a purely honorific title
ephoria (ephor)	the custody and protection of a monastery, usually assigned to a high-ranking official
epigonation (or genual)	a rhombic vestment usually of stiff material worn (at knee level) by a bishop or certain other ecclesiastical dignitaries as a sign of authority and rank
epimanikion (or maniple)	a cuff worn as a liturgical vestment over each sleeve of the alb or tunic
epistasia	a four-member executive committee appointed annually by the Holy Community ( <i>q.v.</i> )
epistatis	an administrative overseer
Epitaphios	the embroidered shroud used in re-enacting the burial of Christ on Good Friday; a portable canopied shrine containing an icon of the figure of the dead Christ laid out for burial
epiteretis	a monitor, the monk entrusted with keeping order
epitrachelion	a long narrow stole worn by bishops and priests
éployée	(of wings) outspread
epoptis	a state official in charge of supervising the Land Register and assessing the taxes to be paid by each land-owner
Evangelion	a liturgical book containing the Gospel readings for all the movable and immovable feasts of the year, the eleven Gospels for orthros ( <i>q.v.</i> ), and readings for various other occasions
Evangelistarion	a codex containing Gospel readings for the entire Church year
exapteryga	circular liturgical fans having on both their sides images of six-winged angels (seraphs) and fixed on poles
exarch	a bishop inferior to a patriarch and superior to a metropolitan; a deputy of a patriarch, usually holding the rank of bishop
foliate cross	a cross with a tendril or a tree (usually a cypress) sprouting from its base; primarily a symbol of salvation and life
folio	a leaf of a manuscript or book
gathering	a group of leaves bound together



glory	a ring, circle, or surrounding radiance of light represented about the figure of a sacred person
golden bull	a Byzantine imperial document bearing the monarch's golden seal ( <i>bullā</i> ), frequently used in granting privileges
Greek cross	a cross consisting of an upright crossed in the middle by a horizontal of the same length
haratsi	a poll tax paid by non-Muslims
headpiece	an ornament at the head of a manuscript page, chapter, etc.
hegumen	the head of a monastery; abbot
heirmologion	a codex containing <i>heirmoi</i> (sing. <i>heirmos</i> , <i>q.v.</i> )
heirmos	the leading stanza of a <i>kontakion</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> )
heortologarion	a codex containing all the chants to be sung on the Great Feasts of the Church
Herbal	a pharmaceutical work containing descriptions of herbs and analyses of their therapeutic properties
Hesychasm	the doctrines and practice of the Hesychasts, mystics who in silence devote themselves to inner recollection and secret prayer, the culmination of their mystical experience being direct contact with God through the vision of the Divine Uncreated Light
hesychasterion	a hermitage proper, found in some lonely spot
hieromonach	see hieromonk
hieromonk	a monk who is also a priest
himation	a garment consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder and wrapped about the body
historiated capital	a double-zone Corinthian capital on which the upper zone of acanthus leaves is replaced by animals, birds, human or divine figures
Holy Community ( <i>Iera Kinotis</i> )	the administrative authority comprising representatives from the twenty sovereign monasteries
homilies	manuscripts containing homilies or orations of the Church Fathers — John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great and others — which are read out at assemblies of the monks and especially in the refectory during meals
horologion	a codex containing the daily offices of the Church
hyperpyron	a Byzantine coin
hypostasis	a subsidiary ornamental sign in Byzantine musical notation
hypothesis	a summary of a text
iconostasis	a screen, with doors, which divides the nave from the sanctuary and on which icons are placed in a fixed order
idiomelon	an <i>heirmos</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ) with its own individual melody
idiorrhythmic	the idiorrhythmic monasteries are directed by two annually changed trustees, helped by the Assembly of ten or fifteen leading monks ( <i>proistameni</i> ), whose decisions they enforce and from among whom they are chosen. Individuals retain personal property, eat their meals in their cells, and are left to their own judgement concerning personal austerity.
illuminated manuscript	a manuscript which, apart from text, also contains miniature paintings
initial or initial letter	a large letter beginning a text, a division, or a paragraph
Iberians	the mediaeval name of the Georgians
Jesus Prayer	'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner'; also termed Prayer of the Heart
kaza	an administrative district or province



<b>kalophonikon sticherarion</b>	a <i>sticherarion</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ) containing <i>stichera</i> ( <i>sing. sticheron, q.v.</i> ) set in the ornate style termed 'kalophonic'
<b>kalyve</b>	a monastic dwelling, usually small, sometimes with a chapel attached, and either independent or belonging to a <i>skete</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>katepano</b>	a military commander of select cavalry units and of the province where they were stationed
<b>kathisma</b>	a small habitation, usually near the parent monastery, where one monk dwells alone
<b>katholikon</b>	the central church of a monastery
<b>katzi</b>	a type of censer held by a handle rather than swung by chains
<b>kellion</b>	a spacious monastic dwelling with a small chapel, inhabited by three or more semi-independent monks who till the land
<b>kemeria</b>	arched structures over the <i>despotikes eikones</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>ketabedes</b> ( <i>sing. ketabes</i> )	rectangular sections on a wooden iconostasis ( <i>q.v.</i> ) above and below the <i>despotikes eikones</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ); the lower <i>ketabes</i> is also called the 'overpanel'.
<b>kladi</b>	the low pediment on top of the iconostasis ( <i>q.v.</i> ) from the top of which rises the crucifix
<b>kollyva</b>	boiled wheat with sugar distributed at memorial services in commemoration of the dead
<b>kontakarion</b>	a codex containing a collection of <i>kontakia</i> ( <i>sing. kontakion, q.v.</i> )
<b>kontakion</b>	a musical composition consisting of 18-24 stanzas all modelled on a leading stanza ( <i>heirmos, q.v.</i> )
<b>kral</b>	the title of the Serbian rulers
<b>kratema</b>	an independent melodic unit used to prolong a hymn and consisting of <i>teretismata</i> (meaningless syllables, such as <i>terirem, tenena, tororon</i> )
<b>kratematarion</b>	a codex containing a collection of <i>kratemata</i> ( <i>sing. kratema, q.v.</i> ) arranged according to the eight modes.
<b>kritis</b>	official who fulfilled the functions of both judge and tax collector in a Byzantine theme or province
<b>kyriakon</b>	the central church of a <i>skete</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>Ladder of Paradise</b>	an ascetic work, probably by John Scholasticus (525-600), of which many manuscripts survive
<b>lampadarios</b>	the leader of the left-hand choir in a church
<b>Latin (Passion) cross</b>	an upright or vertical bar crossed near the top by a shorter horizontal bar
<b>lavra</b>	a cluster of cells or caves for hermits, with a church and sometimes a refectory at the centre
<b>lite</b>	the inner narthex ( <i>q.v.</i> ) of a church
<b>Liturgy of the Presanctified</b>	the liturgy in which the consecrated host of the previous liturgy is used
<b>logofetel</b>	the subordinate to the logothetis ( <i>q.v.</i> ) in the divan ( <i>q.v.</i> ) of Moldavia and Wallachia
<b>logothetis</b>	the official responsible for overseeing the royal chancellery and drawing up golden bulls ( <i>q.v.</i> ); the keeper of the royal seal
<b>lypira</b>	small icons of the Virgin and St John flanking the crucifix on top of the iconostasis ( <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>magister</b>	an honorific title
<b>maistor</b>	a composer of church music who is often also an accomplished singer
<b>mandorla</b>	an, often pointed, oval surrounding the figure of a sacred person in iconography
<b>mantling</b> (also lambrequin)	the drapery of a coat of arms



<b>mathema</b>	a musical composition in which <i>stichera idiomela</i> (sing. <i>sticheron idiomelon</i> , <i>q.v.</i> ) are interspersed with <i>kratemata</i> (sing. <i>kratema</i> , <i>q.v.</i> ) and sung in the ornate style termed 'kalophonic'
<b>mathematarion</b>	a codex containing a collection of <i>mathemata</i> (sing. <i>mathema</i> , <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>Megale Mesi</b>	the seat of the Holy Community ( <i>q.v.</i> ), Karyes
<b>Megali Ekklesia</b>	the 'Great Church of Christ', the church of the Patriarchate, which was also the administrative centre of religious life in the Byzantine capital
<b>megaloschemos</b>	a monk of the highest grade, distinguished by his habit and pledged to a stricter degree of asceticism and a greater amount of time spent in prayer
<b>megas droungarios</b>	a senior judge in Constantinople
<b>megas primikerios</b>	an honorific title
<b>menaion</b>	one of twelve liturgical books (one for each month), which contain the variable parts of the Divine Office for the immovable feasts; the first in the series is for September, when the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical year begins.
<b>menologion</b>	a book containing accounts of the lives and martyrdoms of the saints, arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar
<b>menology</b>	see menologion
<b>Menteshe</b>	a fourteenth-century piratical Turkish emirate, based in Miletos
<b>metochi</b>	a dependency of a monastery
<b>'modern'</b>	ideologically oriented towards the Europe of the Enlightenment
<b>modius</b>	a unit of both volume and area; while its value was extremely variable, it usually corresponded to about 960 square metres or, as a measure of volume (especially for grain), about a quarter of a bushel
<b>nave</b>	the main body of a church
<b>narthex</b>	a western portico or vestibule between the main entrance and the nave ( <i>q.v.</i> )
<b>nomophylax</b>	a Byzantine official whose job was to maintain the laws of the state or the Patriarchate
<b>octateuch</b>	a manuscript containing the first eight books of the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth
<b>octoechos</b>	a collection of offices arranged for the eight ecclesiastical modes and used for periods of eight weeks
<b>oikonomos</b>	a steward; his function was to administer the financial affairs of the institution he served
<b>oka</b>	a Turkish unit of weight corresponding to about 1.3 kg
<b>oke</b>	see oka
<b>oktoechos</b>	see octoechos
<b>omologon</b>	a document agreed between the Patriarchal Synod and the Athonite Holy Community ( <i>q.v.</i> ) recognising custom as having the force of law in the community
<b>omophorion</b>	the distinctive vestment of bishops of the Eastern Church corresponding to the pallium of the Western Church, but made in two forms and worn in one form or the other by all bishops during the celebration of liturgical offices
<b>Horaia Pyle</b>	see Royal Door
<b>Orthodoxy, Feast of</b>	celebrated on the first Sunday of Lent by the Eastern Orthodox Church to commemorate the restoration of icons to the churches (843) and the end of the long iconoclast controversy
<b>orthros</b>	the morning office, corresponding to lauds in the West
<b>paharnic</b>	an official in the divan ( <i>q.v.</i> ) of Moldavia and Wallachia appointed to the Prince's court; his duties involved keeping the wine cellar stocked and tasting the wine, and later managing the royal vineyards, collecting the wine tax, and judging cases connected with the vineyards.



panaghiarion	a paten with a representation of the Virgin, used in the liturgy for the Feast of the Dormition
pansevastos sevastos	an honorific title
papadike	a late Byzantine anthology of musical settings, both simple and ornate, for hymns, psalms, and other chants used in the liturgy and daily offices
paracletice	a book containing the sung services and canons to the Virgin Mary for each day of the week
parekklesion	a chapel flanking the sanctuary, the narthex, or both; a chapel attached to the individual cells of a skete, where the monks say the daily offices
parekklisi	see parekklesion
parissia	a type of requiem service
paschalia	tables in which the date of Easter is calculated for a certain number of years in the future
paterikon	a collection of sayings and accounts by the Fathers of the Church
patriarchal or Anastasis cross	a Latin cross having a second, shorter, horizontal crossarm above the customary one
pentekostarion	a codex containing the offices from Easter Sunday to the first Sunday after Pentecost
peopled scroll	an ornament consisting of a scroll or tendril enriched with figures of animals
phelonion	a priestly vestment similar to a chasuble
phiale	a, usually marble, receptacle for holy-water, in the form of either a small, portable bowl or a large canopied basin in the monastery courtyard
Hospitality of Abraham	the hospitality ( <i>philoxenia</i> ) shown by Abraham to God when He appeared by the Oak of Mamre in the form of three men (Genesis 18:1-18); an icon of this
podea	a veil hung directly beneath a permanent icon (as on the iconostasis ( <i>q.v.</i> )) and usually bearing a repetition of its iconographic theme
polycyclic manuscript	a manuscript in which the subject-matter of the illustrations is drawn from more than one source
praxapostolos	a manuscript containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St Paul and the Catholic Epistles
pronaos	an open vestibule before the nave ( <i>q.v.</i> )
pronoia	a system for subsidising the army and the civil service, by which the beneficiary, known as the <i>pronoarios</i> , was granted the right to claim directly from citizens debts owed by them to the state
proskomide	a small niche within the bema ( <i>q.v.</i> ), containing the table (also called the <i>proskomide</i> ) on which the elements are prepared; the act of preparing the elements
proskynetarion	a pilgrims' guide to the Holy Land, principally its Christian monuments
prosomoiarion	a codex, or part of an <i>heirmologion</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ), which contains the <i>prosomoia stichera</i> ( <i>troparia</i> (sing. <i>troparion</i> , <i>q.v.</i> )) modelled on already existing melodies arranged by mode
prothesis	a small chapel or apse, in which the oblation table stands, on the north side of the sanctuary
protopsaltes	the leader of the right-hand choir in a church
Protos	the primate, the elected head of the monastic state of Mount Athos, who wields administrative and judicial authority within the territory and represents it in its relations with the outside world
psalter	a Book of Psalms, the Greek version of which contains 151 psalms, most of which have been ascribed to King David
pseudosarcophagus	a built coffin, three sides of which are enclosed by an arcosolium ( <i>q.v.</i> ), the front being closed by a marble slab with relief decoration; it resembles, but is not, a monolithic sarcophagus
pyle	a veil hung across the low gate in the Royal Door



quaternion	a quire of four sheets folding in two, producing eight leaves or sixteen pages
Rashka orthography	a form of Serbian orthography, typical of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which represents the earliest rendering of the mediaeval Serbian dialect. Its main characteristics are that it turns the Old Slavonic nasals into vowels, generally uses the semi-vowels correctly, and also uses the letters <i>ja</i> and <i>je</i> . Rashka is one of the oldest centres of Serbian power.
recto	the front of a folio (e.g. 77r = the front of folio 77)
Resava orthography	a form of fourteenth-century to fifteenth-century orthography associated with the work of Constantine the Philosopher and influenced by the reforms of Euthymius of Trnovo. Its main characteristics are that it turns the semi-vowels of Slavonic into vowels, and uses accents (under the influence of Greek models) and Greek letters.
riphidia	in the early Christian churches, these fans, initially of fine cloth or peacocks' feathers, were gently waved by the deacons to keep flies away from the communion table; now a purely ritual accessory, they are generally made of silver and decorated with six-winged seraphs
rinceau	an ornamental foliate or floral motif
roll	a parchment manuscript rolled around a wooden or bone rod; used mainly in the Byzantine era in place of the scroll, which is usually associated with papyrus
rotae sericae	an ornament consisting of a series of roundels linked by knots
Royal Door	the central door in the templon or iconostasis, and the central door leading from the narthex to the naos.
rumân (pl. rumâni)	a dependent villager in Wallachia
sacristy	a special room in which the monastery treasures or relics are kept; a treasury
sakkos	a liturgical vestment resembling a dalmatic and worn by a bishop during the liturgy
seimenis	an Athonite policeman
semantron	a wooden or metal bar used instead of a bell in Orthodox churches and monasteries
semi-uncial	a form of writing between uncial ( <i>q.v.</i> ) and minuscule
Serbo-Moldavian orthography	a later (fifteenth century onwards) form of Serbian orthography with Wallacho-Moldavian elements
skete	a smaller community living under monastic rule and dependent on one of the sovereign monasteries
Slavophile	a member of a nineteenth-century Russian intellectual movement that wanted Russia's future development to be based on values and institutions derived from the country's early history and was opposed to the country's 'Europeanisation'
stânjén (pl. stânjénì)	a unit of surface measurement in Wallachia and Moldavia, approximately equal to two square metres
stauropegion (adj. stauropegic)	a church or monastery exempt from the jurisdiction of the local bishop and directly subject to the highest authority of the territorial church
sticherarion	a codex containing the <i>stichera</i> (sing. <i>sticheron</i> , <i>q.v.</i> ) for orthros ( <i>q.v.</i> ) and vespers services throughout the year
sticheron	a form of hymn sung during orthros ( <i>q.v.</i> ) and vespers after a verse of a psalm (usually one of the last three to six verses)
sticheron idiomelon	a <i>sticheron</i> ( <i>q.v.</i> ) with its own unique melody
strategos	a military and civilian governor of a Byzantine theme or province
Studion	a large cenobitic monastery in Constantinople
synaxarion	a short account of a saint's life or a feast read at orthros ( <i>q.v.</i> ); a book containing these accounts, arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar
synaxis	a meeting of the representatives of the Athonite monasteries held at Karyes usually three times a year (Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin on August 15)



<b>synodeia</b>	a group of monks living under the tutelage of an elder, or spiritual father, in the <i>kalyve</i> of a <i>skete</i> (qq.v.)
<b>synodicon</b>	a letter, decree, or other document emanating from a synod in the Eastern Orthodox Church; specifically, an instrument of appointment to a high ecclesiastical office (as of a bishop)
<b>taboullarios</b>	a Byzantine notary
<b>templon</b>	see iconostasis
<b>tetraevangelon</b>	a book containing the continuous text of the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John
<b>theoretikon</b>	a codex containing theories of the art of music
<b>theotokion</b>	a <i>troparion</i> (q.v.) in honour of the Theotokos (q.v.)
<b>Theotokos</b>	the Virgin Mary, Mother of God
<b>timar</b>	a type of fief granted by the Sultan
<b>Tragos</b>	the first Charter, or Rule, of Mount Athos, written on parchment made from goatskin, hence the name ( <i>tragos</i> = 'goat')
<b>triodion</b>	a codex containing the offices for the ten weeks before Easter, i.e. from the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican up to and including Holy Saturday
<b>trisagion</b>	a short hymn consisting of the words 'Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal', sung three or more times
<b>troparion</b>	a short hymn consisting of a single stanza
<b>Twelve Great Feasts or Dodekaorton</b>	Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, Koimesis
<b>typikarion</b>	a room at one side of the sanctuary apse in which the ecclesiastical books, such as the <i>typikon</i> (q.v.), are kept
<b>typikaris</b>	the monk in charge of church ritual
<b>typikon</b>	a codex (q.v.) containing the rules and rubrics for church services throughout the year; a codex containing the rules and regulations of a monastery
<b>tzeremes</b>	a monetary fine
<b>ughi</b>	a Hungarian gold coin; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries one <i>ughi</i> was equal to 1.73 <i>lei</i> , 300 <i>bani</i> (q.v.), 1.66 <i>thalers</i> .
<b>uncial</b>	of or written in majuscule writing with rounded unjoined letters
<b>vakif</b>	religious endowments granted by the Ottoman authorities
<b>verso</b>	the back of a folio (e.g. 77v = the back of folio 77)
<b>voevode</b>	see voivode
<b>voivode</b>	the former title of the ruling princes in Moldavia and Wallachia; a local governor; an administrative official whose duties included tax collection
<b>vornic</b>	an official in the divan (q.v.) of Wallachia and Moldavia responsible for overseeing the Royal Court; he also enjoyed extensive judicial authority.
<b>zambitis</b>	a policeman
<b>zeteia</b>	a fund raising on behalf of a monastery, usually effected by a group of two or three monks, also known as 'Alms begging.'



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 AD: 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον  
 AE: 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς  
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 AB: Analecta Bollandiana  
 ArtB: Art Bulletin  
 ArtS: Art Studies  
 BalkSt: Balkan Studies  
 BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique  
 BNJbb: Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher  
 BS/EB: Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines  
 BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
 CahArch: Cahiers Archéologiques  
 CorsiRav: Corsi di cultura sull' arte ravennate e bizantina  
 DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers  
 EChR: Eastern Churches Review  
 HilZb: Hilendarski Zbornik  
 IRAIK: Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopolě  
 Jb Hambkusamml: Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen  
 JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik  
 JÖBG: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft  
 JWalt: Journal of the Walters Art Gallery  
 LCI: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie  
 OrChr: Oriens Christianus  
 PG: Patrologia Graeca  
 PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit  
 RbK: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst  
 RepKunstw: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft  
 RivFil: Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica  
 SC: Sources chrétiennes  
 ST: Studi e testi  
 SüdostF: Südost-Forschungen  
 TM: Travaux et Mémoires  
 VizVrem: Vizantijskij Vremennik  
 ZLU: Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti  
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